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Fatimid historiography and its survival. A case study of the vizierate of al-Yāzūrī (r. 442-450/1050-1058).

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Abstract and lay summary

Studies of Fatimid history often take the testimony of later historians like al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442) for granted. This thesis will look closely at how later historians used sources and what this can teach us about Fatimid historiography, taking the vizierate of al-Yāzūrī (r. 442/1050-450/1058) as a case study. It is well known that very few works of Fatimid history survive, and this is especially the case for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. However, fragments of contemporary histories survive in later sources, most crucially histories written in Egypt. This thesis will argue that al-Yāzūrī's vizierate presents an ideal vantage point for the study of Fatimid historiography and for understanding its survival in later texts. During al-Yāzūrī's vizierate the Fatimid Imamate based in Cairo almost lost control of its possessions in North Africa, while it began to expand its influence into Yemen and undertook a conquest to occupy Baghdad. Al-Yāzūrī was dismissed and executed in part because of his handling of the Baghdad campaign, and (as has been asserted in studies of his vizierate) this has fundamentally shaped the historiography of his reign. The thesis will build on existing research to argue that there are at least two types of historiography for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate that survive in the later texts: biography (in the form of a biography of al-Yāzūrī) and annals. Through three case studies (the campaign to capture Baghdad, Fatimid exchange with the Byzantines, and Fatimid influence in Yemen), the thesis will explain how these two types of source differ, the agendas of their authors and the manner of their composition. It is hoped that this will serve to help scholars understand both the sources that use these histories and the histories themselves. Moreover, it is hoped that knowing more about these two source types, their agendas and the manner of their composition will provide a framework for a further critical study of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate.

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Notes on transliteration and other conventions used in the dissertation

Where words are now in common-enough English usage, I have opted to use the common form rather than transliterated Arabic ('vizier' rather than 'wazīr', 'hadith' rather than 'ḥadīth'). Similar applies for the naming of dynasties ('Fatimid' rather than 'Fāṭimid') and place names ('Sanaa' rather than 'Ṣan'ā'). Where a word is in common English usage, I have opted for the English pluralisation (minbars not *manābir*), otherwise I use the Arabic plural (*dawāwīn* not *dīwāns*). Where transliteration is used, I am following the *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* (IJMES) system.

This dissertation will work extensively with chronicles and the differences in dating between them. For this reason, *Hijrī* dates will be used in preference to common-era dates. In the first two chapters and the introduction, common-era dates will be provided to help with orientation. From then onwards only *Hijrī* dates are provided.

This dissertation utilises an in-depth cross-referencing system that allows for comparison of the primary texts. In the two main sources (al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*) the relevant parts have been divided into passages and numbered. Passage numbers are used to indicate shared text. That is, where a passage of the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* has overlapping text or content, both receive the same passage number. For further comparison with other sources a passage is sometimes split into subpassages. This subpassage number is separated from the main passage number with a point. For example, passage 110 might be split into subpassages 110.1 and 110.2. Thus, the reader can consult passage 110 in appendix A and compare with 110.1 and 110.2 in appendix F. These passage numbers are used throughout the appendices (especially in appendix A) and are cited alongside the original sources in the footnotes. For a detailed explanation of the passage numbering system, see section 2.3.1 below.

Abbreviations

BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.

EI2: Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition, ed. P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W. P. Heinrichs (Leiden, 2007),

<https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2>.

EI3: Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE, eds. Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Everett Rowson (Leiden, 2007-ongoing),

<https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3>.

MSR: Mamlūk Studies Review.

Introduction

This is a study of Fatimid historiography, of its survival and of the manner in which it was written. Fatimid historiography remains something of an enigma for modern scholars. It is well known that very few Fatimid-era histories survive and those that do, do so only partially.¹ At the same time, it is accepted that Fatimid histories are quoted at length in later works, especially Mamluk texts (written between 648/1250-923/1517). It is on these grounds that modern scholars sometimes work with such texts, especially those of al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442), as if they were contemporary testimonies of the Fatimid historians themselves.² This study will not challenge these assumptions. In fact, the following chapters will present good evidence that later³ historians had used contemporary Fatimid texts. This thesis will, however, stress that if we are to understand the lost Fatimid historiographical tradition (and through it Fatimid history), we need a comprehensive understanding of how later authors used their sources.

No later historian used only Fatimid sources. Al-Maqrīzī claimed in his chronicle of the Fatimids the *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akḥbār al-A'imma al-Khulafā'* that he preferred Egyptian works,⁴ yet in some years he used Ibn al-Athīr's (d. 630/1233) *Kāmil fī-l-Ta'rīkh*. Fatimid histories evidently survived into the Mamluk period, and some of the most comprehensive quotations of these earlier texts are found in Egyptian histories. A close comparison of Egyptian and non-Egyptian authors, therefore, allows us excavate Fatimid historiography from the later texts. This is important and valuable work because we know so little about the kinds of history that were written under the Fatimids.

On the one hand, it has been assumed that Fatimid historiography, especially that written during the period of their rule in Egypt (362/973-567/1171), differed little from its Sunnī

¹ For example, Yaacov Lev, *State & Society in Fatimid History* (Leiden, 1991), 6-7; Paul E. Walker, *Exploring an Islamic Empire: Fatimid History and its Sources* (London, 2002), 152-4.

² See, for example, Farhad Daftary's description of al-Mustanşir's imamate, where he cites a series of Mamluk authors, chief among them al-Maqrīzī. He cites only al-Maqrīzī to describe the *fitna* and Badr al-Jamālī's past role in Damascus. Daftary, *Ismā'īlīs Their history and doctrines* (Cambridge, 1990), 204-6 (n. 111-3).

³ By 'later' here and elsewhere I refer to texts written after the fall of the Fatimids in 567/1171, but especially those written in the Mamluk period.

⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā' bi-Akḥbār al-A'imma al-Khulafā'*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥilmī and Muḥammad Aḥmad (Cairo, 2008), III:346; Walker, 'al-Maqrizi and the Fatimids', *MSR*, 7(2003), 91-2.

counterparts. Our surviving Fatimid histories largely appear to be chronicles, arranged under headings by year, describing key events – seen at its best in the surviving volumes of al-Musabbiḥī's (d. 420/1030) *Akḥbār Miṣr*.⁵ On the other hand, it is not clear how these histories were patronised or composed. There is good evidence to suggest that such chronicles were written by members of the court and state apparatus, using official documentation as sources.⁶ Moreover, there appears to be another type of history, the single-subject biography. Of these, only a few examples survive.⁷ In the case of both chronicles (whether official or not) and biographies, little consideration has been given to the agendas of their patrons and authors.⁸ I will argue that comparing the surviving quotations of these texts can reveal these agendas and show how they shape our reading of Fatimid history.

For an effective close study of historiography it is useful to focus on a detailed case study. The results of such a case study may then be used to understand Fatimid historiography more generally. This dissertation will look at the vizierate of al-Yāzūrī (r. 442/1050-450/1058), a period of remarkable change. It witnessed chiefly the expanding power of the Seljuks in Iran, Iraq and Anatolia, but also the growth of the Ismā'īlī Ṣulayḥid dynasty in Yemen and the rebellion of the Zirids in Ifrīqīya.

His vizierate is a suitable starting point for three reasons. First, Michael Brett has begun to show the value of studying the historiography of this period.⁹ He has concluded that a set of annals were written covering al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, which were revised over time according to later agendas. He has further argued that a biography of al-Yāzūrī (with a pro-Yāzūrī agenda) was written (the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī*, abbreviated here to SY). I will aim to both build upon and advance Brett's conclusions, arguing that the period of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate when viewed as a whole provides unparalleled insight into two types of Fatimid history, their

⁵ Al-Musabbiḥī, *al-Juz' al-Arba'ūn min Akḥbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid and Th. Bianquis (Cairo, 1978); Walker, *Exploring*, 142.

⁶ Michael Brett, 'Fatimid Historiography: a Case Study – the Quarrel with the Zirids, 1048-58', in D. O Morgan (ed.), *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds* (London), 47-59.

⁷ For example, the *Sīrat Ja'far al-Ḥajīb*, written in 365/975. Brett, *The Rise of the Fatimids The World of the Mediterranean & the Middle East in the Tenth Century CE* (Leiden, 2001), 40 (n. 33.).

⁸ The key exception to this is the work of Brett for various periods of Fatimid history, but crucially al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, research upon which this study will build. For examples, see below.

⁹ Brett, 'Zirids'; Brett, 'The execution of al-Yāzūrī' in *The Fatimids and Egypt* (London, 2019), 83-93; Brett, 'The Ifrīqīyan *sijill* of al-Mustaṣṣir, 445 H/1053-4 CE', in *Fatimids and Egypt*, 115-122.

respective agendas and their evolution over time. The authors of the annals and SY have multiple agendas, many of them relating to the decade after al-Yāzūrī's death. Using al-Maqrīzī's biographical dictionary (the *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*) as evidence, I will further propose that SY had survived (perhaps in its entirety) in Egypt into the Mamluk period.¹⁰

The second reason for choosing this case study is the pivotal moment in which al-Yāzūrī's vizierate is situated. Al-Yāzūrī was arrested and executed in 450/1058 on accusations surrounding his conduct in the Fatimids' attempt to capture Baghdad that began in the year 447/1055. The histories written after his death are, therefore, likely to reflect upon either the positive or negative role that he played in events of the 440s/1048-1057 (not just the Baghdad campaign) and their long-term effects. This is especially the case because al-Yāzūrī's death was followed first by a long period of political turmoil in Cairo and a subsequent *fitna*. Moreover, from around ten years after al-Yāzūrī's death, the Seljuk Turks (who in 447/1055 had replaced the Buyids in Baghdad) had advanced through Syria seizing many of the Fatimids' possessions there. Consequently, there was much for which later historians could blame al-Yāzūrī. The third reason has already been alluded to in the summary of Brett's work above. There is clear evidence that both annals and a biography exist for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. It is, therefore, a useful case for comparing these two types of Fatimid historiography.

I will argue that the annals for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate were written in at least two stages (450s/1058-1066 and 460s/1067-1076), perhaps adapting annals written in the 440s. However, the version of the annals used by later Egyptian authors might have been written as late as the sixth/twelfth century. Generally, the annals focus on the role of the Imam-Caliph, and some of the Fatimids' military confrontations. The annals written in the 450s are the most dominant in the surviving histories. They contain clear anti-Yāzūrī material, but are also concerned with the growing power of the Seljuk Turks in Iraq, Syria and Anatolia (projecting this threat anachronistically back into the 440s). The annals written in the 460s, by comparison, appear to blame al-Yāzūrī entirely for the Seljuks' occupation of Syria that began in the 460s. The SY seems to have been written in the middle of the 450s and, as has already been noted by Brett, it responds to the criticisms made against al-Yāzūrī in the

¹⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ya'lawī (Beirut, 1991), III:366-408.

annals. It, however, also responds to other concerns of the 450s, such as the *fitna* of 454/1062. In addition to this the SY provides a distinctive pro-secretarial view of the events it describes,¹¹ quoting lengthy excerpts from correspondence. The viewpoint of the biography (as it is presented in al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*) is so distinct that it is possible to hypothesise who had written it or, at the very least, what sources its author had used.

This case study of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate will be broken into three further sub-cases: 1. the campaign to capture Baghdad, 2. Exchanges with the Byzantines in 440s, and 3. The beginning of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty in Yemen. All of these cases concern events outside of Cairo (in what might be termed Fatimid foreign policy). This allows for the broadest comparison of the available sources. The SY provides rich accounts of the internal political intrigues of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. In particular, it contains a detailed account of events surrounding the 446/1054-5 famine. However, these events are poorly attested in other sources and, consequently, it is difficult to use them to distinguish the agenda particular to the SY. Once the nature of the SY is better understood, such accounts promise to greatly enrich future work on the Fatimid court and state.

The three cases adopted in this study will also allow us to understand how Fatimid knowledge networks functioned and how important events were recorded in the Imamate. The period of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate witnessed great setbacks (such as the Zirid revolt in Ifrīqīya) and great advances (such as the expansion of the *da'wa* into Baghdad - albeit temporarily - and into Yemen). These events are likely to have been recorded in Fatimid histories and a study of Fatimid historiography will reveal the kinds of information that moved from the periphery to the centre. As we shall see, for more distant regions like Iraq and Yemen, it seems that less information made it into the historiography (even if momentous events had occurred in these regions). Whereas for places closer to home, like the Byzantine frontier, information was more plentiful. This reveals something of the priorities of Fatimid history writers in this period and the kinds of sources to which historians had access.

¹¹ That is 'pro-secretarial' in the sense of written to assert the importance of the *kātib* (pl. *kuttāb*) those who worked in the Fatimid *dawāwīn*, as opposed to those employed in the military. The class of people that might also be referred to as 'men of the pen'.

This study of Fatimid historiography is divided into six chapters, four of which deal with the cases outlined above. The first two chapters deal with Fatimid historiography more generally. Chapter 1 introduces the state of the field, arguing that Fatimid historiography has generally been overlooked in favour of a more general study of Ismāʿīlī sources and their availability. Modern scholars have often assumed that Fatimid historiography behaved similarly to other Arabic historiography of the time. However, the Fatimids' use of *sijillāt* (sg. *sijill*)¹² to provide official accounts of certain events, suggests that there was a type of history-writing unique to the Fatimids. Although there are few extant examples of Fatimid histories, a large number are cited and quoted in later Egyptian works. These histories can be divided into two types: annals and single-subject biographies. While the former is common to Arabic historiography, the latter is more particular to the Fatimids. As these histories survive predominantly through quotations (particularly in Mamluk texts), chapter 1 proposes a method for separating their agendas from the agendas of the texts in which they are quoted.

Chapter 2 then introduces the vizierate of al-Yāzūrī, arguing that it is a useful vantage-point for understanding Fatimid historiography. This is in part because the vizierate of al-Yāzūrī is described in both types of historiography: annals and a biography of al-Yāzūrī (the SY). This chapter stresses that the SY survives in quotations to a much greater extent than has been thought. Brett has noted that the SY was one of the sources used by al-Maqrīzī in his *Itti'āz*. However, a much more precise quotation of the source is found in al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*. Using a statistical method to analyse and compare word counts, chapter 2 examines the text shared between the *Itti'āz* and the *Muqaffā* and argues that the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī only uses the SY as its source. By comparison, the *Itti'āz* uses a second source that is shared with Ibn Muyassar's (d. 677/1278) *Akhbār Miṣr*. It is argued that this shared source is the annals. The agendas and scope of the SY and annals will then be explored in detail through the following three cases.

¹² A vague term for documents, originating in the Latin *sijillum* (there used to mean a document that has a 'seal'). It is typically used for judicial documents, but under the Fatimids it refers specifically to official proclamations. F. C. de Blois, D. P. Little and Suraiya Faroqhi, 'Sijill', *EI2*. See further, section 1.2 below.

Case study one is treated in two chapters, as the campaign to capture Baghdad is the only case to be treated extensively in both Fatimid and non-Fatimid sources.¹³ Chapter 3 seeks to understand how far later Egyptian sources, like the *Itti'āz*, are influenced by non-Fatimid traditions and what this means for our understanding of the Fatimid sources. It begins with al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*, noting how it has made use of Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* in its accounts of the Baghdad campaign. Al-Maqrīzī appears to have used the *Kāmil* reluctantly and thus his use of this source indicates where he found the Egyptian sources to be lacking. The chapter then contrasts the *Itti'āz* with al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*, stressing how the latter provides a unified narrative of the Baghdad campaign and al-Yāzūrī's role within it. This perspective is taken from the SY. Having identified the outlines of the Egyptian tradition, I suggest that Fatimid histories had a very basic knowledge of the Baghdad campaign, with a limited knowledge of the main events in Iraq.

Chapter 4 argues that this basic narrative of the Baghdad campaign had in part emerged because the campaign became closely associated with al-Yāzūrī's controversial arrest and execution. Both the annals and the SY are responding to that event when they write their accounts of the Baghdad campaign. I maintain that the annals were written in two phases: in the 450s and 460s. Those annals written in the 450s were more concerned with detailing the accusations against al-Yāzūrī, while those written in the 460s associated his campaign in Baghdad with the later Seljuk occupation of Syria. The SY responds to the first of these two phases, directly engaging with the accusations that were made against al-Yāzūrī. It, however, also responds to two other claims, relevant to the 450s: one, the *fitna* (454/1062-466/1074) and the role that the Turkish regiments played within it, and two, the claims made by the Fatimid *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad fī-l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1057), who published his first-hand account of the Baghdad campaign around the middle of the 450s. The chapter asserts that the SY has (aside from its clear pro-Yāzūrī agenda) a pro-secretarial agenda that gives emphasis to correspondence exchanged between al-Yāzūrī and the Seljuks. In conclusion I argue that the SY adopts a similar agenda, particularly a pro-secretarial agenda, for its description of other events.

¹³ I will use this distinction throughout the study. By 'Fatimid', it is meant works that were written in some way under their influence. That is, not necessarily written by Ismā'īlīs, but heavily shaped by the Fatimid worldview and often benefitting from their networks of knowledge acquisition and storage.

The Fatimids' exchanges with the Byzantines in the 440s are described in the annals and the SY in similar terms to the Baghdad campaign. Chapter 5 argues that the annalistic accounts for exchanges with the Byzantines do not have an anti-Yāzūrī agenda, but they are written from the perspective of the 450s. In particular, they use the exchanges to emphasise the threat posed by the Seljuk Sultan Tughril (r. 429/1038-455/1063) in the 440s. This view was likely written in the 450s, after the Seljuks had occupied Baghdad. However, beneath this 450s agenda, the annals appear to be justifying the truce with the Byzantines, and this might reflect an earlier 440s agenda. There is one event described in the annals that does not refer to Tughril or the Abbasids. This is a conflict that broke out between the Fatimids and Byzantines in 446/1054-5. The conflict is described in both the annals and the SY. Chapter 5 compares the accounts of this conflict, arguing that it is only partially accounted for in the annals. The chapter then concludes by comparing how the annals refer to Byzantine rulers in their accounts. Both appear to provide conflicting accounts, but it is argued that these represent different perspectives. In particular, the SY's perspective, with its heavy emphasis on the terms negotiated with the Byzantines, was probably derived from a source familiar with the negotiations.

The cases in chapters 3-5 relied on accounts of the annals and SY that were relatively detailed, especially in the case of the SY. Chapter 6 deals with a case where the Fatimid historiography appears to be much less detailed. It argues that the annals are silent on events in Yemen in the 440s and 450s. Instead, nearly all surviving Egyptian accounts rely on one text for their accounts, the *Mufīd fī Akhbār Zabīd*, a Yemeni history written by 'Umāra al-Yamanī (d. 569/1174) in Egypt. Chapter 6 notes that the few sources that are uninfluenced by the *Mufīd* contain short and fragmented accounts. These accounts might, however, have emerged from *sijillāt* written to commemorate important events in Yemen. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the SY, the only source to describe events in Yemen in the 440s. Although the SY's description is short, its use of *da'wa*-specific terminology suggests that its author was well-informed and close to the Fatimid court.

Through these cases we can begin to understand the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate and its survival. This study will assert that the SY survives almost entirely through a quotation in the biography of al-Yāzūrī in al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*. This biography of al-Yāzūrī adopts the same pro-Yāzūrī, pro-secretarial agenda throughout. Unlike most other Egyptian

sources, it does not provide a critique of al-Yāzūrī. There seems little reason why al-Maqrīzī would deliberately write a pro-Yāzūrī account (he makes no such effort in his other works), and it seems more likely that he has copied one source almost entirely into the *Muqaffā*. This further underlines how al-Maqrīzī and his contemporaries in the ninth/fifteenth century were able to access entire Fatimid histories, which are lost today and that they were willing to quote from them at length.

Although the outline of the annals is fuzzier, the cases will show how the surviving quotations from this source are above all concerned with portraying the Imam-Caliph as the main actor, ignoring al-Yāzūrī. Moreover, the annalist(s) of this period appears less interested in accounting for events in the *da'wa*, as is shown in the Yemen case study. As will be seen in the case of the Byzantine exchanges, the annals seem particularly concerned with framing events as part of a broader confrontation with the Abbasids. It seems, therefore, that the annals (in contrast to the SY) were written for the Imam-Caliph as summative accounts of the key events and that these accounts were potentially subject to continual revision. In this sense, the annals appear to represent a distinctive form of Fatimid historiography.

Chapter 1. The distinctive features of Ismāʿīlī and Fatimid history-writing: the case for a detailed study in Fatimid Historiography

From at least the mid-twentieth century, any discussion of the Fatimids or Ismāʿīlīs has started with a discussion that stresses the lack of sources written by Ismāʿīlīs, and the disproportionate use of Sunnī sources by modern scholars. This, it is argued, is a disparity that only began to be corrected through the broader dissemination of Ismāʿīlī texts (once only accessible to members of the Ismāʿīlī community) from around the 1930s.¹ Emphasis has fallen on how these new texts allow new insight into Fatimid ideology and the doctrines behind the Fatimid Imamate, shedding light on how the Imamate was governed, beyond the biases of the Sunnī texts. Such research, however, has taken little detailed account of how Fatimid histories were written, treating them as one of many types of Fatimid source. I propose that we should take a closer look at Fatimid historiography, distinct from other types of Ismāʿīlī or non-Ismāʿīlī source. This chapter will, therefore, serve as a general introduction to Fatimid historiography and broader research in the field.

In this chapter I argue that Fatimid historiography has mostly been overlooked as a genre, despite evidence that it is in some ways distinct from other examples of Islamic history-writing. In addition, this chapter will present the method that will be adopted to allow for a detailed study of Fatimid historiography. The argument will be presented in five parts. Part one will introduce the broader source problem in Ismāʿīlī studies, arguing that there has been an over-emphasis on Ismāʿīlī ‘sources’ to the detriment of the study of historiography. Part two will argue that there is a basis for a distinct form of Fatimid historiography, and that Fatimid *sijillāt* might be read as a form of ‘official history’ that in turn used Fatimid annals as a source. Part three will then present the case for the survival of Fatimid historiography into later periods, noting the presence of two types of historiography: annals and biography. These Fatimid histories typically only survive as quotations in later works. Part four will argue that these later works can at times faithfully represent their Fatimid

¹ This is a refrain found throughout Daftary’s work. For example, Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs*, xvi; Daftary, Aryn B. Sajoo and Shainool Jiwa, ‘Introduction’, in Daftary, Sajoo and Jiwa (eds.), *The Shiʿi world. Pathways in tradition and modernity* (London, 2015), 1-2.

source texts, but that they must be studied on a case-by-case basis. Part five will then present the method for such a case-by-case approach to studying Fatimid historiography, based on earlier research into Fatimid histories and their survival.

1.1. Ismā'īlī studies and the 'Source problem'

Historians of Ismā'īlism and the Fatimids have long remarked about the importance of using Ismā'īlī texts. However, it is also recognised that the surviving Ismā'īlī works are insufficient for the study of Fatimid history. Reference will always need to be made to Sunnī texts, many of which quote from earlier Fatimid texts. Thus far there has been little consideration of the agendas of the sources used by these Sunnī texts, and sometimes the claims of these sources are taken at face value. In particular, we should recognise that histories were a key source for these later texts and that they were profoundly shaped by Fatimid historiography and its agendas.

The study of Ismā'īlī history has grown exponentially since the middle of the twentieth century. This growth has been driven largely by the greater availability of source material. In his seminal monograph, *The Ismā'īlīs: Their history and doctrines*, Farhad Daftary pronounced:

Ismā'īlī studies have been revolutionized in the present century, especially since the 1930s, mainly by the discovery and study of a large number of Ismā'īlī manuscripts preserved in India, Central Asia and Yaman.²

The study of Ismā'īlism is quite unique in the study of Islam for difficulties of access to sources. Ismā'īlīs have from the outset allowed only initiates to the faith access to details of doctrine (based on the pronouncements of the Imam). To this day, texts regarded as doctrinally significant are kept in libraries only accessible to adherents. In the early twentieth century, some of the most significant historical Ismā'īlī texts entered into broader scholarly circulation through the donation and publication of private Ismā'īlī libraries by their owners, such as A. A. A. Fyzee and Husayn Hamdani.³ In addition, W. Ivanow worked in

² Daftary, *Ismā'īlīs*, xvi.

³ Daftary, 'The Study of the Ismailis: Phases and Issues', in Daftary and Gurdofarid Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam: History, Theology and Law* (London, 2014), 60; Abbas Hamdani, 'Fāṭimid history and historians', in M. Young, J. Latham and R. Serjeant (eds.), *Religion, Learning and Science in the 'Abbasid Period (The Cambridge History of Arabic Literature)*, (Cambridge, 1990), 247.

Bombay to create the first catalogue of Ismāʿīlī sources.⁴ Ivanow's access to new sources is seen in the translation of a number of important sources for the origins of Ismāʿīlism in the appendix to his *Ismāʿīlī Tradition concerning the Rise of the Fatimids*, such as Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's *Iftitāḥ al-Daʿwa wa Ibtidā al-Daʿwa* and the *Sīrat Jaʿfar al-Hājib*.⁵ Ever since, historians have benefitted from a growing library of Ismāʿīlī texts, increasingly published in accessible printed editions, and sometimes in translation (for example, the works of al-Sijistānī, al-Naysabūrī and Ibn al-Haytham).⁶

The study of Ismāʿīlī history has benefited enormously from the discovery of these sources, especially for the period of Fatimid rule in North Africa (297/909-358/969). Prior to this, scholarship depended largely upon the anti-Ismāʿīlī narratives, such as those conveyed by al-Ṭabarī and Ibn Rizām (whose heresiography is now lost, but known from the accounts of Ibn al-Nadīm, Akhū Muḥsin and others),⁷ which were picked up much later by authors like al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333).⁸ Ismāʿīlī authors such as al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974) - who was active under the Imam-Caliphs al-Manṣūr (d. 334/953) and al-Muʿizz (d. 365/975) but wrote about the formation of Ismāʿīlism as well as events of his own times – provided a necessary corrective to Sunnī polemics.⁹

However, it has long been recognised that Ismāʿīlī and Fatimid history cannot be studied from the Ismāʿīlī texts alone. As Daftary has noted, the Ismāʿīlī literature that we have is on the whole doctrinal in nature.¹⁰ Our texts, moreover, focus more heavily on the earlier

⁴ Daftary, 'Study of Ismāʿīlīs', 61; Hamdani, 'Fāṭimid history', 247.

⁵ For the full appendix: W. Ivanow, *Ismāʿīlī Tradition Concerning the Rise of the Fatimids* (Calcutta, 1942), 157-313.

⁶ Walker, *The Wellsprings of Wisdom: A Study of Abū Yaʿqūb al-Sijistānī's Kitāb al-Yanābī: Including a Complete English Translation with Commentary and Notes on the Arabic text* (Salt Lake City, 1994); Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm al-Naysabūrī, *Degrees of excellence: a Fatimid treatise on leadership in Islam*, ed. and trans. Arzina R. Lalani (London, 2010); Ibn al-Haytham, *The advent of the Fatimids: a contemporary Shiʿi witness: an edition and English translation of Ibn al-Haytham's Kitāb al-munāẓarāt*, ed. and trans. Wilferd Madelung and Paul E. Walker (London, 2000).

⁷ S. M. Stern, 'Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania', in *Studies in Early Ismāʿīlism* (Leiden, 1983), 189-233, esp. 213; Daftary, 'Study of Ismāʿīlīs', 48; Brett stresses the importance of Akhū Muḥsin's version of the legend: Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, 39-40 (for Ibn Rizām), 42-4, 65-6 (for Ibn Rizām, Akhū Muḥsin, al-Ṭabarī and others); Brett, *The Fatimid Empire* (Edinburgh, 2017), 22, 87.

⁸ Ivanow, *Ismāʿīlī tradition*, 48-9; Daftary, 'Study of Ismāʿīlīs', 49; Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, 42.

⁹ See, for example, Brett's use of Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, alongside other Ismāʿīlī texts in his discussion of 'The Problem of Fatimid Origins', Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, 29-48.

¹⁰ Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs*, 92.

period of Fatimid rule (that is around the fourth/tenth century).¹¹ The importance of Sunnī texts for reading Fatimid history, especially in the later period is seen throughout scholarship. For example, both Stern and Daftary (building upon Stern's conclusions) have written dedicated studies on the history and organisation of the Fatimid *da'wa*.¹² For the earlier period of the *da'wa* (especially during the Imamate of al-Mu'izz), they relied upon a range of Ismā'īlī sources, chief among them al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's history of the *da'wa*, the *Iftitah al-Da'wa*. For the later period, few equivalent sources exist. There is al-Mu'ayyad fī-l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī's *Sīra*, but this provides a first-hand perspective of the *da'wa* in Shīrāz, and later *da'wa* activities in Syria and Iraq. It is a snapshot of the *da'wa* in action in the mid-fifth/eleventh century, but it gives few clear hints as to the organisation of the *da'wa* itself.¹³ For their discussion of the *da'wa* in the later period, Stern and Daftary therefore depend additionally upon later Sunnī texts (typically Egyptian) that sometimes preserve (or at least claim to use) earlier Fatimid sources. This is seen in particular in their use of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's (d. 617/1220) *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, a source that only survives in citations in later texts such as al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*.¹⁴ The importance of these Sunnī texts is seen in other studies of the *da'wa*. For example, adopting a more critical approach, Walker has speculated about an office of the *da'wa* in the Imamate of al-Ḥākim (d. 411/1021) that is only attested in Sunnī texts.¹⁵

As the above studies show, even though Sunnī texts remain indispensable for the study of Fatimid history, a more critical reading of the sources and their transmission is needed. Such is Stern and Daftary's confidence in the quality of citations in later sources that they cite the author as Ibn Ṭuwayr, not as al-Maqrīzī quoting Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. This is further reflected in Aymān Fu'ād Sayyid's creation of a critical edition of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's text, constructed entirely out of citations in later texts.¹⁶ Yaacov Lev's *State & Society*, a study of the Fatimid

¹¹ This has been stressed most recently in: Fozia Bora, *Writing history in the medieval Islamic world: the value of chronicles as archives* (London, 2019), 7.

¹² Stern, 'Cairo as the centre of the Ismā'īlī movement', in *Studies in Early Ismā'īlism*, 234-256; Daftary, 'The Ismā'īlī *da'wa* and the Fatimid *dawla*', in *Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies* (London, 2005), 62- 88.

¹³ For the difficulties with treating al-Mu'ayyad's *Sīra* as a source for Fatimid history, see section 2.1.2. For its use as a source for the history of the *da'wa*, see Daftary, 'Ismaili *da'wa*', 77-8.

¹⁴ Stern, 'Cairo as the centre', 242, 245; Daftary does not cite Ibn Tuwayr in 'Ismaili *da'wa*', but he does use the source elsewhere: Daftary, 'Sayyida Hurra: The Ismaili Queen of Yaman', in *Ismailis in Medieval Muslim Societies*, 90; Daftary, *Ismā'īlīs*, 225-6.

¹⁵ Walker, 'The Ismaili *da'wa* in the Reign of the Fatimid Caliph al-Ḥākim', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, 30(1993), 168.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Ṭuwayr, *Nuzhat al-Muqlatayn fī Akhbār al-Dawlatayn*, ed. Aymān Fu'ād Sayyid (Beirut, 1992).

state in Egypt, relies heavily upon Sunnī texts, such as al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* and *Khiṭaṭ*, but the claims of these late sources are taken at face value and are rarely treated critically. This is in spite of his stressing in the introduction to the work that the manner in which later authors used Fatimid texts 'remains elusive.'¹⁷

In addition to the challenges presented by the transmission of texts by much later Sunnī authors, there has been little consideration of the biases and agendas of the source texts used by authors such as al-Maqrīzī. For example, as the title of Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's work suggests, he was writing for the Ayyubids, as an ex-Fatimid secretary, perhaps to assist in the transfer of power. Walker notes, 'Quite possibly he intended it as a comparative study of the two [states]',¹⁸ but we should not downplay how far Ayyubid patronage had shaped Ibn al-Ṭuwayr's perspective on Fatimid institutions and their history.

The agendas of the original Fatimid texts matter enormously for how we read Fatimid history. For example, Lev has claimed: 'There was no-one in a better position than [the vizier] al-Yāzūrī to appreciate the value of patronage and to make use of the system to his best advantage.' As evidence, Lev cites al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*, which claims al-Yāzūrī 'raised...[men] to what was beyond one's expectations.'¹⁹ The quoted passage is located under the year 450/1058-9 of the *Itti'āz*, as part of a long obituary of al-Yāzūrī.²⁰ It additionally appears in al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* (not cited by Lev), in a section of al-Yāzūrī's biography, praising the vizier's qualities.²¹ If we, therefore, read this section as originating in a contemporary work that set out to eulogise al-Yāzūrī, then we might be more sceptical about its claims.

In particular, it is clear that a closer study of Fatimid historiography is needed, in order to better understand who patronised Fatimid historians, understand their agendas, and their access to sources. As shall be seen below, some scholars (chief among them Michael Brett and Fozia Bora) have made observations about history-writing among the Fatimids, but there has yet to be a dedicated study. Scholarship on Fatimid history has thus far focussed

¹⁷ Lev, *State & Society*, 6.

¹⁸ Walker, *Exploring*, 150-1; Ibn Ṭuwayr is one of a number of texts produced on the boundary between Fatimid and Ayyubid dynasties. For a recent discussion see Rustow, *The Lost Archive: Traces of a Caliphate in a Cairo Synagogue* (Oxford 2020), 288-293.

¹⁹ Lev, *State & Society*, 73.

²⁰ al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:245 (passage 245).

²¹ al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:402 (passage 245).

on the sources or lack thereof. This preoccupation with sources rather than historiography is best exemplified by Abbas Hamdani's chapter for the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*, entitled 'Fāṭimid history and historians', which is a discussion of sources for Fatimid history, rather than exclusively historians. See, for example, his references to poetry and letters.²² In Walker's more recent discussion of sources, poetry and letters are dealt with in their own chapters, while examples of Fatimid histories are found in two chapters, one entitled 'Memoires, Eyewitnesses and Contemporaries',²³ and another 'Histories, Topographies and Biographical Dictionaries'.²⁴ This provides a valuable and comprehensive list of known histories (both extant and lost), but little consideration of Fatimid history-writing as a practice. By comparison, Daftary stresses that there is a 'general absence of an Isma'ili historiographical tradition', but that during the Fatimid period there were 'achievements [that] needed to be recorded by reliable chroniclers.' Thus, although he admits the existence of Fatimid historians, Daftary is reluctant to situate them within a broader Isma'ili or Fatimid historiography.²⁵ It is clear, therefore, that the field would benefit from a dedicated study of Fatimid historiography.

1.2. Fatimid historiography: 'dynastic' or 'official'?

In contrast to Fatimid historiography, broader Islamic historiography is now well understood. The genre was comprehensively categorised by Franz Rosenthal in his *Muslim Historiography*.²⁶ More recently, Tarif Khalidi and Chase F. Robinson and Konrad Hirschler have sought to understand how the genre developed from the formation of Islam alongside parallel developments in Islamic jurisprudence, broadly agreeing that history-writing in the early period took on a similar methodological apparatus to hadith transmission (epitomised by the *Ta'rīkh* of al-Ṭabarī – the archetypal jurist-historian). For them, the year 1000/390 marks a crucial turning point in the writing of history and its practitioners.²⁷ After this history was written increasingly by bureaucrats and patronised by various post-Abbasid

²² Hamdani, 'Fāṭimid History', 239, 242-3.

²³ Walker, *Exploring*, 131-51.

²⁴ For the pages concerning Fatimid histories: Ibid, 154-8.

²⁵ Daftary, 'Isma'ili Historiography', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, <https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ismailism-ii-ismaili-historiography> (accessed 28 October 2020).

²⁶ Franz Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography* (Leiden, 1968).

²⁷ For a recent iteration of this turning point see Robinson and Hirschler's chapters in: Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson (eds.), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 2: 400-1400* (Oxford, 2012) – where Robinson tackles historiography pre-1000 and Hirschler post-1000.

dynasties - often with tentative claims to legitimacy. This is sometimes termed 'dynastic history'. On one hand, this period witnessed a growth in contemporary histories written by bureaucrats for their masters. On the other, it saw the solidification of the genres that had formed in the early period (especially chronicles and biographical dictionaries – the latter termed *prosopographies* by Robinson).²⁸ The historiography of this later period has been further studied from its various geographical perspectives and periods.²⁹

The year 1000/390 falls awkwardly around the height of the Fatimids' reign, some 30 years after they had consolidated their power and seized Egypt and 70 years before the *fitna* that would cause fundamental changes to the way in which they ruled. For this period the Fatimids had a relatively stable leadership in the Imam-Caliph (excepting perhaps al-Ḥākim), considerable wealth and a well-developed state apparatus.³⁰ Through that apparatus the Imam-Caliph could oversee propaganda (seen most clearly through *sijillāt*) and patronise works of history. This is seen in a fairly uniform output of chronicles and single-subject biographies (as opposed to biographical dictionaries) from the period.

The seminal studies on Islamic historiography are largely told from the basis of Sunnī historiography, and there remains a prevailing assumption that the historiographical models found in the Sunnī context can be applied to works produced by Shī'īs or under Shī'ī sponsorship. Rosenthal has asserted that there was very little interest in rewriting history for the *Shi'i* point of view.³¹ There, moreover, appears to have been little unique in the format and organisation of Shī'ī literature more broadly. As Eric Ormsby has stressed, typically 'Shī'ī authors... used the same forms, the same literary devices as their Sunni counterparts.'³²

²⁸ Robinson, *Islamic Historiography* (Cambridge, 2004); Robinson, 'Islamic Historical Writing, Eighth through the Tenth Centuries', in *History of Historical Writing*, 238-264; Tarif Khalidi, *Arabic historical thought in the classical period* (Cambridge, 2004).

²⁹ For historiography under the Buyids, see: Joel L. Kraemer, *Humanism in the renaissance of Islam: the cultural revival during the Buyid age* (Leiden, 1993), for the Seljuks, see: Omid Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Religious Inquiry* (Chapel Hill, 2006), esp. chapter 1.

³⁰ For an idea of how wealthy and organised the imamate might have been in this period, see Rustow, *Lost Archive*.

³¹ Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 57.

³² Eric Ormsby, 'Literature', in *Shi'i world*, 259.

As there is a general absence of Shī'ī historians to study, it is difficult to look for conclusive differences or a distinctive Shī'ī historiography. As was noted above, surviving Ismā'īlī histories are dwarfed by doctrinal literature. The fact remains, however, that examples of Fatimid histories do survive, especially for the Egyptian period of their rule. Even if we are unsure if these works were composed by Ismā'īlīs, they were certainly written by senior members of the Fatimid *dawāwīn* (sg. *dīwān*), who had access to the court. The three parts of this section will outline the case for a distinctive Fatimid historiography, with reference to our best surviving Fatimid history al-Musabbiḥī's *Akḥbār Miṣr* and the Fatimid *sijillāt*. Part one will outline the type of dynastic history that was written around the time of the Fatimids and the manner in which it was patronised under Sunnī dynasties. Part two will make the case that Fatimid mechanisms of legitimisation differed from those found under Sunnī rulers and that this is best exemplified in their official proclamations, the *sijillāt*. Part three will then argue that some *sijillāt* could be read as a kind of 'official history' distinct from other types of dynastic history that we see in this period. These *sijillāt* were written by the same kind of secretaries who wrote Fatimid histories and it is possible that Fatimid historiography was therefore influenced by the *sijillāt* and the systems set up to write them.

1.2.1. Islamic Historiography around the time of the Fatimids

Fatimid histories have generally been regarded as belonging to the regional and dynastic type of history. In the fourth/tenth century, the Abbasids hold on power weakened and the Caliphate fragmented into a series of provincial dynasties. Some, such as the Ghaznavids in the Iranian plateau, derived their legitimacy by openly stressing their allegiance to the Abbasid Caliph in Baghdad. Others, such as the Shī'ī Buyids, reluctantly accepted Abbasid authority in order to retain their legitimacy. Others still, such as the Umayyads in Cordoba, defined their legitimacy in direct opposition to the Abbasids, making their own claims to a Caliphate. All of these dynasties reinforced their claims and legitimacy in part through the patronage of their own court historians.

It is through the competitive dynamic that a distinctive type of regional court historiography developed, sometimes termed *siyāsa* history (named after its increased focus on the ideals

of rule and governance).³³ In general, in this period authors of histories were closer to ruling elites, and this is reflected in their histories. These authors more often wrote about contemporary events and histories took a more autobiographical or ethnographical style, describing events they themselves witnessed.

Histories also openly engaged in legitimising the positions of their ruling patrons. This is seen in the growth of biographies of living men, seen most clearly in the biographies of Salāḥ al-Dīn (d. 589/1193).³⁴ Although some historians were able to migrate between courts, or even write independently of any patronage, many historians relied at some point on the sponsorship of the powerful.³⁵ From the fifth/eleventh century, it is clear that the main practitioners of history were trained bureaucrats, able to skilfully use language for the benefits of their patrons. The growing importance of this class is seen in the biographical dictionaries. Where these works had initially contained only biographies of ‘ulamā’ used as a means to verify hadith and *isnāds*, from the fourth/eleventh century biographies of court officials featured more prominently.³⁶

These features of the dynastic history are broadly applied to Shī‘ī dynasties. Cahen claimed this new form of history could be found under the Buyids, Zaydis and Fatimids.³⁷ This is seen with al-Musabbiḥī, a chronicler who worked in the Fatimid court during the Caliphates of al-‘Azīz and al-Ḥākim, and whose work Rosenthal and Robinson treat as akin to his Sunnī contemporaries.³⁸ On one hand, al-Musabbiḥī fits the description of fifth/eleventh-century historians given above. He worked in the Fatimid court and as a bureaucrat, and his chronicle the *Akḥbār Miṣr* largely documented events that he had witnessed in considerable detail. As Walker describes the text, it: ‘was more of a day by day diary of events and other

³³ The subject of *Siyāsa* histories has been treated generally in Khalidi, *Arabic historical thought*, esp. chapter 8. See also: Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 98-101; for a detailed study of it under the Buyids: Kraemer, *Humanism*.

³⁴ P. M. Holt, ‘The Sultan as ideal ruler: Ayyubid and Mamluk prototypes’ in M. Kunt and Christine Woodhead (eds.), *Suleyman the Magnificent and His Age The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World* (London, 1995), 123-8; D. S. Richards, ‘A consideration of two sources for the life of Saladin’ in *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 25(1980), esp. 46-55.

³⁵ Hirschler, ‘Islam: The Arabic and Persian Traditions, Eleventh-Fifteenth Centuries’, in *History of Historical Writing*, 275-7; see also, Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 119.

³⁶ Hirschler, ‘Eleventh-Fifteenth centuries’, 276.

³⁷ Cahen, ‘Historiography of the Seljukid period’, in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the middle east* (London, 1964), 60.

³⁸ Rosenthal, *Muslim Historiography*, 134; Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 77.

matters of interest to him than a history in the normal sense,³⁹ and one might identify an ethnographic style of history-writing here. On the other hand, the scale and detail of this text alone suggests that annalistic history-writing under the Fatimids was something altogether different. The surviving fortieth volume of the text covers only two years but spans to hundreds of pages in its printed edition. The original text was evidently very large.⁴⁰

1.2.2 Fatimid legitimacy as articulated in the *sijillāt*

The Imam-Caliph in whose court al-Musabbiḥī worked relied on different legitimising tools to those used by Sunnī rulers. In descriptions of *siyāsa* and dynastic historiography, emphasis has been placed on the bureaucratic careers of authors. However, many historians were also trained ‘ulamā’, familiar with the principles of hadith and Islamic jurisprudence, and this shaped how authors framed their patrons as ideal Muslim rulers. Fatimid legitimacy was, by comparison, independent of the jurisprudential schools and instead based on the genealogy of the Fatimid Caliphs. More akin to the early Abbasid Caliphs,⁴¹ Fatimid Imam-Caliphs (as elaborated in al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān’s foundational text, the *Da‘ā’im al-Islam*) claimed to be the sole infallible source of authority, designated by God traced through his Prophets and Imams. As Brett has stressed, this theology was formulated in direct opposition to the *madhāhib* (crucially the Mālikī *madhhab*) that were coalescing in the fourth/tenth century.⁴² Therefore, unlike other regional dynasties of the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh centuries, the Fatimids did not rely upon a close relationship with elites of any *madhhab* for their legitimacy.

Instead, the Fatimid Caliphs reinforced their legitimacy through regularly circulating various types of proclamation. Public texts like the *sijillāt* (at least in principle) received the stamp of the Imam-Caliph and were composed with his very explicit direction. The *sijillāt* were texts that provided updates about occurrences in the Imamate (such as important battles or the birth of a child of the imam) or that issued directives to a particular group or community (for

³⁹ Walker, *Exploring*, 142.

⁴⁰ Al-Musabbiḥī, *al-Juz’ al-Arba‘ūn min Akhbār Miṣr*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid and Th. Bianquis (Cairo, 1978).

⁴¹ Rustow has argued the Fatimids claimed a ‘monopoly on revealed truth’, but made universalist claims that were ostensibly similar to those of the Abbasids: Rustow, *Lost Archive*, esp. 106-7.

⁴² Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, 186-9; Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 61-8.

example, to locate fugitives from justice).⁴³ *Sijillāt* were composed and distributed throughout the Imamate and *da'wa* and often intended for broader public consumption. See, for example, the concluding remarks of a *sijill* sent to Yemen in 445 (misdated to 455):
⁴⁴ 'The commander of the faithful tells you the tidings of this recent good news in order for you announce it on the minbars and circulate it among the nomads and settled folk.'⁴⁵
 Marina Rustow's study of the fragments of decrees that survive in the geniza show that they were deliberately performative documents, written on long *rotulas* (vertical scrolls) with deliberately large (and thus expensive) spaces between lines of text, which would appear impressive when read publicly. The object itself, claiming to carry the actual words of the Imam-Caliph, was a physical manifestation of his power and wealth, expressed in public space.⁴⁶

All *sijillāt* begin with variations on phrases reiterating the Imam-Caliph's lineage. The surviving *sijillāt* sent to Yemen begin with the following formula (emphasis mine): 'The commander of the faithful praises God on your behalf, there is no god but Him, and he asks Him to bless his *grandfather* Muhammad, seal of the prophets and chief of the messengers [*mursilīn*], and [bless] his *pure family*, the rightly-guided imams [*al-a'imma al-mahdiyyīn*].'⁴⁷ Throughout his *Ṣubḥ*, al-Qalqashandī gives examples of letters that utilise similar formulae. In some of the examples of phrases, which al-Qalqashandī classifies as a 'pledge of allegiance [*bay'a*]', we also see the addition of: 'he asks for His [God's] blessing... upon his [the current Imam's] *father*, the commander of the faithful 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the imām of the imāms, and father of the imāms.'⁴⁸ In other formulae cited by al-Qalqashandī, this might be abbreviated to 'he asks His [God's] blessing upon his *grandfather* Muḥammad and his *father*

⁴³ The distinction between *sijill* and other types of decree is unclear. Rustow uses 'decree' for a variety of terms used on Fatimid public documents, including words such as *manāshir* and *sijill*. Bora also notes '*mukhlaqāt*' as another example. Given the content of documents termed *sijill*, I would suggest that the term was reserved for public decrees dealing with weightier matters, but further study is needed. Rustow, *Lost Archive*; Bora, *Writing*, 64.

⁴⁴ For the re-dating, see: Brett, 'Zirids', 50.

⁴⁵ *Al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1954), 45.

⁴⁶ Rustow, *Lost Archive*, 381; Rustow has also suggested that decrees were treated as sacred relics, and that Jewish Rabbis reused them for their sacred status: (pp. 383-391, 412). See also: Brett, 'The diplomacy of empire. Fatimids and Zirids 990-1062', in *Fatimids and Egypt*, 104.

⁴⁷ See the introduction to any of the *sijillāt* (given after the sender and addressee of the *sijill*) for example: *al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, 43 (no. 5). Rustow notes that the introductory formula is modelled on Umayyad and Abbasid examples, but she only quotes until 'no god but Him', ignoring the Shī'ī character of the phrases that follow: Rustow, *Lost Archive*, 210.

⁴⁸ al-Qalqashandī, *Kitāb Ṣubḥ al-A'shā*, editor unknown (Cairo, 1918), IX:289.

‘Alī.’⁴⁹ Although al-Qalqashandī has taken many of these phrases out of their original contexts, it is likely that they were intended to be used to introduce public proclamations and letters.

It is evident, therefore, that the *sijillāt* put significant emphasis upon the Imam-Caliph’s direct ancestry from the Prophet, underlining that the text which followed was a legitimate pronouncement from God’s living representative on earth. This contrasts significantly with how Sunnī rulers had proclaimed their legitimacy to rule. Al-Qalqashandī was aware of this difference in the eighth/fourteenth century. In his discussion of the use of blessings for the Prophet, he stresses that the formula of ‘his grandfather Muhammad’ was distinctive to the Fatimid Imam-Caliphs, representing a blessing ‘in the manner of the Shī’a [*alā ṭarīqat al-shī‘a*].’⁵⁰

1.2.3 The *sijillāt* as official history

Although *sijillāt* were always officially the words of the Imam-Caliph, in reality they were written in the chancery as part of a complex apparatus designed for the efficient formulation of such statements.⁵¹ It was individuals like those who staffed the chancery who were responsible for authoring works of history. Whether such histories also received the oversight of the Imam-Caliph, we do not know, but it is not unreasonable to see some *sijillāt* as a type of official history.⁵² A number of the examples of *sijillāt* that survive through the libraries of the Ismā‘īlī Ṭayyibī *da‘wa* in Yemen contain summaries of important historical events. These could range from the birth of a son of the Imam-Caliph, to the appointment of a vizier, to a series of battles. The significance of the *sijillāt* as a historical source is also seen through Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn’s (d. 872/1468) full quotation of several in his history, the *‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*.⁵³ We should, however, be careful not to overstress the importance of *sijillāt* as

⁴⁹ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, X:395.

⁵⁰ al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, VI: 229.

⁵¹ For a view on the scale of the Fatimid chancery and its work, see: Rustow, *Lost Archive*, 296-367.

⁵² Brett, ‘Zirids’, 47, 52.

⁵³ Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn, *The Fatimids and their Successors in Yaman The History of an Islamic Community. Arabic edition and English summary of volume 7 of Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn’s ‘Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, ed. Ayman Fu‘ād Sayyid, in collaboration with Paul E. Walker and Maurice A. Pomerantz (London, 2002), 21-2 (editor’s introduction). Al-Qalqashandī’s *Ṣubḥ* contains a large number of letters he describes as ‘*Sijillāt*’. The assembly of these will have been subject to different biases compared to the Yemeni collection. Additionally, they date from different periods and are addressed to different regions. In his study of Fatimid letters, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl describes and quotes a number of letters from the *Ṣubḥ*, some of which are labelled by al-Qalqashandī as a *sijill*, but

official history. Most of our surviving examples represent only a small portion sent to one region (Yemen) and preserved by the Ṭayyibī community for their value as historical documents. Moreover, the majority of the surviving letters concern the turbulent period immediately before the arrival of Badr al-Jamālī (r. 467/1078-487/1094) and his consolidation of power as vizier and *Amīr al-Juyūsh*.⁵⁴ A more varied sample of decrees (including those titled *sijill*) are now emerging from the Geniza, but as these recycled decrees were deliberately torn down the middle, reconstructing their content is difficult. From what can be deciphered in these decrees, it seems there were many more *sijillāt* concerning more trivial matters that did not merit long-term preservation.⁵⁵

Those *sijillāt* that do contain historical material, however, offer a potential insight into the composition and sources of Fatimid historiography. As Bora has suggested, the *sijillāt* are examples of how the Fatimids sought to ‘harness the public relations potential of historiography’.⁵⁶ In his study of the historiography surrounding the quarrel with the Zirids (440s/1048-1057), Brett compared one *sijill* (no. 5), with the surviving histories (both near-contemporary and later). Through identifying similarities, he suggested that the *sijill* might have formed the basis for a Fatimid annalistic history, upon which the later chronicles were based. He also argued from the surviving histories that the one surviving *sijill* was part of a larger series of decrees that have not survived.⁵⁷

Máté Horváth has looked also closely at the historical material in *sijillāt* for the vizierate of Badr al-Jamālī. In his study of one (*sijill* 54), Horváth notes that it provides an outline of

there has yet to be a dedicated study of the survival of *sijillāt* in the *Ṣubḥ* (or in post-Fatimid texts more broadly): al-Shayyāl, *Majmu‘ al-Wathā‘iq al-Fāṭimiyya wa Wathā‘iq al-Khulāfa wa-l-Walāyat al-‘Ahd wa-l-Wuzāra* (Cairo, 2001).

⁵⁴ For a full survey of the collection see: Ḥusayn F. al-Hamdānī, ‘The Letters of al-Mustanṣir bi’llāh’, *BSOAS*, 7(1934), 307-324; for those concerning Badr, see: Brett, ‘Badr al-Jamālī and the Fatimid Renaissance’, in *Fatimids and Egypt*, 145.

⁵⁵ This did not mean that the decrees were lost entirely. Rustow has shown how archival copies were often created of decrees both by officials and communities to whom decrees were addressed (which only rarely survive in the Geniza). These archived copies were then lost through a range of factors, but a subset of these might have even survived into the Mamluk period as anthologies of exemplars (which might explain how al-Qalqāshandī is able to quote Fatimid decrees). Rustow, *Lost Archive*, esp. 293.

⁵⁶ Bora, *Writing*, 67.

⁵⁷ Brett, ‘Zirids’; Brett, ‘Lingua Franca in the Mediterranean: John Wansborough and the historiography of Medieval Egypt’, in H. Kennedy (ed.), *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt* (Leiden, 2001), 5; Brett, ‘The Battles of Ramla (1099-1105)’, in U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet (eds.), *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, I (Leuven, 1995), 28-9.

events that mirrors the narrative found in later chronicles, but given without exact dates.⁵⁸ Similarly, *sijill* 57 gives descriptions of Badr's achievements, without dates.⁵⁹ Likewise, the earlier *sijill* cited by Brett (no. 5) documents the dispute with the Zirids without precise dates, mentioning only some key locations and participants.⁶⁰ Additionally, many of the *sijillāt* (such numbers 5 and 54) give general summaries of events that occurred over a number of years. Such brief summaries would be poor sources for the composition of annals.

Meanwhile, Brett has pointed to how the Zirids had continually updated their annalistic history year-on-year, perhaps emulating a Fatimid model.⁶¹ I would, therefore, suggest that the Fatimids had composed and frequently updated a set of official annals (or some other centralised account), which then provided the historical data for the composition of the *sijillāt*. This would agree with processes of documentation described by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 542/1147), who was a head of the *dīwān al-inshā'*, responsible for issuing *sijillāt* (and who had also authored histories).⁶² According to Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Qānūn Dīwān al-Rasā'il*, Fatimid secretaries (at least in theory) meticulously copied the documents they received and produced, dated them, and bound them together by year.⁶³ This process of registration and archiving of copies of documents is evidenced in copies found in the Geniza.⁶⁴ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī further added that it was the duty of one of his employees to document the major events, ceremonies and investitures that occurred.⁶⁵ These practices suggest that there were centralised procedures for documenting key events and correspondence under the Fatimids. The *sijillāt* are précis of accepted official accounts that generally favour style (they often feature *Saj'*) over substance. It seems more likely that such accounts were carefully

⁵⁸ Máté Horváth, 'The Sijill Documents as sources for Fatimid history during Badr al-Jamali's vizierate (446/1074-487/1094).', in Jaakko Hämeen-Anttila, Petteri Koskikallio and Ilkka Lindstedt (eds.), *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta: Contacts and Interaction Proceedings of the 27th Congress of the Union Européenne des Arabisants et Islamisants* (Leuven, 2017), 189.

⁵⁹ Horváth, 'Sijill documents', 190.

⁶⁰ *Al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, 42-5.

⁶¹ Brett, 'Zirids', 55-6.

⁶² al-Shayyāl, 'Ibn al-Ṣayrafī', *EI2*.

⁶³ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *al-Qānūn fī Dīwān al-Rasā'il*, ed. 'Alī Bahjat (Cairo, 1905), 142; Rustow argues that one secretary was responsible for copying draft decrees for archiving, and another registered and copied incoming material: Rustow, *Lost Archive*, 298, 322; Hirschler, 'From archive to archival practices', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 136.1(2016), 8.

⁶⁴ Walker, *Exploring*, 117; Rustow, *Lost Archive*, 296-342.

⁶⁵ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Qānūn*, 138-9; Rustow, *Lost Archive*, 297.

crafted by secretaries out of an existing official annalistic account, or archived material of the kind described by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī.

However the *sijillāt* relate to the annals, it is clear that they were centrally composed documents, written to be distributed as propaganda throughout Fatimid domains. They show, therefore, a clear initiative to craft and formalise historical narratives in a manner akin to official annals. This initiative is tied to the unique position of the Imam-Caliph as a sole authority appointed by God, in whose voice they are written and whose unique claim to authority is expressed in the opening lines of each document. This appears to be distinctive to the period, if not Islamic historiography more generally,⁶⁶ and it shows how Fatimid historiography merits closer study.

1.3. The survival of Fatimid historiography

Most works of Fatimid history do not survive, but they are quoted in a number of later texts. This section will argue that the extensive quotations of Fatimid histories indicate that the Fatimids had an interest in patronising and writing history, and that many of these histories survived in Egypt until at least the ninth/fifteenth century. This will be argued in two parts. Part one will address the issue of survival bias and suggest that histories were written but poorly preserved in the Ismāʿīlī community. This reflects the interest that nascent Ismāʿīlī communities had in doctrinal rather than historical texts. Part two will then stress that numerous examples of Fatimid history survive in quotations in later Egyptian texts and that these histories can be divided into two clear types: annals and single-subject biographies. The latter of these two genres appears to be distinctive in Fatimid history-writing.

1.3.1. Survival bias and Ismāʿīlī historiography

It has long been assumed that little priority was given to history-writing under the Ismāʿīlīs and Fatimids. Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt asserted that the Ismāʿīlīs had little interest in recording history and that this is illustrated by the surviving Ismāʿīlī texts, of which few are historical in nature.⁶⁷ Daftary and Walker have, moreover, agreed with this notion.⁶⁸ There

⁶⁶ Robinson has claimed there is no equivalent of civic or imperial annals in early Islam: Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 47.

⁶⁷ Lewis and Holt, 'Introduction', in, *Historians of the middle east*, 11; repeated by Ivanow, *Ismāʿīlī tradition*, 2.

⁶⁸ Daftary, *Ismāʿīlīs*, 146; Daftary, 'Ismaʿili Historiography'; Walker, *Exploring*, 193.

is a small number of surviving Ismā'īlī historiographical works, first identified by Ivanow at the start of the twentieth century. Chief among them are the works of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, who wrote a chronological account of the foundation of the Ismā'īlī *da'wa* in the *Iftitāḥ al-Da'wa*, which Ivanow claimed to be the earliest surviving historical work,⁶⁹ and Ivanow regarded al-Naysabūrī's *Istitār al-Imām* (composed c. 365/975-386/996) as a supplement to the *Iftitāḥ*.⁷⁰ For later periods, Ivanow pointed to the *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* a chronicle written by the *dā'ī* of Yemen, Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn.⁷¹

In addition to those texts identified by Ivanow, there is also Ibn al-Haytham's (fl. late third/ninth- early fourth/tenth century) *Kitāb al-Munāẓarāt*, which is a historical text preserved in a later Ismā'īlī compilation.⁷² Furthermore there are autobiographies: the *Sīrat Ja'far* (fl. late third/ninth- early fourth/tenth century),⁷³ and the *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad* (d. 470/1078).⁷⁴ The appearance of autobiographies might be a distinctly Fatimid form of historiography. Robinson has claimed that Islamic historiography was inherently traditionalist and therefore opposed to the writing of autobiographies, which elevates personal experience over tradition. Citing the *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad*, he stresses how it was composed by a non-traditionalist rationalist (an allusion, one presumes, to his Ismā'īlism).⁷⁵ However, this question needs further investigation. Collectively, the surviving Ismā'īlī texts illustrate that the Fatimids and by extension Ismā'īlīs were not averse to writing chronologically-arranged histories. Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn's multi-volume chronicle is a clear testament to Ismā'īlī history-writing at its most extensive. In addition, they suggest that there was a greater impetus behind writing single-subject biographies (that is, as opposed to the biographical dictionaries, which dominate broader Islamic historiography).

⁶⁹ Ivanow, *Ismaili tradition*, 6; al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Kitāb Iftitāḥ al-Da'wa*, ed. Farḥāt al-Dashrāwī (Tunis, 1975); translation: *Founding the Fatimid State: The Rise of an Early Islamic Empire. An annotated English translation of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's Iftitāḥ al-Da'wa*, trans. Hamid Haji (London, 2006).

⁷⁰ Ivanow, *Ismā'īlī tradition*, 7.

⁷¹ Ivanow, *Ismā'īlī tradition*, 13-14; Daftary views Idrīs' *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār* and al-Nu'mān's *Iftitāḥ al-Da'wa* as the main surviving historical texts. Daftary, *Ismā'īlīs*, 137-9.

⁷² *The Advent of the Fatimids, A Contemporary Shi'i Witness*, ed. and trans. Wilferd Madelung and Paul E. Walker (London, 2000).

⁷³ Muhammad Kāmil Husayn (ed.), 'Mudhakkirāt fī Ḥarakat al-Mahdī al-Fāṭimī (Istitār al-Imām wa-Sīrat al-Ḥājib)', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts of the University of Egypt*, 4(1936), 107-133; translation: Ivanow, *Ismā'īlī tradition*, 184-223. Discussed in: Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, 100.

⁷⁴ Al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad fī-l-Dīn Dā'ī al-Du'āt: Tarjima Hayātihi bi-Qalamihi*, ed. Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn (Cairo, 1949).

⁷⁵ Robinson, *Islamic Historiography*, 96.

To understand the paucity of historiography, we must consider survival bias. Walker's phrasing here is useful (emphasis mine): 'the Ismaili *da'wa* wrote and *preserved* few histories at all'. That is, we should think more carefully about how Ismā'īlī historical texts survived, rather than suggesting that they were not written at all.⁷⁶ The Ismā'īlī texts that are extant survived largely through Ismā'īlī libraries in Central Asia and Yemen. The texts in these libraries were either written by local *dā'īs* or transferred from Fatimid Cairo. In the case of Yemen, it is claimed that during the *fitna* of the mid-fifth/eleventh century a large body of texts was moved by the chief *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad to Yemen for safekeeping.⁷⁷ The nascent Ismā'īlī communities in these regions were interested in spreading Ismā'īlism, and would need texts of a doctrinal rather than a historical nature. As a persecuted minority, Ismā'īlī adherents carrying texts across non-Fatimid territory would need to ship texts in secret, potentially disguised amongst merchandise to avoid detection.⁷⁸ It is, therefore, unlikely that texts were shipped in large bulks or that historical texts were prioritised in shipments sent to the communities. News of events of relevance would have reached the communities in short-form in *sijillāt* (as the examples discussed above show) which might be more easily concealed.

These priorities are illustrated by the historiographical texts that survive. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's historical works are preserved because they narrate the foundational moments of the *da'wa*, and explain the institutions established under al-Mu'izz that became widespread throughout the Ismā'īlī communities.⁷⁹ Idrīs's '*Uyūn al-akhbār*' is well-sourced for the period of al-Mahdī's reign, for which Stern has speculated that Idrīs used lost Fatimid chronicles.⁸⁰ Similar is seen for the events of al-Mu'izz's reign, including the conquest of Egypt (again foundational moments, for which the contemporary Ismā'īlī historical sources better

⁷⁶ Walker, *Exploring*, 193.

⁷⁷ Hamdani, 'The Dā'ī Ḥātim Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥāmidī (d. 596 H./1199 A.D.) and his book *Tuḥfat al-Qulūb*', *Oriens*, 23/24(1974), 263.

⁷⁸ Interception of documents and books with political sensitivity was a real risk. According to certain accounts, when the Abbasids sent an envoy to the Zirids, the Byzantines intercepted the envoy and dispatched him to Cairo. The Fatimids burned the items carried by the envoy, including the treaty, in the ceremonial space between the palaces in Cairo. Destruction of such documents could, therefore, have huge symbolic value (for a translation of the passage in question, see section 5.2.1 below). On carrying books across the *da'wa*, see: Daftary, 'Ismaili *da'wa*', 72.

⁷⁹ Brett has described Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's treatment of the early period as a 'quintessentially Whig' history, intended to trace the origins of the Fatimid state (*dawla*) back into an earlier period. Brett, 'Realm of the Imam: the Fatimids in the Tenth Century', *BSOAS*, 59(1996), 435.

⁸⁰ Stern, 'Al-Mahdī's reign according to the '*Uyūn al-Akhbār*', in *Studies in Early Ismā'īlism*, 99, 110.

survive).⁸¹ By comparison, for the period of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, Idrīs is dependent upon the autobiography of al-Mu'ayyad in addition to the surviving *sijillāt* from the period, but does not appear to have access to any chronicle sources.⁸² Idrīs' emphasis on al-Mu'ayyad's career is further explained by the priorities of the Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlī community. Al-Mu'ayyad had taught the Qāḍī al-Lamak b. Malik in Cairo, who would become fundamental in developing Ismā'īlī traditions in Yemen.⁸³ The Ṭayyibīs therefore identified with al-Mu'ayyad as a founder of their community and archetype for the *dā'ī mutlaq*.⁸⁴

1.3.2. The survival of Fatimid Historiography in Egypt: annals and biographies

For the Fatimids' rule in Egypt there is a lengthy record of historical works, and these works predominantly survive through Egyptian and Syrian transmissions. Bora has suggested that many Fatimid texts survived Salāḥ al-Dīn's coup in Cairo (567/1171), through private libraries such as that of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil,⁸⁵ and Sayyid has traced the survival of three such texts in archives Egypt and Tunisia.⁸⁶ Through al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil's son, al-Ashraf Aḥmad, Fatimid works also reached the smaller 'Ashrafiya library in Damascus, whose surviving catalogue shows that these works remained on its shelves into the seventh/thirteenth century.⁸⁷ It also appears, contrary to the claims of the narrative sources, that Ismā'īlī theological texts survived Salāḥ al-Dīn's coup. Ibn Taymiyya is known, for example, to have used the Ismā'īlī philosophical works of al-Sijistānī.⁸⁸ The survival of Fatimid historiography is

⁸¹ Jiwa, 'Inclusive governance: A Fatimid Illustration', in Aryn Sajoo (ed.), *A Companion to the Muslim World* (London, 2009), 161-2; Jiwa, 'Historical representations of a Fatimid Imam-Caliph: Exploring al-Maqrizi's and Idrīs' writings on al-Mu'izz Li Din Allah', in *Alifba: Studi Arabo-Islamici e Mediterranee*, Vol. XXII-2008 (Palemo, 2008), 57-69.

⁸² Sayyid outlines the sources in the introduction to the edition for the seventh volume. He suggests that a lost Fatimid source might have been used, particularly for his account of the *fitna*. As noted above, the *fitna* was the reason that Fatimid libraries were moved to Yemen and so for the community this was important foundational moment, for which a historical record was perhaps retained. Idrīs, 'Uyūn, 21 (editor's introduction).

⁸³ Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 225.

⁸⁴ Verena Klemm, *Memoirs of a mission The Ismaili Scholar, Statesman and Poet al-Mu'ayyad fī'l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī* (London, 2003), xv.

⁸⁵ Bora, 'Did Salāḥ al-Dīn Destroy the Fatimids' Books? An Historiographical Enquiry', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 25(2015) 8-9; see also Hirschler, *The Written word in the Medieval Arabic Lands: A Social and Cultural History of Reading Practices* (Edinburgh, 2012), 131.

⁸⁶ Although these are not specifically Ismā'īlī or histories but classics of Arabic literature that can be traced back to Fatimid libraries. Sayyid, 'Khizānat Kutub al-Fāṭimiyyin. Hal baqiya minhā shay'?', *Ma'had al-Makhtūṭāt al-'Arabiyya*, 42(1419/1998), 7-32.

⁸⁷ Hirschler, *Medieval Damascus: Plurality and Diversity in an Arabic Library: The Ashrafiya Library Catalogue* (Edinburgh, 2016), 33-4.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 34.

attested through quotations by many later historians. There are two types of history that we find quoted in texts up to the ninth/fifteenth century: annalistic chronicles and single-subject biographies.⁸⁹

Of the known historians of annalistic texts there are: Ibn Zūlāq (d. 386/996), an author of a chronicle, cited by al-Maqrīzī;⁹⁰ and al-Musabbiḥī, continuator of Ibn Zūlāq's chronicle. As was noted above, of his enormous chronicle only one volume survives (with al-Maqrīzī's consultation note on the front page), and the rest is cited by later histories,⁹¹ prominently those of Ibn Muyassar and al-Maqrīzī. Brett has stressed how both historians were court-based,⁹² and Lev has argued that al-Musabbiḥī was 'a historian from the Ismā'īlī inner circle.'⁹³ In addition there is: al-Qudā'ī (d. 454/1062), whose chronicle survives up to the reign of al-Ẓāhir in a fourteenth-century manuscript,⁹⁴ and who is cited by al-Maqrīzī;⁹⁵ Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī (d. 588/1192), who wrote a chronicle, perhaps used by Ibn Muyassar and cited by al-Maqrīzī;⁹⁶ and al-Muḥannak (d. 549/1154), the author of a lost chronicle.⁹⁷ It is clear that there was an almost uninterrupted line of chronicle histories for the duration of Fatimid rule in Egypt. It is, moreover, likely that this list is incomplete, as it is only based on what later historians cite explicitly.⁹⁸ Al-Maqrīzī routinely fails to cite his sources, more so in his chronicle history the *Itti'āz*. In his Egyptian sections al-Nuwayrī frequently writes '*qāla al-mu'arrikh* (the historian says)',⁹⁹ suggesting that he was copying from earlier works but not

⁸⁹ For a good summary of Fatimid histories (and other sources) and where they survive, see Sayyid, 'Lumieres nouvelles sur quelques sources de l'histoire fatimide en Égypte', *Annales Islamologiques*, 13(1977), 1-41.

⁹⁰ Walker, *Exploring*, 140; Jiwa, 'Historical representations', 65.

⁹¹ Walker, *Exploring*, 141-2.

⁹² Brett, *Rise of the Fatimids*, 326.

⁹³ Lev, 'The Fatimid Vizier Ya'qub ibn Killis and the Beginning of the Fatimid Administration in Egypt', *Der Islam*, 58(1981), 238.

⁹⁴ MS. Pococke 270 (Bodleian Library, University of Oxford).

⁹⁵ Walker, *Exploring*, 145; Bora, 'Did Salah al-Din destroy', 11; Sayyid, 'l'Évolution de la composition du genre de *Khitat* en Egypte musulmane', in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950-1800)*, 78.

⁹⁶ Frédéric Bauden has attempted to reconstruct part of this source on the basis of the variants across al-Maqrīzī's works: see, Bauden, 'Maqriziana XII, Evaluating the Sources for the Fatimid Period: Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī's *History* and Its Use by al-Maqrīzī (with a Critical Edition of His Résumé for the years 501-515)', in Bruce D. Craig (ed.), *Ismaili and Fatimid Studies in Honor of Paul E. Walker* (Chicago, 2010), 33-85; for an earlier collection of excerpts: Sayyid (ed.), *Nuṣūṣ min akhbār Miṣr l-ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Amīr Jamāl al-Dīn 'Alī Musā b. al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'ihī*, (Cairo, 1983).

⁹⁷ Walker, *Exploring*, 148; Brett, 'Execution', 84.

⁹⁸ It is also largely dependent upon observations in the secondary literature, crucially Sayyid and Walker. A systematic study of the texts might present further citations.

⁹⁹ For example: al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab*, ed. Muḥammad Muḥammad Amīn and Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad (Cairo, 1992), XXVIII:221.

citing authors. This is supported by Brett, who has claimed throughout his work that much of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* is based on an uncited 'Egyptian tradition'.¹⁰⁰

There appears to be a sizeable number of biographies of Imam-Caliphs, viziers and secretaries written under the Fatimids, many with anonymous authors. The following biographies are known through citations: several biographies of Jawhar, one attributed to a Abū 'Abdallah al-Yamanī (d. 400/1009) and cited by al-Maqrīzī;¹⁰¹ the *Sīrat al-Mu'izz*, written by Ibn Zūlāq and cited by al-Maqrīzī;¹⁰² the *Sīrat al-'Azīz* also written by Ibn Zūlāq;¹⁰³ the *Sīrat Ibn Killis*, noted by Ibn Zāfir (d. 613/1216 or 623/1226);¹⁰⁴ the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī*, cited by al-Maqrīzī and Ibn al-'Adīm (d. 660/1262); the *Sīrat al-Mustanşir*, for which allegedly not even quotations survive;¹⁰⁵ and the *Sīrat al-Afḍal*, cited by Ibn Zāfir.¹⁰⁶ In addition to these biographies, we know of one biographical dictionary, Ibn al-Şayrafī's *al-Ishāra ilā Man Nāla al-Wizāra*, which does survive. As with many of the biographies and chronicles discussed above, the *Ishāra* survives in Egypt and Syria and not through the libraries of the Ismā'īlī *da'wa*.¹⁰⁷

The spread of biographies outlined above suggests that there was a near-continuous tradition of writing biographies for prominent individuals (and not just Imam-Caliphs). According to Robinson, single-subject biographies did not become extensive until the sixth/twelfth century, perhaps best exemplified by Ibn Shaddād's (d. 632/1235) biography of Salāḥ al-Dīn. Before this, the genre was dominated by the *Sīra* of the Prophet, and this inhibited the development of biographies of other figures. In the third/ninth and forth/tenth centuries a small number of biographies were written, including those of some Caliphs.¹⁰⁸ The Fatimids appear to be an outlier here, with biographies of many of their Imam-Caliphs

¹⁰⁰ Brett, *Fatimid Empire*.

¹⁰¹ Walker, *Exploring*, 140.

¹⁰² Walker, *Exploring*, 140; Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya fī Mişr Tafsīr Jadīd* (Cairo, 2007), 45.

¹⁰³ Walker, *Exploring*, 140.

¹⁰⁴ Lev, 'Ya'qub Ibn Killis', 238.

¹⁰⁵ Walker, *Exploring*, 146.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 148.

¹⁰⁷ The manuscript is found in Jerusalem and the work is cited by authors such as Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1281), but not by those in the Ismā'īlī *da'wa*, such as in Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn. Ibn al-Şayrafī, 'Al-Ishāra ilā man nāl al-wizāra, de Amīn al-Dīn Tāj al-Riyyāsa Abī al-Qāsim 'Alī b. Munjib b. Sulaymān connu sous le nom d'Ibn al-Şayrafī al-Miṣrī', ed. Abdullah Mukhlis, *Bulletin de L'instut Français d'archéologie orientale*, 25(1925), 112-11 (editor's introduction).

¹⁰⁸ Robinson, 'Eighth through Tenth Centuries', 251-3.

alongside important officials from at least the middle of the fourth/tenth century. Some of these biographies appear to have been very large (for example, al-Mustanşir's biography was alleged to stretch to 3 volumes),¹⁰⁹ and it is only under the Ayyubids and Mamluks that we begin to see biographies of a similar scale.¹¹⁰

Through the citations in historical sources, it is clear that historiography had become well-developed by the fifth/eleventh century, in the form of two genres: chronicle and single-subject biography. We need to take full consideration of these two genres, the ways in which they intersect and their relation to the *sijillāt*. In discussions of source material for the Fatimids, lists of Fatimid historians are often provided like that given above, but the exact nature of their works is not discussed.¹¹¹ However, given that most Fatimid histories only survive in quotations in later texts, we must understand these later texts and the agendas of their authors. It is often assumed that the quotations of these authors (in particular al-Maqrīzī) can be trusted, but I will argue that they should be judged on a case-by-case basis.

1.4. Post-Fatimid Egyptian historiography and its agendas

As I have made clear, Fatimid histories (in the form of chronicles and single-subject biographies) were written. It seems that these texts survive poorly within Ismā'īlī communities and their libraries but they had survived in the libraries of Egypt and Syria. These texts are quoted only sparingly in the Ayyubid period. Ibn al-'Adīm, for example, cites the lost *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī* and provides a brief quotation from the work.¹¹² By the Mamluk period (648/1250- 923/1517), we find these texts quoted at much greater length as part of detailed treatments of Fatimid history. Authors of the Ayyubid and Mamluk period, however, had their own agendas in copying from Fatimid texts. In studies of Fatimid history, al-Maqrīzī is often held up as the scholar *par excellence*, quoting from Fatimid sources at length and not shying away from describing Ismā'īlī subject matter. He was, however, subject to his own agendas and this section will argue that his multiple works must be read

¹⁰⁹ Walker, *Exploring*, 146.

¹¹⁰ For example, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's (d. 692/1292) biographies of Qalāwūn and al-Ashraf Khalīl (3 and 4 volumes respectively). Gowaart Van Den Bossche, 'The Past, Panegyric, and the Performance of Penmanship. Sultanīc Biography and Social Practice in Late Medieval Egypt and Syria', PhD diss., University of Ghent, 2017, 10-12.

¹¹¹ See, for example, Sayyid's thorough lists of Fatimid histories and their locations: Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, 23-55; Sayyid, 'Lumieres'; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā bi Akhbār al-A'imma al-Khulafā*, ed. Sayyid (Cairo, 2016), I:*8-39 (specifically al-Maqrīzī's use of Fatimid sources). See also: Bora, *Writing*, 50.

¹¹² See appendix D, table 1 and section 2.3.2 below.

together and in the context of other histories. This will be argued in two parts. First, I will look at al-Maqrīzī and show that his writing is, to an extent, written to reflect and comment upon his own time. Second, I will examine the manner in which al-Maqrīzī uses sources and note that the quality of his quotations from Fatimid sources is variable. As such his work must be studied alongside others that quote from Fatimid histories.

1.4.1. Al-Maqrīzī: a unique interest in the Fatimids?

Al-Maqrīzī stands alone among his peers in having dedicated a whole chronicle (the *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā'*) to the history of the Fatimids. In addition, his topographical history (the *Khiṭaṭ*) and biographical dictionary (the *Muqaffā*) contain significant material about the Fatimids. In some cases, this material is even directly attributed to lost Fatimid historians, like Ibn Zūlāq, al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Ma'mūn. Similar is the case for the period of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. For the two lost source traditions discussed in the following chapters (the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī* and the annals), the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* respectively are the most detailed surviving witnesses of the Fatimid tradition. This study will, however, show that al-Maqrīzī is not alone and that the sources he uses (especially the annals) are shared with other historians. Al-Maqrīzī was evidently not the only historian with an interest in Egypt's Fatimid past, and his more detailed treatments of the Fatimids might instead stem from the manner in which he used his source texts.

Modern scholars have pointed to two key potential reasons for al-Maqrīzī's detailed writings on the Fatimids: one, his alleged claim to Fatimid ancestry and two, his being a crypto-Ismā'īlī. Both have been fairly robustly dismissed by Walker, but each will nonetheless be briefly discussed here. The first claim has its origins among al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries. Both Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī are unique in stating that the Fatimids' claim to descend from the Prophet's daughter, Fāṭima, were genuine. In a marginal note in the *Itti'āz*, an early reader of the text stressed that al-Maqrīzī could be excused for such a claim, because he believed he was descended from al-Tamīm, a son of the Imam-Caliph al-Mu'izz. Variations on this claim were repeated by a number of al-Maqrīzī's contemporaries and near-

contemporaries, including his student Ibn Taghrībirdī and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī.¹¹³ Walker, however, notes that it is unlikely al-Maqrīzī had believed this, given that he had described elsewhere in the *Ittiʿāz* how Salāḥ al-Dīn had made extensive efforts to extinguish the Fatimid line.¹¹⁴ It is perhaps more likely that Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maqrīzī believed the Fatimids' lineage because of their own affection for the *Ahl al-Bayt* and rulers from this lineage (an affection that, as we shall see, appears to have been common at the time.)

As for al-Maqrīzī's alleged crypto-Ismāʿīlism, Walker argues that al-Maqrīzī had early sympathies for the Fatimids but that this had eroded over time. In the conclusion of his *Ittiʿāz*, al-Maqrīzī made a case for the importance of using Egyptian historians over 'easterners' (*al-mashāriqa*), like Ibn al-Jawzī or Ibn al-Athīr.¹¹⁵ The later scholars, he stated, were more likely to repeat anti-Fatimid polemics, where Egyptians were not. The *Khiṭaṭ*, by comparison, is more muted on the subject of the Fatimids, with a greater emphasis on Egyptian history as a whole. Walker claims that the *Khiṭaṭ* was written later and al-Maqrīzī, having read more Ismāʿīlī literature, had become disenchanted as he read the more-controversial *daʿwa*-oriented texts.¹¹⁶ As evidence for these claims, Walker points to a passage in the *Ittiʿāz*, where al-Maqrīzī states he will provide more detail on a topic in future in the *Khiṭaṭ*.¹¹⁷

However, more recent study of the manuscripts of the *Khiṭaṭ* makes Walker's proposed solution more doubtful. Bauden has stressed that al-Maqrīzī worked on his texts simultaneously, adding cross references as necessary (even to forthcoming works), and this might explain the cross reference in the *Ittiʿāz*.¹¹⁸ The evidence of the manuscripts suggests that the *Khiṭaṭ* was completed early in al-Maqrīzī's career (Bauden suggests around

¹¹³ Nasser Rabbat, 'Who was al-Maqrīzī? A Biographical Sketch', *MSR*, 7(2003), 7-8; Rabbat, 'Maqrīzī's connection to the Fatimids', in Daftary and G. Miskinzoda (eds.), *The Study of Shi'i Islam. History, Theology and Law* (London, 2014); 68; Jiwa, *Towards a Shi'i Mediterranean Empire* (London, 2009), 41-44.

¹¹⁴ Walker, 'Al-Maqrīzī and the Fatimids', *MSR*, VII(2003), 85-88.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, 89-92.

¹¹⁶ Walker, 'Al-Maqrīzī', 97. However, there is evidence that al-Maqrīzī had accessed Ismāʿīlī *daʿwa* texts. See, for example, the excerpts from a text of the Fatimid *dāʿī* al-Kirmānī (d. 412/1021) found in his notebook. Bauden, 'Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method, Description: Section 2', *MSR*, 10(2006), 82-3.

¹¹⁷ Walker, 'Al-Maqrīzī', 94.

¹¹⁸ Bauden, 'Maqriziana X: Al-Maqrīzī and His *al-Tārīkh al-kabīr al-muqaffā li-Miṣr. Part 1: an Inquiry into the History of the Work*', in Sami G. Massoud (ed.), *Studies in Islamic Historiography: Essays in Honour of Professor Donald P. Little* (Leiden, 2020), 80.

816/1413-4), and the text appears to be based on a draft produced by al-Maqrīzī's neighbour al-Awḥadī (d. 811/1408), which he brought up to date.¹¹⁹ Surviving fragments of al-Awḥadī's draft contain citations of Fatimid sources (for example, *kutub al-amlāk al-fāṭimīya*, or 'books of Fatimid estates'), references to which al-Maqrīzī had sometimes scratched in his final version of the text.¹²⁰ If the *Khiṭaṭ* therefore appears less concerned with the Fatimids, it probably reflects the agenda of al-Awḥadī (who had conceived the text) rather than al-Maqrīzī. It seems more likely that al-Maqrīzī maintained an interest in the Fatimids throughout his career and continued to quote from Fatimid sources. This was not, however, unique and it seems to reflect a broader interest in Fatimid history in the Mamluk period.

Given that al-Awḥadī's original text had cited Fatimid sources, it appears al-Maqrīzī was not alone in his interest in the Fatimids. Ibn Muyassar, al-Nuwayrī and Ibn al-Furāt have all been shown to quote from Fatimid sources in their histories.¹²¹ Their interest in the Fatimids might have stemmed from what Bora has termed an 'interconfessional historiographic context'.¹²² Although all of the authors were Sunnīs, and probably critical of broader Ismā'īlī practices (as they understood them), they were equally fond of the *Ahl al-Bayt*. As Walker has stressed of al-Maqrīzī: 'The Fatimids, in his view, simply followed the practice of 'Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt; it was their *madhhab*.'¹²³ Al-Maqrīzī further tackled this subject in a treatise on the relations between the Umayyads and Hashimīs, where he argued in favour of the latter (a group that would include both Alids and Abbasids),¹²⁴ and in a number of other treatises.¹²⁵ As Rabbat has noted, Sunnī-Shī'ī lines were not as clearly defined in this period as has been thought,¹²⁶ and al-Maqrīzī was expressing a view that was not unusual for the period. See, for example, the presence of Shī'ī works – typically Twelver, rather than Ismā'īlī

¹¹⁹ Bauden, 'Maqriziana IX: Should al-Maqrīzī Be Thrown Out with the Bath Water? The Question of His Plagiarism of al-Awḥadī's *Khiṭaṭ* and the Documentary Evidence', *MSR*, 14(2010), 212.

¹²⁰ Ibid, 209-210. Bauden suggests he removed these references because he was unable to access the original sources to corroborate the information and was uncomfortable copying it.

¹²¹ For a detailed study of Ibn al-Furāt, see Bora, *Writing*, esp. chapters 5 and 6.

¹²² Ibid, 12.

¹²³ Walker, 'Al-Maqrīzī', 89.

¹²⁴ Rabbat, 'al-Maqrīzī's connection', 74; Paul M. Cobb, 'Al-Maqrīzī, Hashimism, and the Early Caliphates', *MSR*, 7(2003), 70-1.

¹²⁵ Jiwa, *Towards*, 33-4.

¹²⁶ Rabbat, 'al-Maqrīzī's connection', 74.

- in the Damascus Ashrafiyya library catalogue, written about a century earlier.¹²⁷ In such a context, historians were perhaps less uncomfortable about using Fatimid sources than we often assume.

If we are to understand why Mamluk historians were so interested in the Fatimids we must look above all to patriotism and nostalgia. The best histories of the Fatimids were written in Egypt and predominantly written in Cairo, a city built by the Fatimids and still in the ninth/fifteenth century filled with Fatimid monuments. This is seen, for example, with *Bayn al-Qasrayn*, the street that originally separated the Fatimids' east and west palaces. It was Cairo's main thoroughfare at its foundation and a location in which many pivotal historical events had occurred.¹²⁸ By the Mamluk period it had become a location for major madrassas and libraries, and it was the street that contained the two endowed institutions within which al-Nuwayrī wrote his encyclopaedia that included Fatimid history, the *Nihāya*.¹²⁹ Moreover, as Jo Van Steenberghe has asserted, the site continued to have a ritual importance in this period, even where knowledge of its Fatimid origins had begun to fade.¹³⁰ It is perhaps little surprise that Egyptian authors (especially historians) working and writing in this location took such an interest in Fatimid history.

A nostalgia for the Egyptian past, including the Fatimids, is most overt in al-Maqrīzī's works. As has been shown in the studies of Irwin and Broadbridge, al-Maqrīzī's works are filled with a sense of pessimism for Egypt's future. Al-Maqrīzī had failed to climb at the Mamluk court and felt that the recently ascended Circassian Mamluk Sultans were unsuited for rule. This might have in turn shaped al-Maqrīzī's discussions on the importance of a ruler from the Banū Hāshim.¹³¹ Broadbridge has pointed to al-Maqrīzī's early two works on finance, the *Ighāthat al-Umma fī Kashf al-Ghumma* and *Shudhūr al-'Uqūd fī Dhikr al-Nuqūd*. In the first,

¹²⁷ Hirschler, *Arabic Library*, 123.

¹²⁸ It was, for example, the location where items carried by a captured Abbasid envoy were burned in 443/1051-2 (see section 5.2.1 below).

¹²⁹ Elias Muhanna, *The World in a Book: Al-Nuwayri and the Islamic Encyclopedic Tradition* (Princeton, 2018), 13, 63-4.

¹³⁰ Jo Van Steenberghe, 'Ritual, Politics and the City in Mamluk Cairo: the Bayna l-Qasrayn as a dynamic "Lieu de mémoire", 1250-1382', in Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou and Maria Parani (eds), *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean Comparative Perspectives* (Leiden, 2013), 227-276, see esp. 248 (on al-Maqrīzī's lament that the Fatimid origins of Bayn al-Qasrayn was beginning to be forgotten).

¹³¹ Jiwa, 'Historical Representations', 64.

he identified a long series of famines and dearths that had blighted Egypt throughout its history, concluding with an economic crisis of his own time in 808/1405. Broadbridge argues that where al-Maqrīzī attributes all the former catastrophes to unavoidable natural causes, he blames the last on the mismanagement of Mamluk rulers.¹³² The second work then further built on the notion that weak authority leads to financial disaster.¹³³ Irwin has meanwhile stressed how al-Maqrīzī's pessimism drove him towards works of nostalgia. Al-Maqrīzī looked to the Pharaonic, Rumī (Greek and Roman) and Fatimid periods as unparalleled moments of prosperity and wealth in Egypt.¹³⁴ However, al-Maqrīzī was not entirely alone in writing history through the lens of pessimism. Broadbridge has noted, for example, a similarly pessimistic tone in Ibn Taghrībirdī's accounts of Mamluk relations with the Ottomans.¹³⁵ Meanwhile, Bora has pointed to the fragility of political careers in the Mamluk period, as a reason for history-writing. She argues that Mamluk scholars reacted to political instability by using their chronicles and biographical dictionaries as archives, preserving material before it was lost.¹³⁶

1.4.2. Mamluk historians as trustworthy witnesses to the Egyptian past?

Between the views of Broadbridge and Irwin and that of Bora there is a noticeable contrast. On the one hand, Broadbridge and Irwin see al-Maqrīzī as consciously arranging material to suit his pessimistic view of the present.¹³⁷ For example, in the *Ighātha*, one of the examples used by al-Maqrīzī is a famine that occurred under the Fatimid vizier al-Yāzūrī. This account appears to be taken from a contemporary Fatimid source, the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī*.¹³⁸ There is, therefore, a question of how far al-Maqrīzī had changed the Fatimid account to suit his

¹³² Anne F. Broadbridge, 'Royal Authority, Justice, and Order in Society: The Influence of Ibn Khaldūn on the Writings of al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Taghrībirdī', *MSR*, 7(2003), 235.

¹³³ Broadbridge, 'Royal Authority', 239.

¹³⁴ Robert Irwin has noted that this was in turn animated by al-Maqrīzī's interest in the occult and belief that these earlier dynasties had hidden their wealth and written 'treasure books' that guided the reader to the hidden location. Irwin, 'al-Maqrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn, Historians of the Unseen', *MSR*, 7(2003), 226. On al-Maqrīzī's appreciation for the Fatimids in Egyptian history: Brett, 'The way of the peasant', in *The Fatimids and Egypt*, 38; Jiwa, *Towards*, 32; Bora, *Writing*, 16.

¹³⁵ Broadbridge, 'Royal Authority', 244-245.

¹³⁶ Bora, *Writing*, 4.

¹³⁷ See also: Brett, 'Population and conversion to Islam in the mediaeval period', in *The Fatimids and Egypt*, 51.

¹³⁸ This is one of the sources which will be studied in this dissertation. Although this particular episode will not be discussed in the following chapters, the variants of the story in the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* can be read and compared in passages 113-128 of appendix A. Passages 113 and 121-4 are found in the *Khīṭaṭ*. See appendix D table 2 and 3, and section 2.3.2 below.

claims. It is possible, for example, that he had removed any references to mismanagement to reinforce his criticism of contemporary rulers.¹³⁹ On the other hand, Bora has argued that historians were archiving the past, ‘treading a precarious balance between relying on earlier sources and producing new interpretations’.¹⁴⁰ An author’s reuse of Fatimid sources was, therefore, not a passive exercise, as it involved selecting material to be preserved, but Bora largely assumes that authors were copying from their sources more thoroughly and more precisely.

This study will tread a middle ground between these views. It will argue that Fatimid traditions and historiography can be excavated from late histories, but that it must be justified in each case. We cannot assume, simply because al-Maqrīzī had copied faithfully from his source in one place, that he continued to do so in another. This is seen when we compare different parts of al-Maqrīzī’s *Itti’āz*. Jiwa notes how, in his reports on the Imam-Caliph al-Mu’izz (r. 341/953-365/975), al-Maqrīzī condemned Ibn al-Athīr, stating that the work of a Fatimid chronicler, Ibn Zūlāq was better a source. In this case al-Maqrīzī justifies his choice by stating that Ibn al-Athīr used Iraqi and Syrian sources, where Ibn Zūlāq is Egyptian, and that historians can be best trusted for the history of their own regions.¹⁴¹ Jiwa concludes that al-Maqrīzī was a historian in a ‘Rankean’ mould, judiciously balancing his sources, taking account of their positives and shortfalls.¹⁴² However, as Jiwa notes for al-Maqrīzī’s treatment of the Qarmatians,¹⁴³ this does not always hold up for other parts of the *Itti’āz* or for other works. As we shall see in chapter 3, al-Maqrīzī’s *Itti’āz* accounts for the campaign to capture Baghdad in 447/1055-450/1058 using a mixture of Egyptian sources and Ibn al-Athīr’s *Kāmil*. Al-Maqrīzī never cites these sources nor does he argue for the benefits of one source over another. In this case, his choice of source appears to have been motivated primarily by levels of detail. For example, the *Kāmil* provides a lengthier account

¹³⁹ In reality, although the famine is attributed to the failure of the Nile flood, the bulk of the story is a lesson in the management of bread and commodities. In that narrative al-Yāzūrī emerges as the hero, directly involved in helping alleviate the food shortages. This narrative is shared by the *Itti’āz* and *Muqaffā* and it probably stems from the pro-Yāzūrī agenda of al-Maqrīzī’s source text (the SY). The case for the pro-Yāzūrī nature of the SY will be made in the following chapters. The *Ighātha* abbreviates this source text only slightly and does not alter the narrative. Al-Maqrīzī, *Ighāthat al-Umma b-Kashf al-Ghumma*, ed. Karam Ḥilmī Farḥāt (Cairo, 2007), 92-6.

¹⁴⁰ Bora, *Writing*, 15.

¹⁴¹ Jiwa, ‘Historical representations’, 64-5.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, 69.

¹⁴³ Jiwa, *Towards*, 46.

of Baghdad's capture than the surviving Egyptian sources and so al-Maqrīzī prefers the *Kāmil*.¹⁴⁴

On the other hand, comparison between al-Maqrīzī's various works and comparison with other Egyptian histories can provide insight into how individual authors were using their sources. In the case of al-Maqrīzī, current evidence suggests that he had a respect for his Fatimid sources and was, at least at times, motivated to reproduce these sources precisely. This is seen in his use of the Fatimid history of Ibn al-Ma'mūn. In the marginal notes and annotation on a draft of the *Khīṭaṭ*, we find that al-Maqrīzī had originally copied the history of Ibn al-Ma'mūn through an intermediary, Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir (d. 692/1293). In the draft manuscript, al-Maqrīzī later struck through Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir's name, corrected the text and added further text in the margin. In one of the amended versions, al-Maqrīzī adds a *kāf* over one of the newly amended words. This notation was used by al-Maqrīzī when he encountered words that he did not understand, and Bauden argues that this is evidence al-Maqrīzī had made his amendments using the original Fatimid text with its older, less familiar, terminology.¹⁴⁵ Thus in the case of the *Khīṭaṭ* and the history of Ibn al-Ma'mūn, al-Maqrīzī had attached value to the original source text, preferring it to the version provided by the intermediary Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir.

This is not true across all of al-Maqrīzī's works. Al-Maqrīzī copied the first part of Ibn al-Ma'mūn's history into his notebook and when Bauden compares the variant in the notebook with the *Khīṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz*, he finds that the *Khīṭaṭ* is most similar, where the *Itti'āz* 'recast' and 'condensed' the source. Bauden argues that the annalistic format of the *Itti'āz* had perhaps necessitated these changes.¹⁴⁶ However, as we shall see in the following chapters, this was not always the case. Sometimes the *Itti'āz* provides a more detailed copy of a source than the *Khīṭaṭ*. Al-Maqrīzī's source usage appears, therefore, to have been varied and pragmatic. This shows the importance of comparing texts on a case-by-case basis and taking account of how historians worked differently with the same sources in different circumstances. Other Mamluk authors have not been studied in the same detail as al-

¹⁴⁴ See section 3.2 below.

¹⁴⁵ Bauden, 'Maqriziana XII', 58-60.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, 56.

Maqrīzī, but to understand Fatimid historiography it is clear that such an approach should be applied to a broad corpus of texts.

1.5. Egyptian networks of historical knowledge: a quasi-stemmatic method for the study of historiography

As the above section has shown, Mamluk historians and especially al-Maqrīzī are well-known for their accounts of Fatimid history. Although al-Maqrīzī's lenient attitude to the Fatimids' and their lineage appears to stand out, it forms part of a broader affection for the *Ahl al-Bayt* and nostalgia that was shared by scholars in the Mamluk period. This nostalgia for the Egyptian past, coupled with a pessimism about the present, was likely to affect how historians used their Fatimid source material, potentially leading them to paraphrase sources according to their contemporary agendas. However, there are also clear cases from al-Maqrīzī's texts, where Fatimid source texts are respected and copied precisely. In order to understand Fatimid historiography, we must therefore compare widely between extant sources (including Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk texts and examples of non-Egyptian texts) and their narratives of Fatimid history.

In this section I will outline a method for understanding Fatimid historiography through this comparative lens. This method is adapted and inspired by approaches that are widely adopted in Islamic historiography, but used less commonly in the study of Fatimid historiography and its survival. The method involves a close comparison of texts and their language in a manner akin to *Quellenforschung* and it will be outlined in three parts. Part one will examine the methods adopted by other scholars, especially Brett and Bora, and explain how the present method will build on these earlier studies. Part two will note the broader background of the method, note its drawbacks, and stress how the study will be interested in identifying traditions not specific source texts. Part three will then explain how the method will be applied in this study, noting the importance of studying regional differences in source traditions.

1.5.1. Excavating Fatimid sources from the Egyptian historiography

Recently, there has been an increased study of Fatimid historiography through the lens of Mamluk historians, in part inspired by the studies of Donald Little. These studies look

beyond the accounts of single authors and corroborate historical texts to identify shared source texts and traditions (as opposed to the more traditional approach of corroborating the narrative of sources). Donald Little, in his pioneering study of Mamluk historiography, compared texts to understand originality and the 'inter-relatedness and inter-dependence' of Mamluk historians.¹⁴⁷ Through such comparisons he was able to show how Mamluk historians were dependent upon one another's works, that they shared source texts, and observed their precision or lack of precision in copying from sources.

Bora stresses how she built on Little's method for her study of the Fatimid sources used by Mamluk historians and in particular Ibn al-Furāt.¹⁴⁸ Bora reads Ibn al-Furāt's work as an example of a broader phenomenon in Mamluk historiography that she has described as 'chronicles as archives'. That is, Mamluk works reuse significant material from Fatimid histories, and 'the state of historical and historiographical knowledge can be charted and evaluated via the scrutiny of the archival practices of... authors.'¹⁴⁹ In this study, Bora has suggested that some types of Fatimid history might be read as 'official history', but she does not develop these ideas any further (relying largely on Brett's earlier conclusions about Fatimid historiography). She instead focusses on how Ibn al-Furāt received and arranged this historiographical tradition.¹⁵⁰

This work will build heavily upon Brett's work in this field and the methods that he has adopted for understanding Fatimid sources and their authorship. Here we will focus on three studies, which Brett has developed across a series of essays: 'The Quarrel with the Zirids',¹⁵¹ 'The Execution of al-Yāzūrī',¹⁵² and 'The battles of Ramla'.¹⁵³ In each of these studies, Brett has closely compared the surviving (typically late) accounts of the events, explored similarities and differences and posited the reasons for them. In each case, he has

¹⁴⁷ Donald Little, *An Introduction to Mamlūk Historiography: An analysis of Arabic Annalistic and Biographical sources for the Reign of al-Malik an-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Qalā'ūn* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 2.

¹⁴⁸ Bora, *Writing history*, 6.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, 5.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, chapter 3.

¹⁵¹ Brett, 'Zirids'; Brett, 'Fatimids and Zirids, 990-1062'; Brett 'Ifriqīyan *sijill*'.

¹⁵² Brett, 'Execution'; he takes a similar approach for a different period in 'The execution of Ibn Badūs', in *Fatimids and Egypt*, 75-82.

¹⁵³ Brett, 'The battles of Ramla 1099-1105', in *Fatimids and Egypt*, 207-228; Brett, 'The Fatimids and the counter-Crusade, 1099-1071', in *Fatimids and Egypt*, 229-237; Brett, 'The Muslim response to the First Crusade', in *Fatimids and Egypt*, 193-206.

shown how such a study can shed light on Fatimid politics, propaganda and ideology and how it has shaped the historiography. In the first study, he notes how the similarities between an extant *sijill* and the annalistic accounts show how the Fatimids broadcast their victories against the Zirids in Ifrīqīya around the *da'wa*. He argues that a series of *sijillāt* informed an evolving annalistic tradition, written over the 440s and 450s in reaction to contemporary events. In the second, he identifies two different perspectives on the career of al-Yāzūrī that had emerged from a contemporary debate about his vizierate. These diverging perspectives are seen in the surviving accounts of the campaign against the Zirids and of al-Yāzūrī's arrest and execution. In the third study, he shows how a comparison of the extant sources provide an insight into how the vizier al-Afḍal responded ideologically to the First Crusade. In the first two in particular, Brett has used his studies to develop an understanding of what he terms the 'Egyptian tradition'.

This study will expand in particular on Brett's first two studies by seeking to understand al-Yāzūrī's career and legacy more broadly to look beyond the pro-Yāzūrī and anti-Yāzūrī perspectives identified by Brett and identify a broader range of source traditions. I will, therefore, take Brett's research on the Egyptian tradition as a model and build on his conclusions. Crucially, this study will improve on his method in three ways. First, it will take a closer look at text reuse.¹⁵⁴ Brett's studies do touch on language, but predominantly rely on examining similarities in narrative and content. This research will look at how differences and similarities in language can shed light on the source texts used by later historians. Second, and in order to achieve the former, it will look at a broad corpus of texts and consider geographical differences. This is especially valuable for events that occurred outside Egypt, which were viewed from other historiographical perspectives. Third, self-reuse will be considered in much greater detail (that is, how one author reuses the same text in several of their works). This is especially important for al-Maqrīzī, who reuses the same texts across his works. In all of the studies noted above, Brett utilises only one of al-Maqrīzī's texts, the *Itti'āz*, but the same narrative and often the same text is found in his *Khiṭaṭ* and *Muqaffā*.

¹⁵⁴ This is an approach akin to that adopted by Bauden in his study of al-Maqrīzī and his working methods, but I will be using it here to understand how Fatimid sources are used. A good example of the technique is found in: Bauden, 'Maqriziana XII'.

Such a study is not just of importance for understanding historiography, but could also have broader implications for the study of Fatimid history. As Brett's 'The Execution of al-Yāzūrī' has so clearly illustrated, the 'Egyptian tradition' was at times far from unified, and this is shown in significant differences between accounts. The task of writing history to an extent involves trying to harmonize such differences in the accounts and decide between them. In order to do this, we must first understand the reasons for such differences. These difficulties are evident in Brett's *The Fatimid Empire*. There he brilliantly provides a summary of the events with the Zirids in Ifrīqīya, noting how a claim that al-Yāzūrī had sent the Banū Hilāl out against the Zirid's had been developed as part of an anti-Yāzūrī narrative and should, therefore, not be trusted.¹⁵⁵ However, a similar approach needs to be adopted for the remainder of al-Yāzūrī's career, for which we have detailed and varied accounts. For example, Brett claims elsewhere in the monograph that around 447/1055 the empress Theodora had refused the Fatimids' request for grain during a famine.¹⁵⁶ This is in fact only one of two narratives of al-Yāzūrī's conflict with the Byzantines, which I will argue differ significantly and cannot be easily harmonised (see further, section 5.3 below).

1.5.2. *Quellenforschung, stemmatics and Islamic historiography*

The approach used in this research is partly indebted to the related techniques of manuscript stemmatics and *Quellenforschung*.¹⁵⁷ Both techniques are concerned with reconstructing lost texts from their genetic descendants. Manuscript stemmatics works to identify a lost 'archetype' for a text through close comparison of later extant copies of the text (which are typically self-identified as a copy of that text). *Quellenforschung* emerged out of stemmatics,¹⁵⁸ and aims to identify and understand the different sources that make up a later extant text. Both approaches result in the construction of a genealogical stemma that tracks the divergence of the sources until the extant texts, and comparison tables showing how extant texts overlap. Both were developed by classicists to cope with a lack of

¹⁵⁵ Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 189-90.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 192-3.

¹⁵⁷ Often named Lachmannian stemmatics, after one its early proponents.

¹⁵⁸ Jaap Mansfeld, 'Doxographical studies, Quellenforschung, Tabular Presentation and other varieties of comparitivism', in Jaap Mansfeld and David T. Runia (eds), *Aetiana: The Method and Intellectual Context of a Doxographer*, (Leiden, 2010), 6; Glenn Most, 'The Rise and fall of Quellenforschung' in A Blaire and A Goeing (eds.), *For the Sake of Learning Essays in honor of Anthony Grafton* (Leiden, 2016), 947.

original texts, but a relative abundance of copies and reused text.¹⁵⁹ This has clear parallels with the Islamic textual tradition, where archives and original early texts survive poorly, but where copies are abundant in later texts.

Jaap Mansfeld has identified three key models for *Quellenforschung*: 1. 'tracing back, or cutting up, of a single extant work'; 2. 'tracing back of a plurality of extant texts, or parts thereof, to a hypothesized single (primary or intermediary) source'; 3. 'positing of a lost source or a combination of lost sources for an extant work'.¹⁶⁰ The present research will work with a combination of 2 and 3, to identify how potential Fatimid histories survive and are reused in later Egyptian sources. *Quellenforschung* has been shown to be valuable for studying historiography. For example, in his study of late antique historiography, Croke openly acknowledges his adoption of *Quellenforschung*. That study shows how such a method can help us understand how the history of a period was written.¹⁶¹

The approach adopted here will take elements from *Quellenforschung* and manuscript stemmatics, while being aware of the shortfalls of both. A key goal in this study is to understand the sources to which our extant texts had access (for example, the sources to which al-Maqrīzī had access). In order to understand this, I study internal differences in the text that could indicate different source texts and compare with a large number of other texts. This comparison allows me to separate out the different sources used by each text and understand which texts might share sources. This first stage is, to an extent, based on *Quellenforschung*. Once sources have been identified, the different variants of each source will then be closely compared to help gain a better understanding of how the original source looked, and the manner in which that source reached the text in which it is quoted. This second stage is similar to the approach adopted in stemmatics, although variants of it are also used in *Quellenforschung*. *Quellenforschung* produces a *stemma* that has a large number of texts at the top and the one text that uses those texts at the bottom, where stemmatics produces a *stemma* where there is one 'archetype' at the top and lots of texts

¹⁵⁹ On stemmatics in the classics see: L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: a guide to the transmission of Greek and Latin literature* (Oxford, 2013); for *Quellenforschung*, see: Mansfeld, 'Doxographical studies'; Most, 'Rise and fall'.

¹⁶⁰ Mansfeld, 'Doxographical studies', 16.

¹⁶¹ Brian Croke, 'City chronicles of Late Antiquity', in G. W. Clarke (ed.), *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity* (Rushcutters Bay, 1990), 165-203.

that copy from the archetype at the bottom. The stemma produced here will have a number of texts at the top (the sources that our texts are using) and a number of texts at the bottom (the extant texts that use those sources).

The typical end goal for *Quellenforschung* and manuscript stemmatics is the assembly of the original source texts, through systematically assessing language and content.¹⁶² Here I am not interested in resurrecting lost texts. In response to Harder's criticism of *Quellenforschung*, Mansfeld has argued that it is valuable in many cases to use the technique to search for 'tradition' rather than 'sources'.¹⁶³ In other words, while it is not always possible to confidently reconstruct a whole source, it is possible to identify the different types of tradition behind a later text. This research will therefore look primarily to identify distinct Fatimid historiographical traditions, rather than sources.

The Fatimid texts used by later authors have passed through an unknown number of hands and experienced an unknown number of interventions. No level of close reading will ever be able to derive a precise understanding of the transmission process. Al-Maqrīzī, writing over 300 years after the events he describes, might have accessed manuscripts of original Fatimid texts. We will never know the exact transmission history of those manuscripts. If al-Maqrīzī shares material with al-Nuwayrī and Ibn Muyassar they might have all separately accessed the same manuscript, different manuscripts, copied from one-another or from other historians. There are too many variables to reliably understand how the original Fatimid source texts looked. However, if we are able to understand what parts of our late texts were originally derived from Fatimid sources, and to separate different types of Fatimid sources, then it is possible to understand the perspectives of the authors, departments and the regime that produced them. In doing so, we will gain an understanding of what forms Fatimid historiography took in the period and how it was composed.

1.5.3. *The model outlined*

The present research will propose that histories be read as products of historical knowledge, assembled and reassembled as it passes through different hands. It is in the assembly of

¹⁶² This is where both techniques are commonly critiqued, as it is difficult if not impossible to identify 'contamination' of the sources by later editors. See Most, 'Rise and fall', 952.

¹⁶³ Mansfeld, 'Doxographical studies', 18.

historical knowledge that the historian asserts their agenda and agency. In some cases, this might be through rearranging material copied from earlier works. In other cases, it might involve the insertion of authorial interjections between quoted passages (typically without clear differentiation between the quote and the addition), the paraphrasing of whole passages, and merging of material from earlier works through paraphrase. If we are able to piece together the networks that produced a historical text (that is, look at the sources that make up the particular text, and the manner in which they are used), it is possible to begin to ask questions about the agenda behind the text's composition, as distinct from the different agendas of the sources that the author had used.

Using this model, the process of understanding the agendas of Fatimid historians is, therefore, a two-stage process: first, understand how later Egyptian histories are assemblies of historical knowledge (some of which is taken from Fatimid sources). Second, understand how each component of historical knowledge is assembled and subject to its own agenda. Such an approach is particularly fruitful for instances where the earlier Fatimid histories are either lost or partially extant, as is the case for al-Yāzūrī.

Through this technique particular attention will be paid to the geographical transmission of texts, and in each case study comparison has been made between sources from within and without Egypt. Modern scholars have sometimes assumed that parts of Fatimid histories spread outside Egypt.¹⁶⁴ The present study will argue that there are crucial distinctions between the way in which eastern sources (crucially Iraqi) understand Fatimid history compared to Egyptian (and some Syrian) sources. This difference is a result of the use of different source texts, and it might even suggest that Fatimid histories largely only survived in Mamluk domains and did not circulate widely outside this region. This pattern of distribution somewhat mirrors Konrad Hirschler's understanding of sources for the Frankish capture of Jerusalem. Hirschler argues that there were three historiographical traditions of the events leading up to the capture of Jerusalem: Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi. The former two were more contemporary to events, and the latter developed later as part of counter-crusade preaching, in particular the sermons of Ibn al-Jawzī (which provided an exaggerated

¹⁶⁴ For example, Brett states that Ibn al-Athīr, 'repeats the Egyptian tradition under the year 449' for his accounts of the campaign to capture Baghdad. Brett, 'Execution', 86.

and symbol-laden account of Jerusalem's capture). Hirschler argues that Ibn al-Jawzī's account became the hegemonic 'Islamic narrative' of the crusaders' capture of Jerusalem (through Ibn al-Athīr's version of Ibn al-Jawzī's narrative).¹⁶⁵

Hirschler's argument assumes that a hegemonic account from around the seventh/thirteenth century became the accepted and dominant account throughout the three regions (Egypt, Syria and Iraq). In the case of Egypt, he cites Mamluk histories such as al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* to illustrate how the Iraqi version of events found in Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* became the dominant narrative in these later sources. Hirschler notes the emergence of small 'post-Ibn al-Athīr' details, but does not fully consider how the Iraqi account might have been assembled with other geographical traditions.¹⁶⁶ As noted above, in the *Itti'āz*, al-Maqrīzī claimed that he preferred to use Egyptian sources (even if he did not always do so in practice). As this study will show, al-Maqrīzī certainly made use of Ibn al-Athīr's work, copying sections from it verbatim or near-verbatim. However, these quotations from Ibn al-Athīr were very deliberately mixed with quotations from other sources. It seems, therefore, that a geographical division remained in access and use of sources. It is only through studying networks of historical knowledge that these geographical differences can be teased out.

Conclusions

This chapter has argued that Fatimid historiography is in need of a dedicated study. Studies of Ismā'īlī history have tended to focus on sources and the source problem and paid little attention to historiography in particular. In some cases, modern scholars have played down the role of historiography in Ismā'īlī communities. There are, however, forms of history-writing that appear to be distinct to the Fatimids. In the fourth/tenth and fifth/eleventh century history was typically written by Sunnī scholars and secretaries, who sought to legitimise their patrons by describing their practice as good Muslim rulers. Fatimid historians, like their counterparts writing under Sunnī rulers, were often secretaries and they wrote about contemporary events. However, the one Fatimid chronicle that survives,

¹⁶⁵ Hirschler, 'The Jerusalem conquest of 492/1099 in the medieval Arabic historiography of the crusades: From regional plurality to Islamic narrative', *Crusades*, 13(2014), 65-67.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 68.

al-Musabbiḥī's *Akḥbār Miṣr*, is much more detailed than the history-writing seen under Sunnī regimes. In addition, the *sijillāt* show how the Fatimid Imam-Caliphs legitimised their rule in public through emphasising their descent from the Prophet. The *sijillāt* were written on a variety of topics, including summaries of important historical events. Those that do describe events are brief, lacking key dates and details, and it is possible that this type of *sijill* was written using Fatimid annals as its source.

Although scholars of Ismā'īlism have downplayed the importance of historiography as a distinct genre, there is clear evidence that histories were written under the Fatimids throughout their rule in Egypt. These works of history have survived predominantly in Egypt and Syria and are rarely preserved in the Ismā'īlī community. Those historical sources that do survive in the Ismā'īlī community concern foundational moments or are written by foundational figures. Histories that survived in Egypt can be split into two key types: annals and personal biography. The latter of these two genres appears to be particularly unique to Fatimid historiography. Very few historical texts survive in Egypt until the modern day and we consequently rely on quotations of these sources by later historians, especially those writing in the Mamluk period. Of the Mamluk historians, al-Maqrīzī is often singled out as a key source for Fatimid history. He appears, however, to be one of a number of historians, who had a broader interest in Fatimid history and quoted from Fatimid sources. The Mamluk historians appear to be motivated to write about Fatimid history in part by nostalgia and patriotism and sometimes by pessimism. They, therefore, are likely to have quoted from Fatimid sources in a manner that suits their own agendas. Sometimes historians quote from their sources extensively and other times they rely more on paraphrase. We must, therefore, evaluate these quotations from Fatimid sources on a case-by-case basis. This dissertation will study Fatimid historiography, using a method of comparing texts and their sources loosely inspired by *Quellenforschung*, which will be used to identify the different Fatimid traditions that underlie the later accounts of Fatimid history.

To apply such a method precisely, it is necessary to focus on a specific set of events. The vizierate of al-Yāzūrī is an ideal period for understanding Fatimid historiography. It is a period of great change in the Fatimids' power both in their dominions and in regions outside their control, which is likely to be reflected upon in a number of histories written in different

regions. Moreover, there is clear evidence that both annals and a personal biography were written for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, which will allow us to compare these different types of Fatimid historiography. In the next chapter I will, therefore, introduce al-Yāzūrī, and outline the two main Fatimid histories for his vizierate.

Chapter 2. The historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate: introducing the annals and the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī*

Introduction

The previous chapter argued for the importance of studying Fatimid historiography, and proposed a method for the study of historiography and its survival in later texts. There I stressed that there has been a focus in modern scholarship on Ismā'īlī sources, where the importance of Fatimid historiography has been downplayed. Despite this, there appears to have been a distinct Fatimid historiography, exemplified by the *sijillāt*, some of which take the form of official history. Although there are few extant Fatimid histories, there is a long list of texts that survive only as quotations in later works. These histories can be broken into two types: single-subject biographies and annals. In some cases, these histories are quoted precisely by our later sources and thus there is value in closely comparing the later texts to better understand their source usage.

Chapter 1 established that Fatimid historiography should be studied through case studies. This chapter will argue that the vizierate of al-Yāzūrī is an ideal case for understanding Fatimid historiography. This is in part because this period represents a turning point in Fatimid history and the historians writing about it are involved in a debate about al-Yāzūrī's legacy. The surviving contemporary sources for his vizierate do not provide much insight into this debate, but there is significant discussion of al-Yāzūrī in the later sources. In these texts we find evidence of two types of source, a biography (the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī*, SY) and the annals. The SY and annals have been discussed at some length in Brett's studies of Fatimid historiography, but these studies have not considered al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*. Through studying the *Muqaffā*, we see how pivotal the SY was in later histories of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate.

To effectively understand the SY and the annals, the later sources must be compared in two ways. First, we should understand how authors are using sources across their texts at large. Second we should study how they are using their sources in their narrative of specific events. This chapter will focus on the first, by comparing the two most-detailed sources for

al-Yāzūrī's vizierate (al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*), using a statistical method. This method of comparison indicates that the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī provides the most detailed quotation of the SY, and that the SY is probably its only source. By comparison, the *Itti'āz* uses a combination of the SY and annals to tell its narrative of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. The patterns of text reuse more generally suggest that al-Maqrīzī had possessed a copy of the SY, which he copied in different ways throughout his text.

The evidence for the above claims will be presented in this chapter in three parts. Part one will introduce the vizierate of al-Yāzūrī, the importance of this period for understanding Fatimid historiography and the key sources. Part two will discuss the SY and annals, and note the importance of the SY as a source for later narratives of the revolts of the Zirids and the Banū Qurra. Part three will then explain the statistical method and use it to examine how the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* quote from the SY and annals.

2.1. Introducing the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate and the corpus

Al-Yāzūrī's vizierate is a good vantage point for understanding Fatimid history-writing. Al-Yāzūrī's legacy was discussed extensively by historians in the two decades following his dismissal and execution. Although several contemporary texts survive for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, these texts shed little light on Fatimid historiography for the period. We instead rely upon later texts, crucially those of al-Maqrīzī, which quote from earlier Fatimid histories. This section will be divided into three parts. Part one will discuss al-Yāzūrī's career and his longer-term legacy, arguing that there are three stages in the historiography of his vizierate. Part two will outline the surviving contemporary sources for the vizierate and argue that they reveal little about Fatimid historiography. Part three will then note the main sources that will be used in this study and the manner in which they rely on contemporary Fatimid histories.

2.1.1. Al-Yāzūrī: a distinguished career and a complex legacy

Al-Yāzūrī's vizierate marked a pivotal moment in Fatimid history, where the Imamate almost lost control of Ifrīqīya, while expanding its influence into Iraq and Yemen. From the moment of the vizier's death, there were opposing views about his legacy. Al-Yāzūrī was born in the village of Yāzūr, not far from Ramla, in Palestine. The son of a notary, al-Yāzūrī moved to

Cairo for reasons that remain unclear.¹ Once there, he gained the ear of the influential queen mother, Raṣad, and rose through the court becoming Chief Qāḍī and then vizier in 442/1050.² Al-Yāzūrī was perhaps the most powerful vizier since Ibn Killis (the first of the Fatimids' viziers, r. 368/979-380/991), as the first to hold three highest offices in the Imamate (Chief Qāḍī, Chief Dā'ī and vizier) simultaneously.³

During his vizierate the Fatimids witnessed four events in foreign policy that would shape the Fatimids' history long after al-Yāzūrī's death: 1. A pro-Abbasid rebellion in Ifrīqīya led by the Zirids (c. 442/1050-1); 2. A lengthy fight against the Byzantines in Syria (446/1054-450/1058); 3. The expansion of Fatimid influence in Yemen (c. 443/1051-2) and 4. A campaign in Iraq that resulted in the brief occupation of Baghdad (448/1056-450/1058). Al-Yāzūrī did not live to witness Baghdad's final occupation. He was arrested and executed in early 450/1058 under the accusation of embezzling funds and conspiring to support the Fatimids' Seljuk enemies in Iraq. The truth is not clear, some sources alleging that the charges were invented by a jealous colleague, who had seen an opportunity to take the vizierate for himself.

The historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate is profoundly coloured by the events that surrounded his arrest and execution. Historians writing al-Yāzūrī's obituary accuse him of mismanaging Ifrīqīya,⁴ and they claim that his spending on the Baghdad campaign had bankrupted the Fatimid state and led to the later Seljuk advance across Syria. All the while we are presented with some accounts that entirely omit al-Yāzūrī from the narrative, and others that praise him for his astute management of the state and foreign policy. As Brett

¹ Ibn Zāfir claims he had fled the local governor, where the biographical source shared between Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, and al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* claims that it was orchestrated by the vizier al-Jarjārā'ī. Bianquis uses Ibn Zāfir's explanation. Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal al-Munqaṭī'a*, ed. André Ferré (Cairo, 1972), 79; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 73; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:366-367; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:197 (passages 2-3). Bianquis, 'al-Yāzūrī', *EI2*.

² For a summary of al-Yāzūrī's career: Bianquis, 'al-Yāzūrī', *EI2*; Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 181-2.

³ Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, 371; Paul Walker, 'The Relationship between Chief Qadi and Chief Dā'ī under the Fatimids', in Gudrun Krämer and Sabine Schmidtke (eds.), *Speaking for Islam Religious Authorities in Muslim Societies* (Leiden, 2006), 86.

⁴ As Brett has illustrated in detail, al-Yāzūrī's involvement in Ifrīqīya is perhaps the longest-lived component of al-Yāzūrī's legacy. The legend that the Fatimids' had directed the Banū Hilāl to invade Ifrīqīya in order to defeat the Zirids developed first in praise of al-Yāzūrī, but then evolved after his death into a criticism, blaming him for the longer-term destruction of the region. This critical narrative was further embellished in the Ifrīqīyan historiography and circulated elsewhere (including in Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*) and was even returned to in nineteenth-century European historiography. See: Brett, 'The Flood the Dam and the Sons of the New Moon', in *Mélanges offerts à Mohamed Talbi à l'occasion de son 70e anniversaire* (Manouba, 1993), 65-67; Brett, 'The Way of the Nomad', in *BSOAS*, 58(1995), 257-265; Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 189-191.

has stressed, many of these views belong to historians writing in the 450s and 460s, looking to understand al-Yāzūrī's legacy in their own later contexts.⁵

The period after al-Yāzūrī's vizierate had left historians with much to reflect upon. His dismissal and death had created a power vacuum in which various secretaries jostled for high office. The late annals for the 450s are filled with yearly (sometimes monthly) changes to the holders of the high offices of state.⁶ This political instability was compounded by a dispute between the Black and Turkish regiments of the army in 454/1062, which led to a *fitna* and subsequent famine.⁷ Before long, the Imam-Caliph was himself under threat and imprisoned in his palace. He called upon a general in Syria, Badr al-Jamālī, for help. Badr arrived in Egypt in 467/1074, and swept across the country, defeating the rebel forces.⁸ The Imam-Caliph was consequently restored, but his actual power greatly diminished. Badr al-Jamālī (r. 467/1074-487/1094) was appointed vizier and *amīr al-juyūsh* (commander of the armies), and he insisted that the *sijillāt* now referred to his name and titles (in contrast to earlier viziers).⁹ One of the major events of Badr's reign was the expansion of the Seljuks into Syria, which resulted in a short-lived invasion of Egypt, and Badr spent much of his career fighting the Seljuk threat.¹⁰

In the surviving historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate there appear to be at least two distinct stages of history-writing, which in part reflect the events that had followed his dismissal. The first, written in the 450s, focusses on al-Yāzūrī's immediate legacy, either blaming him for the political and economic instability or elevating him and blaming the issues on his dismissal. The second, probably written in the 460s, blames al-Yāzūrī for the later Seljuk expansion into Syria (which Badr spent much of his career confronting). Both of these later stages appear in part to adapt an earlier set of annals written in the 440s, which ignore al-

⁵ Brett, 'Execution', 88-92.

⁶ In 453, a year that al-Maqrīzī describes as one of 'quick dismissals and many appointments', there had been three viziers and chief qādīs. Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:262; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 27. On the period of political instability see: Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 198-9.

⁷ Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 201-5.

⁸ Ibid, 205-6.

⁹ Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 207-9; Hamdani, 'Letters', 310-11.

¹⁰ Brett, *Empire*, 217-8; Andrew C. S. Peacock, *The Great Seljuk Empire* (Edinburgh, 2015), 61-5.

Yāzūrī, but focus on the main events of the period, treating the Imam-Caliph as the main protagonist.¹¹

2.1.2. Contemporary witnesses to al-Yāzūrī's vizierate and its aftermath

Unlike for so many periods of Fatimid history, we benefit from three contemporary witnesses to al-Yāzūrī's vizierate: the *sijillāt*, the *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad*, and the *Book of Gifts and Rarities*. These contemporary texts occasionally corroborate the multi-stage historical framework described above, but they do not shed much light on how the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate evolved or upon Fatimid historiography more generally. This section will discuss each text and how it can be used to understand the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate.

The *sijillāt* are most likely to provide insight into the historiography. As was noted in chapter 1, the *sijillāt* sometimes appear to take the form of an official history for key events that happened in the Imamate.¹² For al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, one such *sijill* describes events in Ifrīqīya, and Brett has argued that it represents an official account, suggesting it was part of a series that were sent to Yemen.¹³ Equally, we might expect *sijillāt* to have been issued concerning the other major events of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, such as the defeat of the Seljuk Tughril at the battle of Sinjār in Iraq.¹⁴ However, of the surviving *sijillāt*, only three date from al-Yāzūrī's vizierate and one concerns a major event (that is, the Ifrīqīya *sijill* noted above).¹⁵ They are, therefore, little help for understanding the broader historiography of his vizierate.

The *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad* is the only contemporary text that would be typically treated as a history, and it is often seen as a major source for the period.¹⁶ It is, however, a history that is particular to al-Mu'ayyad, where he documents his career and seeks to promote himself. Al-Mu'ayyad (d. 470/1087) was a Fatimid *dā'ī*, who began his career at the Buyid court in Shīrāz, before fleeing to Cairo, arriving there 438/1046-7. Once in Cairo, he attempted to

¹¹ This reading of the historiography is heavily influenced by Brett's observations on the historiography, which will be discussed in detail in section 2.2 below.

¹² See the overview of the *sijillāt* in sections 1.2.2 and 1.2.3 above.

¹³ Brett, 'Zirids', 50-55.

¹⁴ Al-Mu'ayyad states that he forwarded details of the victory on to Cairo. This might have formed the basis of a celebratory *sijill*. Al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 131-2.

¹⁵ For a list of *sijillāt*; Hamdani, 'Letters', 310-11.

¹⁶ For example, Walker, *Exploring*, 144; Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 179.

gain influence at court and before long he was sent to Syria to help coordinate al-Basāsīrī's campaign to capture Baghdad for the Fatimids. Afterwards he returned to Cairo and was eventually appointed chief *dā'ī*.¹⁷ Al-Mu'ayyad documented the events of his career up to the capture of Baghdad in an autobiography, the *Sīra*. He, therefore, provides an eyewitness account for one of the main events of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate (the campaign to capture Baghdad) and accounts of the Fatimid court for some of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. These first-person accounts appear, however, to over-emphasise al-Mu'ayyad's role. As Rachel T. Howes has underlined, the autobiography provides significant insight into how Islamic courts functioned in the period.¹⁸ This highlights how the text is largely a narrative of al-Mu'ayyad's struggle to negotiate court power structures and advance either the Fatimid cause (in the cases of the Buyid court and the Baghdad campaign) or his own.

Al-Mu'ayyad's personal agenda is seen in the way he has clearly assembled some of his narratives after the fact. For example, al-Mu'ayyad claims that when he was in Shīrāz the Abbasid vizier Ibn Muslima had visited him and attempted to convince him to join the Abbasid cause.¹⁹ We have only al-Mu'ayyad's record of this event. Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-Jawzī first mention Ibn Muslima under the years 437/1045-6 and 436/1044-5 respectively of their chronicles. Both agree that Ibn Muslima was appointed vizier in 437/1045-6 (by which time al-Mu'ayyad had already left Shīrāz), and neither mention a journey to Shīrāz.²⁰ Most tellingly, Ibn Muslima is the vizier who would later support the Seljuks and confront the Fatimid ally al-Basāsīrī in his attempts to seize Baghdad for the Fatimids (all sources agree on the centrality of Ibn Muslima in these events).²¹ It appears in this case that al-Mu'ayyad is attempting to craft a narrative of Ibn Muslima as both a personal adversary and enemy to the Fatimid cause, tracing his confrontation with the Abbasid vizier back to his missionary work in Shīrāz. As such, al-Mu'ayyad is presenting his worldview, rather than the view of the

¹⁷ His career is summarised in Daftary, *Ismā'īlīs*, 213-4; for a detailed account of his life: Klemm, *Memoirs*.

¹⁸ Rachel Howes, 'Al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī and the Fatimid Religious Propaganda Organization in the Age of al-Musta'īn (427-487 A.H./1036-1094 C. E.), PhD diss., University of California, 2003; Howes, 'The Qadi, the Wazir and the Da'i: Religious and Ethnic Relations in Buyid Shiraz in the Eleventh Century', *Iranian Studies*, 44(2011), 875-894.

¹⁹ Al-Mu'ayyad's claim that a meeting took place has typically been accepted uncritically; see, for example: Howes, 'the Qadi', 878; Andrew C. S. Peacock, *Early Seljūq History: A New Interpretation*, (London, 2010), 117.

²⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fī-l-Ta'rīkh*, ed. Muḥammad Yūsuf Daqqāq (Beirut, 1998), VIII: 270-2; Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓam fī Ta'rīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-Umam*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā and Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Qādir 'Aṭā (Beirut, 1986), XV: 292-304.

²¹ See further, chapters 3 and 4 below.

Fatimid court or of al-Yāzūrī's historians. Later Egyptian sources do not quote from al-Mu'ayyad's text,²² but it is possible that histories written in the 450s might respond to and even counter al-Mu'ayyad's claims, especially if they underplayed al-Yāzūrī's role.²³

Like al-Mu'ayyad's autobiography, the *Book of Gifts and Rarities*²⁴ refers to events that occurred under al-Yāzūrī, but it appears to be uninfluenced by discussions around his legacy. The text is a selection of excerpts on the gifts received by the Fatimid palace and kept in their treasuries, made not long after al-Yāzūrī's death. Although the text was compiled in the fourth/eleventh century, it only survives in a copy made in the ninth/fifteenth by al-Awḥadī. From excerpts quoted elsewhere (notably in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz*),²⁵ it is clear that the surviving copy is incomplete and cannot be treated as an authentic record of the fourth/eleventh-century original.²⁶ Some of the short excerpts contain material of historiographical importance. For example, describing the context for the arrival of a particular gift. As the descriptions are short, they provide no insight into the histories that the author of the *Kitāb al-Hadāya* might have used, or the manner in which these histories viewed al-Yāzūrī. However, the text provides hints at the manner in which gifts were recorded during al-Yāzūrī's vizierate and this in turn sheds light on how the histories of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate might have been written.²⁷

2.1.3. Studying the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's through late source texts

The bulk of Fatimid historiography survives in quotations in later texts, especially those written in the Mamluk period. This is especially true for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. Where the contemporary texts provide very little insight into history-writing, at least two contemporary histories survive through quotations in later texts. The most detailed quotations of these texts are found in three of al-Maqrīzī's works. However, as was argued

²² The only history to quote from al-Mu'ayyad's *Sīra* is Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn's *'Uyūn al-Akḥbār*, which relies extensively on the *Sīra* as its source for the period of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. Idrīs, *'Uyūn*, 20 (editors introduction).

²³ For a discussion of how the SY responds to al-Mu'ayyad's claims about the Baghdad campaign, see 4.2.3 below.

²⁴ This is the title given by the translator: Ghada Hijjawi Qaddumi (trans), *Book of Gifts and Rarities (Kitāb al-Hadāyā wa al-Tuḥaf) Selections Compiled in the Fifteenth Century from an Eleventh-Century Manuscript on Gifts and Treasures* (Cambridge, Mass, 1996); the Arabic edition is mistakenly attributed to Ibn al-Zubayr: al-Qāḍī al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr, *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa-l-tuḥaf*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allāh (Kuwait, 1959).

²⁵ For an example, section 6.4.2 below.

²⁶ Walker, *Exploring*, 120.

²⁷ This will be noted in sections 5.4.3 and 6.4 below.

in chapter 1, to fully understand the evolution of the historiography we need to read al-Maqrīzī's quotations in the context of other texts that also discuss al-Yāzūrī's vizierate and potentially quote from contemporary Fatimid histories. Table 1 provides an outline of the main sources that describe al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, and which will be used in this study of the historiography.

Although this is not an exhaustive list of texts that refer to al-Yāzūrī, these texts have been selected because they provide insight into the sources that are used or ignored by al-Maqrīzī. They, moreover, provide some indication of the geographical spread of the different accounts of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. The corpus of texts is made up of mostly histories, with two exceptions: al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ*, a secretarial manual that is famed (and well cited) for its reuse of Fatimid sources, and which contains a number of historical summaries; and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*, which is an encyclopaedia with a large history at the end (only the historical sections will be used in this study).

Table 1. The corpus for studying the historiography of al-Yāzūrī, given in chronological order²⁸

Author	Death date	Work	Genre	Regions in which author worked	Case studies for which the text is relevant
Ibn al-Ṣayrafī	542/ 1147	<i>al-Ishāra ilā man Nāl al-Wizāra</i>	Biographical dictionary	Cairo	Baghdad
ʿUmāra al-Yamanī	569/ 1174	<i>Kitāb Taʾrīkh al-Yaman</i>	Chronicle	Murṭān, Zabīd, Cairo	Yemen

²⁸ For biographies of the authors: al-Shayyāl, 'Ibn al-Ṣayrafī', *EI2*; P. Smoor, 'ʿUmāra al-Yamanī', *EI2*; no author, 'Ibn Zāfir', *EI2*; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, I:13-19 and 24-5 (editor's introduction); Rosenthal, 'Ibn al-Athīr', *EI2*; Bora, 'Ibn Muyassar', *EI3*; Gerhard Wedel, 'Ibn Khallikān', *EI3*; M. Chapoutot-Remadi, M., 'al-Nuwayrī', *EI2*; Caterina Bori, 'al-Dhahabī', *EI3*; C. E. Bosworth, 'al-Qalqashandī', *EI2*; Bauden, 'al-Maqrīzī', in Graeme Dunphy, Cristian Bratu (eds), *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle/al-maqrizi-SIM_01768?s.num=0&s.f.s2_parent=s.f.book.encyclopedia-of-the-medieval-chronicle&s.q=maqrizi, (accessed 16 December 2020).

Author	Death date	Work	Genre	Regions in which author worked	Case studies for which the text is relevant
Ibn Ẓāfir	613/ 1216 or 623/ 1226	<i>Akḥbār al-Duwal al-Munqaṭi'a</i>	Chronicle	Cairo, Damascus	Baghdad, Yemen
Ibn al-Jawzī	597/ 1201	<i>al-Muntaẓam fī Ta'rīkh al-Mulūk wa-l-Umam</i>	Chronicle with obituaries	Baghdad Wāsiṭ	Baghdad
Ibn al-Athīr	630/ 1233	<i>al-Kāmil fī-l-Ta'rīkh</i>	Chronicle	Mosul, Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus	All
Ibn Muyassar	677/ 1278	<i>Akḥbār Miṣr</i>	Chronicle	Cairo	Baghdad, Byzantium
Ibn Khallikān	681/ 1282	<i>Wafayāt al-'Iyān wa-Anba' Abna' al-Zamān</i>	Biographical dictionary	Irbil, Aleppo, Damascus, Cairo	All
al-Nuwayrī	733/ 1333	<i>Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab</i>	Encyclopaedia with history at the end	Cairo, Syria generally, Damascus, Tripoli	All
al-Dhahabī	748/ 1348 or 753/	<i>Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'</i>	Biographical dictionary	Damascus, Ba'labakk, Mecca, Aleppo	All

Author	Death date	Work	Genre	Regions in which author worked	Case studies for which the text is relevant
	1352-3			Nablus, Cairo, Alexandria	
al-Dhahabī	748/1348 or 753/1352-3	<i>Ta'riḫ al-Islām wa Wafayāt al-Mashāhīr wa-l-A'lām</i>	Chronicle with obituaries	See above	All
al-Qalqashandī	821/1418	<i>Ṣubḥ al-A'shā</i>	Secretarial manual	Cairo	Byzantium, Yemen
al-Maqrīzī	845/1442	<i>Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā bi-Akḥbār al-A'imma al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā</i>	Chronicle	Cairo, Damascus	All
al-Maqrīzī	845/1442	<i>Kitāb al-Mawā'iz wa-l-l'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-l-Āthār</i> (known as <i>Khiṭaṭ</i>)	Topographically arranged history	See above	All
al-Maqrīzī	845/1442	<i>Kitāb al-Muqaffā al-Kabīr</i>	Biographical dictionary	See above	All

Viewed together, these texts provide the outline of the Fatimid tradition and allow us to see its geographical spread. In this study we will refer to two historians who spent the bulk of their careers in Iraq (Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-Jawzī). These texts diverge most heavily from the

other texts in their accounts of al-Yāzūrī's career, describing it mostly in the context of the Baghdad campaign. The accounts in these texts are, however, used in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. Ibn Khallikān spent some of his career in Syria and al-Dhahabī much of his career in Syria, and this is reflected in their accounts. Both of these authors quote from 'Umāra al-Yamānī, who wrote his history in Egypt, but there is little evidence that they made extensive use of other Fatimid histories in their accounts of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. By comparison, all of those authors who spent much of their careers in Egypt (Ibn Zāfir, Ibn Muyassar, al-Nuwayrī, al-Qalqashandī and al-Maqrīzī) quote extensively from Fatimid histories, providing us with a detailed insight into how the historiography surrounding al-Yāzūrī's vizierate had evolved and allowing us to see what Fatimid histories survived into the Mamluk period.

This study will be using the printed editions of these texts, while taking account of manuscript variations noted by the editors. The manuscript tradition significantly complicates any study of authors and their source usage. We are fortunate in that many of the Mamluk texts upon which this study depends survive in manuscripts that are autographs or copies made contemporary or near-contemporary to the author's lifetime. The edition of al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* is based on the author's autographs and copies made of the work;²⁹ that of his *Itti'āz* uses a copy of al-Maqrīzī's original made not long after his death in 884/1479-8;³⁰ much of the *Muqaffā* is also available in an autograph manuscript.³¹

For many of the earlier sources, the manuscript tradition is patchier. For example, the edition of Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam* uses 12 manuscripts in total, many of which contain only

²⁹ Of course, no edition of a text is perfect and editors make choices about how to read and combine the manuscripts. As noted below, close attention was paid to the critical apparatus of all texts. Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā'iz wa-l-'Itibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ wa-l-Āthār*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (London, 2002), I:*107-22; for studies of the *Khiṭaṭ* manuscripts: Bauden, 'Maqriziana IX'; Bauden, 'Maqriziana XII'.

³⁰ The edition cited in this research has been criticised for its reading of the manuscript, and a new edition published. As I was only able to access the new edition late in the research, the older edition has been cited with comparison to the new edition. Old edition: al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā bi-Akḥbār al-'Immah al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā*, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn Shayyāl and Muḥammad Ḥilmī Muḥammad Aḥmad, (Cairo, 2005-2010); New edition: *Itti'āz al-Ḥunafā bi-Akḥbār al-'Immah al-Khulafā: li-Taḳī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrīzī*, ed. Ayman Fu'ād Sayyid (Cairo, 2016), see I:*41-5 (for the manuscripts), I:*47 (on the errors of the earlier edition). All subsequent references to the *Itti'āz* refer to the first text, the more-recent edition will be indicated using 'ed. Sayyid'.

³¹ Although there is an autograph manuscript that covers the letters of the alphabet that would include al-Yāzūrī's biography, this is only printed in the new edition of the *Muqaffā*, which I was unable to access. On the editions see, Bauden, 'Maqriziana X'.

fragments of the whole work.³² There still remains a question of how popular works like the *Muntaẓam* circulated, and it may have been that individuals often possessed portions of a work rather than the whole. By contrast, modern editions often leave us with the impression that these works were engaged with as a complete whole rather than pieces. The manuscripts that survive are rarely the same as the copies that were used by our authors. We should be aware, for example, when judging whether al-Maqrīzī is copying from Ibn al-Jawzī or Ibn al-Athīr, that the printed edition or manuscript with which we compare the work is unlikely to be identical to that used by al-Maqrīzī when he wrote the text. Differences in spelling or words might as much represent interventions or accidents unique to the copy used by al-Maqrīzī, as alterations the author made himself.

Where close attention is paid to differences and similarities in the language between texts, the manuscript tradition cannot be ignored. For this reason, close attention has been paid to the editors' footnotes and other critical apparatus. For example, in Sayyid's edition of Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār*, he has attempted to provide a critical reconstruction of the source by adding text from other quotations of Ibn Muyassar (such as those in al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*) that are not found in the *Akḥbār* manuscript (which comprises an incomplete set of notes made by al-Maqrīzī, not the whole text), noting these additions in square brackets.³³ When comparing the texts, account has been taken of these kinds of additions to consider if it is appropriate to attribute them to Ibn Muyassar, or if al-Maqrīzī has taken that material from a source text that he shares with Ibn Muyassar.

2.2. Introducing the two sources for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate: the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī* (SY) and the annals.

In the previous section I stressed that al-Yāzūrī's vizierate is a useful period for understanding Fatimid historiography. This is because his vizierate marked a moment of political stability that was followed by significant unrest. This was accompanied by the rise of the Seljuk Turks and their invasion of Syria. As a result, historians writing in the period after al-Yāzūrī's dismissal reflected on his vizierate in different ways. These reflections on his legacy are not seen in the three surviving contemporary texts, but in the histories written

³² Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, I:47-8 (editor's introduction).

³³ Sayyid still acknowledges that his edition should be understood as excerpts from Ibn Muyassar's text, rather than the original text. Ibn Muyassar, *Muntaqā min Akḥbār Miṣr*, ed. Sayyid (Cairo, 2014), *45-7.

much later in Egypt. As was argued in chapter 1, these late Egyptian sources have been proven to quote from Fatimid histories which had survived well into the Mamluk period. Of these late Mamluk texts, al-Maqrīzī is the most famous for making extensive use of these sources.

For al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, it appears that al-Maqrīzī possessed an extensive copy of a biography (the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī*, SY), copying it into three of his texts. This becomes most apparent when one compares his *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*. The existence of the SY has already been discussed by Brett, but his work on this source did not utilise the *Muqaffā*. In addition, in the *Itti'āz*, al-Maqrīzī quoted from at least one other source, the annals. This section will argue that by reading the *Muqaffā* alongside the *Itti'āz* it is possible to better understand the scope of the SY and annals. This will be argued in three parts. Part one will introduce the SY and annals. Part two will outline Brett's argument regarding the sources. Part three will then engage closely with Brett's discussions of the Zirid revolt in Ifrīqīya and the revolt of the Banū Qurra, and argue that the evidence from the *Muqaffā* indicates that the SY contained a lengthy account of both revolts.

2.2.1. Introducing the SY and annals

The SY is quoted only by a small number of authors, and prominent among them is al-Maqrīzī. It is cited in Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Ta'rīkh Ḥalab* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. It is additionally quoted without citation in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*, al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*. If we rely on the evidence of narrative and not on lexical similarities, then it is possible that Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī also used the text in his *Raf' al-Iṣr 'an Qudāt Miṣr*.³⁴ That the SY is a source for the *Bughya*, *Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz* has been accepted without controversy,³⁵ but the importance of the *Muqaffā* as a witness to the SY has been significantly understated. In his edition of the *Itti'āz*, Sayyid has highlighted in one case how both it and the *Muqaffā* depend on the SY, but he does not discuss the *Muqaffā*'s sources in any further detail.³⁶ From the evidence of text reuse, it appears that the *Muqaffā*'s

³⁴ Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, *Raf' al-Iṣr 'an Qudāt Miṣr*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar (Cairo, 1998), II:129-134. We know, however, that Ibn Ḥajar had accessed a copy of al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and he might have copied his information from this text. Bauden, 'Maqriziana X', 76.

³⁵ See, for example, al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, ed. Sayyid, I:*21 (editor's introduction) and Brett, 'Execution', 18.

³⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, ed. Sayyid, II: 292, n. 1; he also notes that the *Itti'āz* probably relies on the SY for much of its accounts of al-Yāzūrī (II:257, n. 2).

biography of al-Yāzūrī represents a significant part if not the whole of the SY. A study of the *Muqaffā*'s biography, therefore, would provide invaluable insights into how Fatimid biographies (of which so few survive) were written.

The extent of the annals is, by comparison, more difficult to grasp. There is good evidence that Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* had used annals from al-Yāzūrī's vizierate and that al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* had also used them (both perhaps copying Ibn Muyassar). Drawing an exact genealogy is further complicated by the fact that Ibn Muyassar's text survives only as a set of notes made by al-Maqrīzī. It is possible that quotations of the annals in the *Itti'āz* are more detailed than those found in Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* simply because he copied more of the *Akhbār* into the *Itti'āz* than he did into his notebook.³⁷ Whether the *Itti'āz* quotes the annals through Ibn Muyassar or not, it is the most useful starting point for identifying the source because it also quotes extensively from the SY. By comparing the *Itti'āz* with the *Muqaffā*, the SY can be separated, leaving the annals and any other sources used by al-Maqrīzī.

2.2.2. The SY and annals according to Brett

Brett has concluded that there are three broad tendencies in the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate: pro-Yāzūrī, anti-Yāzūrī and Imam-Caliph-oriented. He sees this as the result of the two source types, where the SY gives a pro-Yāzūrī account, and the annals provide both the anti-Yāzūrī and Imam-Caliph-oriented accounts. This has been shown through two case studies: 1. the revolt of Fatimid governor Mu'izz b. Bādīs in Ifrīqiya, and 2. the events leading up to al-Yāzūrī's arrest and execution. The first is developed in the article 'the Quarrel with the Zirids', where Brett discusses the sources surrounding the revolt and the Fatimids' response and identifies an official annalistic account of the events. Brett then returns to this case study in the article 'the Execution of al-Yāzūrī', and links his observations about the historiography of the revolt to the narratives of al-Yāzūrī's downfall. It is in this second essay that Brett associates the pro-Yāzūrī accounts of the *Itti'āz* with the SY.

To illustrate the importance of the *Muqaffā*, the following section will engage in detail with the revolts of Mu'izz b. Bādīs, and the Banū Qurrā. Immediately following al-Yāzūrī's

³⁷ It is thought that the annalistic source used by Ibn Muyassar is al-Muḥannak's chronicle: Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, *36 (on al-Muḥannak), *46 (on state of the manuscript); Bora, 'Ibn Muyassar', *EI2*; Walker, *Exploring*, 162; Brett, 'Execution', 84.

appointment as vizier, relations with the governor of Ifrīqīya, Mu‘izz b. Bādīs, had begun to decline, and some sources claim that he had declared his allegiance to the Abbasids. In response the Fatimids sent an army to Ifrīqīya, which appears to have been made up largely of the Zughba and Riyāḥ tribes, commanded by Ibn Mulhim. Al-Qayrawān and al-Mahdiyya were eventually subdued and Mu‘izz sent into retreat. In some of the texts, accounts of the above events are then followed by a narrative of the expanding power of the Banū Qurra in the region of Buḥayra on the far west of Alexandria, against whom al-Yāzūrī sent an army to bring them back into line.

For the above events, Brett identified three types of source. First, the annals for the 440s, which recounted the events from the perspective of the Imam-Caliph,³⁸ without much mention of al-Yāzūrī. Brett argues that the focus on the Imam-Caliph had resulted from the annalist’s use of *sijillāt* as source material. These annals tell a largely military narrative, concerning the mobilisation of the Zughba and Riyāḥ, the capture of the two cities and return of spoils to Cairo. Some of those details are found in the only surviving *sijill* to document the events.³⁹ Second, there are the annals for the 450s, which are focussed on criticising al-Yāzūrī, by describing his failures in managing the conflict.⁴⁰ Brett argues that the annals for the 440s and 450s are the main sources for Ibn al-Ṣayrafī’s *Ishāra* and Ibn Muyassar’s *Akḥbār*. However, he asserts that Ibn al-Ṣayrafī put a further spin on the 450 annals, using them to show the importance of ‘diplomatic propriety’.⁴¹ Third, there is the pro-Yāzūrī SY, which according to Brett narrates only the revolt of the Banū Qurra, and is quoted by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī.⁴²

2.2.3. The revolt of Mu‘izz b. Bādīs and the Banū Qurra according to the *Muqaffā* and *Itti‘āz*

Comparison with the *Muqaffā* and *Itti‘āz* suggests that Ibn al-Ṣayrafī’s main source for the pro-Yāzūrī accounts of Mu‘izz b. Bādīs’s revolt is also the SY. Appendix C provides a comparison of all of the relevant passages on the two revolts in the *Itti‘āz*, *Muqaffā* and

³⁸ Brett, ‘Zirids’, 55.

³⁹ Brett, ‘Zirids’, 50-55; Brett, ‘Execution’, 84-5.

⁴⁰ Brett, ‘Zirids’, 56; Brett, ‘Execution’, 85.

⁴¹ Brett, ‘Execution’, 85.

⁴² Ibid, 85-6.

Ishāra. Comparison between these three sources show clearly that they all share a source text, from which Ibn al-Ṣayrafī has heavily abridged.

Let us first discuss the part of the *Ishāra* that Brett attributes to the SY: the dispute with the Banū Qurra (compared in passages 99 and 100 in appendix C). In the *Ishāra*, *Muqaffā*, and *Itti'āz*, we are told (in summary): Al-Yāzūrī was in his palace, anxiously waiting to hear news of victory over the Banū Qurra. As he went into the garden to perform his ablutions, he found floating in a stream a historical letter addressed to the Imam-Caliph al-Ḥākim sent by one of his commanders, giving news of a victory. Al-Yāzūrī then went to pray. As he began to pray, news arrived of victory over the Banū Qurra. Marvellously, the news had come at the exact same date and time of the victory recounted in the letter. Table 2 below gives an excerpt from the account in the three sources.

Table 2. An excerpt from the *Muqaffā*, *Itti'āz* and *Ishāra* on the discovery of a letter foretelling victory over the Banū Qurra. Underlining shows text shared between the *Muqaffā* and *Ishāra*, yellow highlighting text shared between *Itti'āz* and *Ishāra* and green highlighting indicates an instance of text uniquely shared between the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*.⁴³

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	Passage no.
<p>وجعل في القلب ناصر الدولة بن حمدان، وهو المقدم عليهما. وقرّر معه أن يكون اللقاء في يوم الخميس الخامس من شوال، بطالع تحيّره له. وبعث معه عدّة من طيور الحمام ليُطالعه بما يكون (382) منه ومنهم يوماً بيوم. فلما كان اليوم الذي تقرّر فيه اللقاء، جلس الوزير في</p>	<p>ومقدمه ناصر الدولة، قرّر معه لقاءهم في اليوم الخامس من شوال بطالع يخبره به؛ وسيّر معه عدّة طيور من الحمام ليُطالعه فلما بما يكون يوماً بيوم. كان في ذلك اليوم، وهو يوم خميس جلس في داره وقد اشتد قلقه وكثّر اهتمامه بما يكون من العسكر، واحتجب عن الناس لشغل سره،</p>	<p>وقرّر معه لقاءهم في يوم الخميس الخامس من شوال قريباً من صلاة الظهر يطالع بخبره فلما كان في ذلك اليوم جلس في داره وهو شديد القلق على ما يكون من العسكر واحتجب عن الناس منتظراً سقوط الطائر بما يكون فلم يزل كذلك إلى الساعة الخامسة من نهاره فقام ليجدد طهارة</p>	99

⁴³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:381-2; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:220; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 71-70.

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	Ishāra	Passage no.
<p>داره وهو شديد القلق كثير الاهتمام بأمر العسكر، واحتجب عن الناس لشغل سيره بهذا الأمر. وجلس ينتظر سقوط الطائر بما يكون. فلم يزل كذلك إلى الساعة الخامسة من النهار. فقام ليجدد طهار [ت]-ه وعبر بالبستان وقد أطلق الماء في محاريه، فرأى ورقة تمر على وجه الماء فأخذها متفائلاً بها فوجدها أول كتاب كان وصل من القائد فضل إلى الحاكم بأمر الله، قد ذهبت طرته وعنوانه وبقي صدر الكتاب "كتب عبد مولانا الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين من المخيم المنصور في الساعة الخامسة من نهار يوم الخميس الخامس من شوال وقد أظفره الله عز وجل بعدو الله وعدو الحضرة المطهرة أبي ركة المخدول (70) هو في قبضة الأسر والحمد لله رب العالمين</p>	<p>وجلس ينتظر الطائر. فلم يزل كذلك إلى الساعة الخامسة من نهاره، فقام ليجدد طهارة، فعبر البستان وقد أطلق الماء في مجاريه، فرأى ورقة تمر على وجه الماء، فأخذها متفائلاً بها، فوجدها أول كتاب كان وصل من القائد فضل إلى الحاكم بأمر الله، قد ذهبت طرته وعنوانه وبقي صدره، وهو: "كتب عبد مولانا الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين من المخيم المنصور في الساعة (221) الخامسة من نهار الخميس الخامس من شوال، وقد أظفره الله عز وجل بعدو الله تعالى وعدو الحضرة المطهرة، أبي ركة المخدول، وهو في قبضة الأسارى والحمد لله رب العالمين".</p>	<p>فعبير بالبستان وقد أطلق الماء فرأى ورقة تمر على وجه الماء فأخذها وتفاءل بها فوجدها أول كتاب كان وصل من القائد فضل إلى الإمام الحاكم قد ذهبت طرته وعنوانه وبقي صدر الكتاب "كتب عبد مولانا الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين من المخيم المنصور في الساعة الخامسة من نهار يوم الخميس الخامس من شوال وقد أظفره الله عز وجل بعدو الله وعدو الحضرة المطهرة أبي ركة المخدول (70) هو في قبضة الأسر والحمد لله رب العالمين</p>	

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	Passage no.
العالمين.			

As can be seen from table 2, there is a significant amount of text shared between the three accounts. However, there are differences that make clear that al-Maqrīzī had not simply copied from the *Ishāra*. For example, at the start of the account, the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* state that al-Yāzūrī had given his commander a number of carrier pigeons (highlighted in green in the table); this detail is omitted by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī. Comparison with the *Ishāra* shows, moreover, that al-Maqrīzī has copied the versions in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* independently of one another. For example, the *Muqaffā* shares the same phrasing as Ibn al-Ṣayrafī to state 'he [al-Yāzūrī] was very anxious' (*wa-huwa shadīdu al-qalaqi*), where the *Itti'āz* writes 'his anxiety had worsened' (*wa-qad ishtadda qalaquhu*). It appears from this case, that the phrasing in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra* and the *Muqaffā* is that of the source text, where the *Itti'āz* has subtly rephrased. As noted above, Brett asserts that Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's source here was the SY, and if this is the case it appears that both the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* had copied from the SY as well.

A long passage of shared text between the al-Maqrīzī's two works and the *Ishāra* is very rare, and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī usually abbreviates much more extensively. The campaign against the Banū Qurra is a clear example of this. The anecdote given above is preceded in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* by a longer discussion of the Banū Qurra's expansion and al-Yāzūrī's decision to send an army against them (761 words in the *Muqaffā* and 466 words in the *Itti'āz*). This lengthy description is quickly summarised by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī as:

[the matters] came to pass with the Banū Qurra and the Ṭalḥiyyīn that necessitated the sending of armies against them. So they were sent out towards them, commanded by Nāṣir al-Dawla Ḥassan b. Ḥamdān.⁴⁴

Brett has argued that the SY is a pro-Yāzūrī account, and the additional passages related by the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* on the Banū Qurra conform to this thesis. See in particular:

⁴⁴ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 71. For a full comparison of the related passages, see appendix C, passages 87-98.

When the vizier sent out the army to fight the Banū Qurra the people of the state rejected his opinion... [but al-Yāzūrī's] good actions proved their belief wrong.⁴⁵

This passage is clearly written to stress al-Yāzūrī's merits. The implication is that he encountered hostility at court over his decisions (this appears to be a topos used throughout the SY),⁴⁶ but in the end al-Yāzūrī proves that he is more than capable with his defeat of the Banū Qurra. Thus a comparison between the broader accounts concerning Banū Qurra in the *Ishāra*, *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* suggest that all three have quoted from the SY, and that the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* quote much longer passages from this source than Ibn al-Ṣayrafī.

A similar pattern of reuse is seen for the descriptions of the rebellion of Mu'izz b. Bādīs and al-Yāzūrī's response. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī states that the dispute broke out with the Zirids because Mu'izz had signed a letter to al-Yāzūrī, using the formula 'his [al-Yāzūrī's] charge' (*ṣanī'atuhu*) rather than the customary 'his servant' (*'abduhu*). Brett draws attention to Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's background as head of the *dīwān al-'inshā'*, and asserts that the author had used the case as an example of failed diplomatic protocol on the part of Mu'izz (and thus a case for the importance of his *dīwān*).⁴⁷ The episode is, however, also found almost verbatim in both the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*. The three versions are shown in table 3 below.

Table 3. A comparison of the *Muqaffā*, *Itti'āz* and *Ishāra* on the misuse of diplomatic terminology by the governor Mu'izz b. Bādīs. Underlining indicates text shared between the *Muqaffā* and *Ishāra* and highlighting text shared between the *Itti'āz* and *Ishāra*.⁴⁸

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	Passage no.
وكتب ملوك الأطراف فأجابوه بما يليق بقدره ووفور حقه من الرئاسة، ما خلا معز بن باديس صاحب إفريقية، فإنه قصر	وكتب ملوك الأطراف، فأجابوه، بوفور حقه، إلا معز الدولة بن باديس الصنهاجي صاحب إفريقية، فإنه قصر في	وكان يبدأ باسمه في عنوانات الكتب ووقاه ملوك الأطراف في المكاتبة حقه من الرئاسة ما خلا معز ابن باديس	75

⁴⁵ Translation from the *Muqaffā* version (see appendix C, passage 95). Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:381; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:219.

⁴⁶ For another example, see table 9 below.

⁴⁷ Brett, 'Zirids', 57; Brett, 'Execution', 85.

⁴⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:376; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:212; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 72.

<p>به في المكاتبه عما كاتب</p> <p>به من تقدمه من الوزراء.</p> <p>وكان يكاتب كل منهم</p> <p>بـ"عبده"، فجعل مكاتبته</p> <p>"صنيعته".</p>	<p>المكاتبه عما كان يكاتب به</p> <p>من تقدم من الوزراء، فإنه</p> <p>كان يكاتب كلا منهم</p> <p>"بعده" فجعل مكاتبته</p> <p>"صنيعته".</p>	<p>الصنهاجي فانه قصر به</p> <p>في المكاتبه عما كان</p> <p>يكاتب به من تقدمه من</p> <p>الوزراء فكان يكاتب كلا</p> <p>منهم بعده فجعل يكاتبه</p> <p>بصنيعته</p>	
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As with the case shown in table 2 above, much of the text here is shared between the *Ishāra* and al-Maqrīzī's two texts. In fact, the similarities are such that one could believe that al-Maqrīzī had copied from Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, making a few small changes. However, the passages that follow in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* make clear that these similarities have actually emerged through a shared source.

The passages that follow in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* are nearly identical (see appendix C, passages 76 and 77). They describe Mu'izz b. Badīs's correspondence with al-Yāzūrī through a messenger, in an exchange that became more and more hostile until al-Yāzūrī was forced to go to war. In describing these events, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī shares some language with the *Muqaffā* and the *Itti'āz*, especially at the end of the narrative. However, he abbreviates the exchange with Mu'izz to:

'[al-Yāzūrī] summoned his [Mu'izz's] deputy and scolded him [Mu'izz] in a kind way. So the deputy wrote to him [al-Mu'izz], [but] he did not refrain. So al-Yāzūrī made to draw a knife from his pencease.'⁴⁹

Much of the language used in this summary (especially the reference to drawing of the knife) is shared with the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*, but all the detail has been lost. In the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* we are, by comparison, told exactly how Mu'izz's deputy was scolded by al-Yāzūrī and given the context that had led the vizier to draw the knife. As such, it is likely that the whole narrative of the dispute belongs to a source that is shared between the *Itti'āz*, *Muqaffā* and *Ishāra*, of which al-Maqrīzī's versions are the most detailed. This is not, as

⁴⁹ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 72-1.

Brett supposed, an episode composed by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī to teach a diplomatic lesson, but a part of a larger pro-Yāzūrī (and perhaps pro-secretarial) source.

The source shared between the three texts for the dispute with al-Muʿizz and the fight against the Banū Qurra is likely to be the same text. In the *Muqaffā* and the *Ishāra* these two events are discussed one after the other using the same language. Both begin by describing al-Muʿizz's initial dispute with al-Yāzūrī, which leads him to send out the tribes of Zughba and Riyāḥ under the command of Ibn Mulhim. The texts then describe the occupation of al-Qayrawān and al-Mahdiyya and the return of the spoils to Cairo. These descriptions of the campaign against al-Muʿizz are then immediately followed by the discussion of events surrounding the Banū Qurra. Only in the *Ittiʿāz* is this narrative broken up by the addition of other anecdotes (most of which provide a slightly different perspective on events in Ifrīqiya – see passage numbers 78, 79 and 86 in appendix C). If we accept Brett's conclusion that Ibn al-Ṣayrafī quotes the narrative on the Banū Qurra from the SY, it is likely that the preceding narratives are also taken from the same source. Comparison with the *Muqaffā* therefore indicates that the SY is the main source used in the *Ishāra* and *Ittiʿāz* both for both the revolt of the Zirids and the Banū Qurra. This text evidently has a pro-Yāzūrī perspective, but it also appears to be pro-secretarial, placing significant emphasis on correspondence and diplomatic formality.

2.3. Studying the SY and annals through a statistical method

As has been stressed in the section above, there are two types of source for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate: the SY and the annals. These two histories have been identified by Brett in his studies of the revolts of the Zirids and Banū Qurra and the execution of al-Yāzūrī. Through a comparison of the *Muqaffā*, *Ittiʿāz* and *Ishāra*, it seems that the SY was extensively in the later historiography. In addition, such a comparison makes clear that Ibn al-Ṣayrafī had heavily shortened and paraphrased the SY.

The case of the revolt of the Zirids and the Banū Qurra also suggested that the *Muqaffā* provides the most detailed of the quotations from the SY. In this section I will provide further evidence for this and note how al-Maqrīzī had quoted the SY in the *Khīṭaṭ* and *Ittiʿāz*. Small differences between the quotations in these three texts suggests that al-Maqrīzī had possessed a copy of the SY and copied from it directly when quoting it in his texts.

Moreover, it appears that the *Muqaffā* only uses the SY as its source. By comparison, the *Itti'āz* uses another source alongside the SY, which appears to be annalistic in nature. This broader picture becomes clear through a comparison of the whole of the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī with the *Itti'āz*, using a statistical method.

This section will be broken into five parts. Part one will outline the statistical method that has been adopted for comparing the texts. Part two will look at the few instances where the SY is cited and compare these cited passages with their counterparts in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*. This will show how passages that are directly attributed to the SY are found in different parts of the *Muqaffā*'s biography, suggesting that the wider biography uses the SY as its source. Part three will then compare specific passages with the *Itti'āz* to argue that the *Muqaffā* provides the most detailed quotations of the SY. Part four will argue that comparisons between the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* show how al-Maqrīzī had returned to the original source text when writing each of these works. Part five will then examine the parts of the *Itti'āz* that do not use the SY and argue that the majority of these sections quote from the Fatimid annals.

2.3.1. The Statistical method

This section will utilise word counts to quantify the similarities and differences between the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* and through this begin to understand their source usage. It should be stressed from the outset that the methods used here are intended to help indicate broader trends, rather than precisely document minute differences and similarities. For this study, the two texts were compared across the period of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate: the whole biography of al-Yāzūrī in the *Muqaffā* and the years 439-450 of the *Itti'āz*.

While reading the works side-by-side, I broke them down into small units (typically less than 100 words) and defined each section based on its relationship to the other text using the following categories:

1. Not reused: the passage of text is not found in the compared text.
2. Reused: the passage has significant shared words with the compared text (for an example, see table 2).
3. Reused and rearranged: the passage has been reused, but it appears in a different order to that presented in the compared text (for example, passages 4, 5 and 6 are

all reused. In the *Itti'āz* they appear in this order, in the *Muqaffā* passage 4 has been rearranged to appear at the end of the work, after passage 228 – see these passage numbers in appendix A).

4. Partial paraphrase: the passage shares words with the compared text and the meaning is the same, but some words have been omitted or parts paraphrased (see table 3).
5. Full paraphrase: the passage has minimal shared words (typically proper nouns) with the compared text but the content is the same.

The following tables give examples of how cases 2 and 3 are distinguished.

Table 4. An example of a reuse case. Identical words are underlined and the passage number corresponds to appendix A.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no.
<p>فاستدعى ناصر الدولة حسين بن حمدان <u>بعض خواصّ اليازوري وقال له: اعلم</u> <u>أنّ القاضي له من الثناء الجميل كثير،</u> <u>ونحن شاكرون له، معتذرون بجميله،</u> <u>مفتقرون إلى جاهه في جميع أمورنا.</u> <u>واعتفاؤه من هذا الأمر لا يبرئه من ذمنا</u> <u>إن وقفت حوائجنا، ويكون الشكر فيه</u> <u>لغيره إن قضيت. وهذا الرجل عميد</u> <u>الملك هوذا (376) يحمل الرجال عليه</u> <u>ويشعرهم أنّه يجهد في قضاء حوائجهم،</u> <u>وأنّه يعترضه بما يبطلها عليهم، وفي</u> <u>هذا الأمر ما يعلمه. فقل له عنّي: يا</u> <u>سيّدنا، أمّا إذ تريد شكر الرجال وسلامة</u> <u>صدورهم لك وخلص نيّاتهم في</u> <u>طاعتك، فادخل في هذا الأمر. فإن</u> <u>أحسنّت عرفوا ذاك لك وشكروه منك،</u></p>	<p>فلما كان في بعض الأيام قال ناصر <u>الدولة حسن بن حسين بن حمدان لبعض</u> <u>ثقاته: اعلم أنّ القاضي له الثناء الجميل</u> <u>الكثير، ونحن شاكرون له، مُقَدِّدون</u> <u>بجميله، مفتقرون (211) إلى جاهه في</u> <u>جميع أمورنا؛ واعتفاؤه من هذا الأمر</u> <u>لا يبرئه من ذمنا إن وقفت حوائجنا،</u> <u>ويكون الشكر فيه لغيره إن قُضيت؛</u> <u>وهذا الرجل عميد الملك هوذا يحمل</u> <u>الرجال عليه ويُشعرهم أنّه يجتهد في</u> <u>قضاء حوائجهم، وأنّه يعترضه بما</u> <u>يُبطلها عليهم؛ وفي هذا الأمر ما تعلمه.</u> <u>فقل أنت له عنّي: يا سيّدنا، إمّا أن تزيد</u> <u>شكر الرجال وسلامة صدورهم لك</u> <u>وخلص نيّاتهم في طاعتك، فادخل في</u> <u>هذا الأمر، فإن أحسنّت عرفوا ذلك لك،</u></p>	72

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no.
<p>وإن أسأتَ كان لك ضرره وشره. وإلا فاعتزل جانباً ولا تلعب بروحك مع الرجال لئلا يُتلفَكَ أبو الفضل. وإن أذن لي في المثل بحضرته ذكرتُ له ذلك.</p>	<p>وشكروه منك وإن أسأتَ كان عليك ضرره وشره؛ وإلا فاعتزل جانباً ولا تلعب بروحك مع الرجال؛ وإلا أبلغك أبو الفضل.</p>	

Table 5. An example of a partial paraphrase. Identical words are underlined, bold indicates material that is unique to one text and the passage number corresponds to appendix A.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no.
<p>فكفاه الله أمره، وقبض عليه وشغرت/ رتبة الوزارة عدّة أيّام، [361 أ] والسيدة تعرضها على اليازوري وهو يمتنع. فأقيم أبو الفضل صاعد وخلع عليه وعُمل واسطة لا وزيراً. فصار إذا أحب أن يعرض على الخليفة أمراً ممّا يتعلّق به يتقدّم اليازوري إلى الحضرة، ثم</p>	<p>وبقي الأمر في الوزارة عدة أيام والخليفة يعرض لقاضي القضاة أبي محمد اليازوري بالوزارة وهو يمتنع عليه، فأُسند إلى أبي الفضل صاعد بن مسعود، من الأمراء، وأقيم واسطة لا وزيراً، وخلع عليه ولقب بعميد الملك زين الكفاة، وجعل يُرسم عليه عرض ما يختص بالرجال دون الأموال. وكان إذا أراد الاستئذان على ما يفعل جلس اليازوري بحضرة الخليفة</p>	70

Appendix A provides a table containing every compared passage of the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*, produced as a result of the process described above. In this appendix each pair of passages has a unique number, and text that is shared is underlined. In cases of rearrangement, the corresponding column will read: 'Out of sequence – see corresponding number under x' (see, for example, passage 4). As can be seen in appendix A, cases of full paraphrase are very rare, but partial paraphrase is relatively common. The passage numbers will be referred to throughout the dissertation for ease of comparison.

Once a passage was classified, the length of the passage in words was counted for each text and these counts were logged in an excel spreadsheet in the order in which the passages appear in the text. The two cases above would, therefore, be logged with their accompanying passages as follows (table 6):

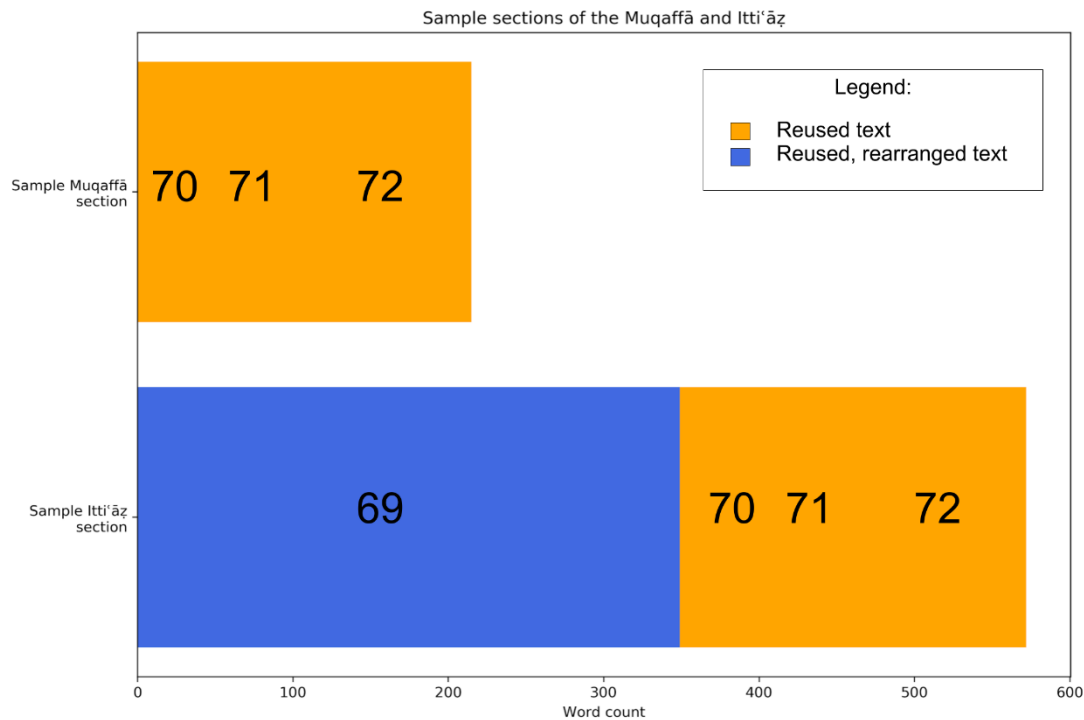
Table 6. An example of how passage types and word-counts are logged

Passage no.	<i>Muqaffā</i> word count	<i>Itti'āz</i> word count	Classification
69		349	No reuse
70	44	57	Partial paraphrase
71	44	42	Partial paraphrase
72	127	124	Reuse

As can be seen from the examples given above, the process of logging the reuse cases was not precise. The final words of passage 70 (in table 5) in the *Muqaffā* might have been separated and counted as a case of non-reuse. However, as the sections being compared in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* are long (totalling 9611 and 14085 words respectively), this is sufficient for gaining a general understanding of how the sources are similar and where they differ.

The counts and their classifications are useful for understanding broader trends, especially when displayed on a chart. In this study, stacked bar charts were produced using colours to indicate the different classifications. These charts are found in appendix B. On each chart, the word count is given on the x axis and the y axis is used to divide the text into sections or chapters. The left of the bar should therefore be read as the start of the section or chapter and the right the end. Figure 1 has been given as an illustration of a stacked bar chart for the 4 passages given in table 3. For ease of understanding, the passage numbers have been labelled onto the chart (in the charts given in the appendix, each passage is too small to be individually labelled). Note that for ease of reading partial paraphrase and reuse are given the same colour (as both represent types of reuse).

Figure 1: The data given in table 6 shown in a chart (passage numbers added for illustration).



Logging the word counts for reused and non-reused text is a valuable way of seeing broader trends. For example, one can see at a glance which years of the *Itti'āz* share more material with the *Muqaffā*. This method has clear advantages when used in conjunction with a close reading of the text and its meaning.

2.3.2. Citations of the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī* (SY) and the *Muqaffā*

The SY is not cited in the *Ishāra*, *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*, and Brett has identified the SY on the basis of the pro-Yāzūrī content in the *Ishāra* and *Itti'āz*. The SY is, however, cited in two texts: Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Ta'rīkh Ḥalab* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. The excerpts of the SY in these texts are much shorter than those identified by Brett, and they deal with different subjects. In this section I will compare the cited examples in these texts with their uncited parallels in the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*. This will verify that al-Maqrīzī had access to the SY and used it throughout his works. It will, moreover, suggest a large part, if not all, of the biography of al-Yāzūrī in the *Muqaffā* is quoted from the SY.

Ibn al-‘Adīm cites the SY in one place, and the *Khiṭaṭ* cites it in three places. In each citation the author never specifies an author. Table 7 gives the four variations and their contexts.

Table 7. Variations on the title of the SY in citations in the Bughya and Khiṭaṭ and the subject matter of the following account.⁵⁰

Variant	Subject of following anecdote	Text
‘I found it mentioned in the <i>Sīrat al-Wazīr al-Yāzūrī</i> , [which was] compiled by an Egyptian. I do not know his name.’	The biography of Ibn Iṣṭafānūs al-Rūmī al-Anṭākī	<i>Bughyat al-Ṭalab</i>
‘The compiler of the <i>Sīrat al-Wazīr al-Nāṣir lil-Dīn al-Ḥassan b. ‘Alī al-Yāzūrī</i> said’	Reorganisation of the <i>dawāwīn</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>
‘The compiler of the <i>Sīrat al-Wazīr al-Yāzūrī</i> said’	the <i>matjar</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>
‘The compiler of <i>al-Sīra al-Yāzūriyya</i> mentioned’	the <i>matjar</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>

The text to which both the authors had access clearly had no author identified on the manuscript. Ibn al-‘Adīm is explicit that he did not know the author of the work, only that he was Egyptian, where al-Maqrīzī refers to the author as ‘the compiler [*al-jāmi*]’. Ibn al-‘Adīm was writing in Aleppo and al-Maqrīzī in Cairo at different times. It is possible that both are working with different copies of the SY, which in both cases did not have clear authorship.

Ibn al-‘Adīm has excerpted from the source to provide material for a biography of an obscure Byzantine official (one who was a person of note to the Fatimid author of the SY,⁵¹ but for whom no other Arabic records appear to survive). In the *Khiṭaṭ*, al-Maqrīzī has similarly excerpted from the SY to serve the purposes of the work (that is, to elucidate the history of Cairene institutions). One concerns al-Yāzūrī’s reorganisation of the *dawāwīn*, and

⁵⁰ Ibn al-‘Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab fī Ta’rīkh Ḥalab*, ed. Suhayl Zakār (Damascus, 1988), X:4663; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I:221, 294; II:521.

⁵¹ For the importance of this Byzantine, see section 5.3.

the other two concern the *matjar* (a state stockpile of commodities) during the Fatimid period. All four cases are also quoted in the *Muqaffā* and the *Itti'āz*, but in these cases the narratives surrounding the anecdotes are kept intact. The *Muqaffā* is closest in wording to the *Khiṭaṭ*. The *Itti'āz* more closely follows the order given in Ibn al-ʿAdīm's quotation, but there are still some words that are uniquely shared between the quotations in the *Muqaffā* and *Bughya*. For a comparison of all four excerpts with the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*, see appendix D.

The excerpts in the *Khiṭaṭ* are always less detailed than those in the *Muqaffā*. In particular, large sections of narrative have been omitted in the *Khiṭaṭ* and some of the wording changed. We are fortunate that al-Maqrīzī has quoted from the same passage of the SY (concerning the *matjar*) in two places in the *Khiṭaṭ*, and this allows us to see how he has quoted differently from the source text. Overall, it indicates that the *Muqaffā* contains a variant that is closest to the original source. In this anecdote, the *Muqaffā* discusses the *matjar* in the context of the famine of 444. The *Muqaffā* provides a narrative of a judgement that al-Yāzūrī gave while he was chief Qāḍī, how this had led to a deflation in bread prices and the Imam-Caliph's subsequent decision to stockpile non-perishable commodities in the place of grain (to ensure that the stored goods retained their value). By comparison, the *Khiṭaṭ* shortens the narrative, to simply describe what the *matjar* was and note the change implemented by al-Mustanṣir. Table 8 provides both examples from the *Khiṭaṭ* side-by-side with the version in the *Muqaffā*.

*Table 8. A comparison of the Muqaffā and Khiṭaṭ concerning the matjar. Underlining indicates shared text between the first instance and the Muqaffā and yellow highlighting shared text between the second instance and the Muqaffā. Green highlighting indicates a case where a verb has been changed.*⁵²

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (First instance)	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (Second instance)
	و"التمجر" عبارة عما يبتاع ل للديوان من بضائع [التجار الواردين مما] تدعو إليها الحاجة	وذكر جامع السيرة اليازورية أن المتجر كان يقام به للديوان من الغلة، وأن الوزير أبا محمد

⁵² al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:384-6 (passages 113-124); al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I:294, II:521.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (First instance)	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (Second instance)
	ويقتضيه طلب الفائدة. قال جامع "سيرة الوزير اليازوري":	اليازوري قال للخليفة المستنصر - وهو يومئذ يتقلّد وظيفة قاضي القضاة،
وقصر النيل بمصر في سنة أربع وأربعمئة، ولم يكن بالمخازن السلطانية شيء من الغلال، فاشتدّت المسغبة، وغلا السعر. وكان لخلوّ المخازن سبباً: وهو أنّ الوزير الناصر للدين أبا محمد اليازوري لما أضيف إليه القضاء في وزارة أبي البركات الجرجرائي،	وقصر النيل بمصر في سنة أربع وأربعين وأربع مائة، ولم يكن في مخازن الغلات شيء، فاشتدّت المسغبة بمصر، وكان لخلوّ المخازن سبباً أوجب ذلك، وهو أنّ الوزير الناصر للدين لما أضيف إليه القضاء في أيام أبي البركات الوزير	وقد قصر النيل في سنة أربع وأربعين وأربع مائة، ولم يكن بالمخازن السلطانية غلال فاشتدّت المسغبة
335 words of the <i>Muqaffā</i> version have been skipped here for ease of comparison (they concern the deflation of bread prices and the cause of this).		
(385) وكانت العادة أنّه يشتري للدیوان السلطانيّ في كلّ سنة غلّة بمائة ألف دينار وتجعل متجراً.	كان يبتاع للسلطان في كلّ سنة غلة بمائة ألف درهم، وتجعل متجراً.	
فلما عاد قاضي القضاة إلى القاهرة مثل بحضرة الخليفة المستنصر، وعرفه ما منّ الله تعالى به في هذا اليوم من إرخاص السعر وتوفّر الناس على الدعاء لأمير المؤمنين، وأنّ الله -	فمثل القاضي بخضرة الخليفة المستنصر بالله، وعرفه	

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (First instance)	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (Second instance)
<p>جَلَّتْ قَدْرَتُهُ - فعل ذلك، وحلَّ إِسْعَادُ النَّاسِ، بحسن نيّة أمير المؤمنين في رعيّته بغير موجب ولا فاعل له، بل بلطف الله تعالى واتّفاق قريب يسير. وقصّ عليه الخبر ثمّ</p>		
<p>قال: يا أمير المؤمنين، إنّ (386) المتجر الذي يقام بالغلّة في[له] أوفى مضرّة على المسلمين، وربّما انحطّ السعر عن مشتراها فلا يمكن بيعها، حتى تتغيّر في المخازن وتتلّف. والمصلحة أن تُقيم متجراً لا كلفة على الناس فيه ويُفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلّة ولا يُخشى عليه من تغيّر في المخازن ولا انحطاط [سعر]: وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك. فأمضى المستنصر له ما رآه،</p>	<p>أن المتجر الذي قام بالغلّة فيه أوفى مضرّة على المسلمين، وربما انحط السعر عن مشتراها فلا يمكن بيعها، فتتعبّن في المخازن وتتلّف، وأنّه يقيم متجراً لا كلفة فيه على الناس، ويفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلّة، ولا يخشى عليه من تغيّره في الخازن ولا انحطاط سعره، وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك؛ فأمضى السلطان له ما رآه.</p>	<p>يا أمير المؤمنين، إنّ المتجر الذي يقام بالغلّة فيه أوفى مضرّة على المسلمين وربما انحط السعر من مشتراها، ولا يمكن بيعها، فتتغيّر في المخازن وتتلّف. وأنّه يقام متجراً لا كلفة فيه على الناس، ويفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلّة ولا يخشى عليه من تغيّر في المخازن ولا انحطاط سعر، وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك. فأمضى الخليفة ما رآه،</p>
<p>واستمرّ ذلك ودام الرخاء على الناس مدة سنين.</p>	<p>واستمرّ ذلك، ودام الرخاء على الناس، فوسّعوا فيه مدة سنين ثمّ عمل الملوك بعد ذلك ديوانا للمتجر، وآخر من عمله الظاهر برقوق.</p>	<p>واستمرّ ذلك، ودام الرخاء على الناس وتوسّعوا</p>

The comparison in table 8 shows how al-Maqrīzī has omitted a large passage of text in the quotation in the *Khiṭaṭ* (335 words in the first quotation and 449 in the second). In both cases, the omissions have removed some of the more narrative components to ensure that the discussion remains focussed on the *matjar*, rather than a specific narrative of al-Yāzūrī. To a similar end, both quotations modify some of the first-person verbs in the narrative. In both cases, al-Maqrīzī has changed a first-person verb to the third person: *an nuqīma* in the *Muqaffā* becomes *annahu yuqīma* in the first case and *annahu yuqāmu* in the second case (see the green highlighting in table 8).

It should additionally be noted that Becker had used this case (citing the *Khiṭaṭ*) to claim that the SY was quite late, as it mentions the Mamluk Sultan Barqūq (d. 801/1399) at the end of the quotation.⁵³ However, Ibn al-‘Adīm’s citation of the SY suggests that Becker was mistaken and that the remark about Barqūq was probably added by al-Maqrīzī. This is further seen through the comparison in table 8, which shows that the *Muqaffā* and the second instance in the *Khiṭaṭ* do not mention Barqūq in connection with the anecdote. This further illustrates how al-Maqrīzī had reframed his quotation of the SY to suit his broader point in the *Khiṭaṭ*.

The impression given from these quotations on the *matjar* are twofold: First, the significant amount of shared text indicates that the source cited as the SY in two places in the *Khiṭaṭ* is also the source text used in the *Muqaffā*. Second, it is clear that the *Muqaffā*’s variant represents the more complete quotation of the SY. In the *Muqaffā* we are given a full narrative of al-Yāzūrī’s involvement in the events and how this relates to the *matjar*. This involves an interaction with the Imam-Caliph and quoted speech. In the second instance in the *Khiṭaṭ* this interaction with the Imam-Caliph is retained with the phrase ‘Yā amīr al-Mu’minīn’, even though the first person verb is changed, where in the first instance the quoted speech is dropped entirely. These small differences suggest that al-Maqrīzī is working with the same source text in each case and quoting it differently. Only in the case of the *Muqaffā* are we presented with a narrative that centres solely around al-Yāzūrī, of the

⁵³ Carl H. Becker, ‘Zur Geschichtsschreibung unter den Fatimiden’, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägypten unter dem Islam* (Strassburg, 1902-3), I:19, n. 9; repeated in Brett, ‘Execution’, 85.

kind one would expect from a biography of the vizier, whereas the *Khiṭaṭ* remains concerned with the *matjar* in broader Egyptian history.

Comparison with the *Khiṭaṭ* tells us at the very least that the SY is the source for the *Muqaffā*'s narrative about the inflation in bread prices and the *matjar*. The other anecdote in the *Khiṭaṭ* concerning al-Yāzūrī's reorganisation of the *dawāwīn* is found in a different part of al-Yāzūrī's biography in the *Muqaffā*, as part of a description of his merits. Ibn al-'Adīm's quotation of the SY is found immediately before the narrative concerning the famine of 444, dealing with the truce with Byzantium. Each quotation, therefore, references a key event in al-Yāzūrī's life, in each case excerpted for another purpose unrelated to al-Yāzūrī. This further suggests that the SY is a narrative source that concerns events during al-Yāzūrī's life from which the *Khiṭaṭ* and Ibn al-'Adīm have selectively taken their anecdotes.

In the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī, the anecdote on the *matjar* and the discussion of the *dawāwīn* are separated by 2750 words. In this space, the *Muqaffā*'s biography continues its narrative of al-Yāzūrī's life, including two major events – the Fatimids' dispute with the Byzantines and the campaign to capture Baghdad. To see a chart of the section lengths and patterns of reuse, see appendix B figure 1 (Ibn al-'Adīm's quote and the *matjar* anecdote appear in section 4 and the *dawāwīn* anecdote in section 8). It is very possible that the material between these two quoted sections also belongs to the SY and that more of the *Muqaffā*'s biography is probably also quoted from the SY. I would argue, in fact, that the entire biography of al-Yāzūrī in the *Muqaffā* uses the SY as its only source. This becomes further apparent through comparison with the *Itti'āz*.

2.3.3. The *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī as the most complete surviving quotation of the SY

As has been underlined above, the SY is quoted in five sources: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*, Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughya*, and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*. Of these the *Ishāra* provides the least extensive quotation, abbreviating the SY into a short biography of al-Yāzūrī. Ibn al-'Adīm and the *Khiṭaṭ*, by comparison, quote precise but short excerpts of the SY, taken out of their narrative context. The *Itti'āz* quotes much more extensively from the SY, using it to cover nearly all aspects of al-Yāzūrī's career, and the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī provides the most extensive quotation of the SY.

In total around 70% of the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī is reused in the *Itti'āz*. To see the full pattern of shared text, see appendix B (figures 1 and 2). In these charts, shared text is indicated in orange and green. Some of this material is identical to that found in the *Muqaffā*, but much of it is found in a more abbreviated form, where certain words are omitted or sentences paraphrased. An example of such a case is given in table 9 below:

Table 9. The early career of al-Yāzūrī compared. Underlining indicates text shared between al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*. Highlighting indicates areas where the text has been abbreviated.⁵⁴

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>
فلما سمع ذلك الوزير أبو البركات، أسقط في يده وقال: أردنا وضعه، والله تعالى يريد رفعه. فقال له أبو الفضل صاعد: أما إذا جرى الأمر بخلاف ما ظنناه وأملناه، فليس إلا مجاملة الرجل ومواقفته على السلامة. فتواتقا وتعاهدا. وصار	فسقط في يده وقال: أردنا وضعه والله تعالى يريد رفعه. فقال له أبو الفضل: أما إذ جرى الأمر بخلاف ما ظنناه فليس إلا مجاملة الرجل. وكان أبو محمد اليازوري
لا يسلم على الوزير ولا يجتمعان إلا يوماً في الشهر، يحضر إليه في داره. فإذا صار إليه احتجب الوزير عن كل أحد،	لا يسلم على الوزير، ولا يجتمعان إلا يوماً في الشهر، يحضر إلى دار الوزير، فإذا حضر إليه احتجب عن كل أحد،

Table 9 contains an excerpt describing the dispute that arose between the vizier Abu al-Barakāt and al-Yāzūrī, after he had been made Chief Qāḍī. The excerpt exhibits the type of abbreviation of the SY that is found throughout the *Itti'āz*. Whole phrases that are repetitive are shortened. For example, the phrase: 'So there was nothing to do except be civil to the man [al-Yāzūrī] and make peace with him. So they [Abū al-Barakāt and Abū al-Faḍl] made an agreement and a promise' is shortened to, 'So there was nothing to do except be civil to the

⁵⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:375; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:208.

man'. In addition, some words are omitted; for example, the word 'amalnahū' (these examples are highlighted in table 9). In both cases, the omission of words does not change the meaning but removes some repetition. Elsewhere in the *Itti'āz* excerpt, al-Maqrīzī adds 'Abū Muḥammad al-Yāzūrī' to clarify that it is his actions that are being described in the following sentences. Mentioning him by name here allows al-Maqrīzī to abbreviate elsewhere without confusing the protagonists. These techniques of abbreviation are found throughout the years 439-450 of the *Itti'āz*.

In the cases like the one above, it is possible that al-Maqrīzī had elaborated from the source text in his own words,⁵⁵ but there are also longer passages of text that are present in the *Muqaffā* but not in the *Itti'āz*. Many of these omitted passages are less than 100 words and continue or add to the narrative that is present in both the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*. This suggests that the passages belong to the original SY and are omitted in the *Itti'āz*'s copy. Table 10 gives an example of where a whole passage of text is omitted:

Table 10. An example of where a larger passage of text is omitted. Underlining indicates text shared between al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*.⁵⁶

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no.
<u>فسير الوزير صمصام الدولة ابن لؤلؤ،</u> <u>أحد الأمراء – وكان رجلاً عاقلاً –</u> ومعه خلعة نفيسة وأمر [ه] أن يصلح ذات بينهم، فإن رضوا بابن أبي الحسين خلع عليه وقرأ سجله بتجديد ولايته. وإن امتنعوا من الطاعة له، لبس هو الخلعة وقرأ سجلاً كتب له بولاية صقلية،	<u>فسير الوزير (222) رجلاً من أمراء</u> <u>الدولة يعرف بصمصام الدولة ابن لؤلؤ،</u>	104
<u>وأن يتلطف في إخراج بني أبي الحسين</u> <u>من جزيرة صقلية ويحملهم إلى القاهرة.</u>	<u>وأسر إليه أن يتلطف في إخراج بني</u> <u>أبي الحسين من صقلية ويسيرهم إلى</u>	105

⁵⁵ This seems unlikely, given al-Maqrīzī rarely added his own words when copying from sources. As Bauden has shown, there is evidence that al-Maqrīzī often attempted to copy precisely from his source texts. In the cases that are studied in the following chapters, there is no clear evidence in the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī that al-Maqrīzī had elaborated on his sources in his own words. Bauden, 'Maqriziana XII', 60.

⁵⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:383; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:221-2.

الحضرة. فدخل إليها، وسأس أمره،	فسار إلى صقلية وتحدث في الصلح. فامتنعوا من ذلك ولم يجد فيهم حيلة. فأظهر سجله ولبس خلعتة فرضوا به.
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The excerpt in table 10 concerns the Fatimids' attempts to manage affairs in Sicily. Two passages have been omitted in the *Itti'āz*: the first of 37 words and the second of 16 words. The first is a continuation of the narrative. Where both the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* begin by stating that Ṣamṣām al-Dawla was sent to Sicily, only the version in the *Muqaffā* describes what he did there. In the second case, a description of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's difficulties convincing the Sicilian populace is abbreviated in the *Itti'āz* to 'his rule became dominant'. Overall, it is clear here that the *Muqaffā* contains the fuller narrative. Similar cases of omitted passages are found throughout the *Itti'āz*'s version of the SY. This pattern is seen in appendix B, figure 1. In this chart, blue indicates passages of text that are not shared with the *Itti'āz*. Note that many of these passages are short (below 50 words) and frequent. Less common are cases where whole narratives are not shared with the *Itti'āz* (seen in the longer stretches of blue in the chart).

2.3.4. The *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* as independent copies of the SY

The two examples discussed above show how the *Muqaffā* shares a source with the *Itti'āz*, and that the *Muqaffā* provides the more detailed version of the text, where the *Itti'āz* abridges and omits text. There are, however, a small number of cases where the *Itti'āz* contains text that is not found in the *Muqaffā*, but that continues the same narrative. We have already seen in the passages concerning the *matjar* how al-Maqrīzī appears to have returned to the same source text multiple times and quoted from it differently. Comparison with the *Itti'āz* further suggests that al-Maqrīzī had returned to the original SY when composing his works.

There are a limited number of cases where the *Itti'āz* provides passages that are not found in the *Muqaffā*'s version of the SY. Table 11 provides an example of where the *Itti'āz* contains the more-detailed variant.

Table 11. A comparison of al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*, where the latter provides more detail. Underlining indicates text shared between the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*.⁵⁷

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>
<p>فصار <u>الوزير كأنه إنما يعرض على اليازوري</u></p> <p><u>فشقّ عليه</u></p> <p>ما صار إليه وأخذ في إعمال الحيلة.</p> <p>فأشار عليه أبو الفضل صاعد بن مسعود أن</p> <p><u>يحسن للخليفة تولية اليازوري القضاء، فإذا تقلّد</u></p> <p><u>القضاء وقع في هور كبير</u></p>	<p>فكان <u>الوزير كأنه يعرض على اليازوري</u></p> <p>الأمر دون الخليفة،</p> <p><u>فيشقّ عليه ذلك،</u></p> <p>ولا يتمكن من مخالئته، ولا يستطيع الصبر</p> <p>على ما به. وكان من جملة أصحاب الدواوين</p> <p>رجل يعرف بالشيخ الأجل عبد الملك زين</p> <p>الكفاة <u>أبي الفضل صاعد بن مسعود، وإليه</u></p> <p>ديوان الشام يومئذ، وهو شيخ خود؛ وكان</p> <p>الوزراء (204) يعتمدون عليه ويرجعون إلى</p> <p>رأيه. فأحضره الوزير، وفاوضه في أمر</p> <p>اليازوري، وأخذ رأيه فيما يعمل معه؛</p> <p><u>فأشار عليه بأن يحسن للخليفة أن يقلّده القضاء،</u></p> <p><u>ظنًا منه أنه إذا تقلّد القضاء فإنه يقع في أمر</u></p> <p><u>كبير.</u></p>

The account in table 11 is taken from a narrative of al-Yāzūrī's rise to power in the Fatimid court and his subsequent disputes with the current vizier. In this discussion, the *Itti'āz* provides 54 words of narrative that are abridged in the *Muqaffā*'s version. In the *Itti'āz* version, we are told that the vizier of the time was troubled by al-Yāzūrī's growing influence and so he proceeded to consult with Abū al-Faḍl Ṣā'd b. Mas'ūd on what to do about the matter. This lengthy story is abbreviated in the *Muqaffā* to:

⁵⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:372; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:203-4.

‘He was troubled by what had happened to him and he set to work on a plan. Abū al-Faḍl Ṣā‘d b. Mas‘ūd advised him...’

It is, therefore, assumed in the *Muqaffā* version that the plan had involved asking Ibn Mas‘ūd for advice, where in the *Itti‘āz* this is described. This case suggests that the *Itti‘āz* provides the more complete quotation from the SY and the *Muqaffā* a more abbreviated variant.

As the examples given above show, there are both cases where the *Muqaffā* gives the more extensive version of the narrative and where the *Itti‘āz* does likewise (albeit much less frequently). Comparison with Ibn al-‘Adīm’s *Bughya* and the *Khiṭaṭ* shows that some of the passages shared between the *Muqaffā* and the *Itti‘āz* are directly attributable to the anonymous SY. We must conclude, then, that the *Muqaffā* and the *Itti‘āz* quoted from the SY independently of one another and that during this process the *Muqaffā* abbreviated much less from this source than the *Itti‘āz*.

The above observations accord with our more general understanding of the texts and al-Maqrīzī’s working methods. Both the *Muqaffā* and the *Itti‘āz* were incomplete at the author’s death. Of the two, the *Itti‘āz* was the more complete, covering all of the years of the Fatimids’ rule with only a few gaps left for adding material later.⁵⁸ According to contemporary reports, the *Muqaffā* was intended to be much longer than the version we possess today.⁵⁹ The extant version of the *Muqaffā* is therefore more of a draft than that of the *Itti‘āz*. From a study of one of al-Maqrīzī’s surviving notebooks, Bauden has developed a theory for how al-Maqrīzī worked. He supposes that al-Maqrīzī copied material into a notebook as he read, grouping it together by topic. The result was a topical arrangement of material that he could then copy into drafts of specific works, such as the *Itti‘āz*.⁶⁰ The text of the *Itti‘āz* bears the clear hallmarks of this process, being a topical and annalistic arrangement of material taken from multiple sources, of which only one is the SY.

⁵⁸ The copyist of one of the surviving *Itti‘āz* manuscripts noted in the margins the presence of whitespace and al-Maqrīzī’s marginal comments and flyleaves, indicating that the work was still in progress. Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz*, ed. Sayyid, *44.

⁵⁹ Bauden, ‘Maqriziana X’, esp. 85-101.

⁶⁰ For a discussion of the notebooks see: Bauden, ‘Maqriziana I: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method, Description: Section 1’, *MSR*, 7(2003), 21-68; Bauden, ‘Maqriziana I, Section 2’; Bauden, ‘Maqriziana II: Discovery of an Autograph Manuscript of al-Maqrīzī: Towards a Better Understanding of His Working Method, Analysis’, *MSR*, 12 (2008), 51-118.

It is my contention that the part of the *Muqaffā* containing the biography of al-Yāzūrī is at an early stage of composition, where al-Maqrīzī is beginning to copy from his reading material. Witkam has noted that the manuscript of the *Muqaffā* was unbound and argued for reading the work as a ‘master file of persons’ that al-Maqrīzī never intended to be a published work but rather as a ‘reference for his other historical works.’⁶¹ Bauden has argued against this, noting that a major part of the manuscript is in quires not slips of paper (as one finds in al-Maqrīzī’s notebook). Instead, Bauden would view the text as a fair copy, which al-Maqrīzī was continuing to update as he worked.⁶² The biography of al-Yāzūrī might, therefore, have been recently added to the dictionary.

We might assume that al-Maqrīzī came across the SY as a source and copied it almost entirely under the heading of al-Yāzūrī. This is in contrast to the *Itti’āz*, where he has dispersed excerpts from the SY into the years where he felt them most relevant. Had al-Maqrīzī had the time, he might have inserted additional information of the kind he added into his *Itti’āz* into the biography of al-Yāzūrī (as we shall see in the following chapters there is plenty of information on al-Yāzūrī’s life that is only found in the *Itti’āz*). As he did not, we are left with a copy of one source, the SY. It might alternatively be the case that al-Maqrīzī found the SY to be an appropriate source for al-Yāzūrī’s life and did not see the need to update it.

2.3.5. *The Itti’āz and the annals*

If we suppose that the SY is the only source used in the *Muqaffā*’s biography of al-Yāzūrī, then material shared between this part of the *Muqaffā* and the *Itti’āz* is also excerpted from the SY. For the years of al-Yāzūrī’s vizierate (439-450), just under 50% of the text is shared with the *Muqaffā*. The remaining half of the text might be taken from a range of sources, but the major source appears to be an annalistic Fatimid source.

Al-Maqrīzī’s use of sources in the *Itti’āz* appears to be sophisticated and deliberate. Excerpts from the SY (that is, material shared with the *Muqaffā*) are interspersed with material from other sources put together to create meaningful narratives, organised by year and topic. As was noted in chapter 1, al-Maqrīzī stresses his affinity for sources written by Egyptians, as

⁶¹ Jan Just Witkam, ‘Reflections on al-Maqrīzī’s Biographical Dictionary’ in Obada Kohela (ed.), *In The History and Islamic Civilisation Essays in honour of Ayman Fu’ād Sayyid* (Cairo, 2014), 100.

⁶² Bauden, ‘Maqriziana X’, 109.

opposed to ‘Easterners’ (*al-mashāriqa*), which he believes are biased against the Fatimids.⁶³ Study of the sections that are not shared with the *Muqaffā* show that al-Maqrīzī does not always practice what he preaches. Al-Maqrīzī singles out Ibn al-Athīr as one such example of an ‘easterner’, but in some places of the years 439-450, the *Itti’āz* shares narratives and language with Ibn al-Athīr’s *Kāmil*. This is seen, for example, with al-Basāsīrī’s Baghdad campaign told under the years 448 and 450. Authors based in Iraq (crucially Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn al-Athīr) provide detailed insight into the events of this campaign as they were witnessed in Iraq. The *Itti’āz*, therefore, takes the *Kāmil* as its source for these Iraqi perspectives. When it does, however, it rarely quotes lengthy passages and it heavily paraphrases and abridges Ibn al-Athīr’s text. Al-Maqrīzī is, therefore, using Ibn al-Athīr as a source for the *Itti’āz*, but he is doing so sparingly, perhaps even reluctantly.⁶⁴

This approach to ‘eastern’ sources in the *Itti’āz* contrasts significantly with the treatment of Egyptian sources. As we have seen with quotations of the SY discussed above, the *Itti’āz* excerpts and abridges from this source, but often still preserves much the text intact, often quoting parts verbatim. For the parts of the *Itti’āz* that are not shared with the *Muqaffā*, we find greatest similarity with other Egyptian sources, crucially Ibn Muyassar’s *Akḥbār*, al-Nuwayrī’s *Nihāya* and al-Maqrīzī’s *Khīṭaṭ*. This is seen, for example, in the case of the Fatimids’ dispute with the Byzantine empress Theodora in the year 447. Under the year 447 of the *Itti’āz*, there is a significant amount of text shared with the year 447 of Ibn Muyassar’s chronicle and with a section of the *Khīṭaṭ*. Of the three texts, the *Itti’āz* is the most detailed, but they all share enough text to suggest a common source.⁶⁵ In cases such as the one above, al-Maqrīzī is either copying from a more complete version of Ibn Muyassar’s text or from a source that he shares with Ibn Muyassar.

It is significant that among the material not shared with the *Muqaffā*, a large proportion is shared with Ibn Muyassar’s *Akḥbār Miṣr*. As was noted in chapter 1, Brett has supposed that Ibn Muyassar based his accounts on a lost ‘Egyptian tradition’, which he has hypothesised was an annalistic source. As this source is found imbedded in two chronicles (the *Akḥbār* and the *Itti’āz*), it is difficult to determine if the original source was annalistic. Many of the

⁶³ Walker has discussed this: Walker, ‘al-Maqrīzī’, 91-2; for al-Maqrīzī’s most-detailed elaboration of his claim, see: al-Maqrīzī, *Itti’āz*, III:342.

⁶⁴ For specific evidence of reuse of Ibn al-Athīr, section 3.2.2 below.

⁶⁵ For a full discussion of this case, see section 5.2.2 below. See also appendix E table 3.

parts of the *Itti'āz* that are not shared with the *Muqaffā* are introduced either with a year, or more commonly '*fīha*' (in this [year]). This phrase might have been added by al-Maqrīzī as he combined his sources into the format of the chronicle, or he might have adopted it directly from an annalistic source that he was copying. It is clear, however, that material not shared with the *Muqaffā* is told from the perspective of the Imam-Caliph, not al-Yāzūrī. At the very least, this material represents a court-based, official perspective on Fatimid history (which might have originally taken the shape of annals).

Conclusions

This chapter has provided a more general view of the sources and their usage, particularly al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*, *Itti'āz* and *Khiṭaṭ* to introduce the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate as it survives in our later sources. The vizierate of al-Yāzūrī forms an ideal vantage point for the study of Fatimid historiography. Al-Yāzūrī provided stable rule that allowed the defeat of the Zirid revolt in Ifrīqīya and led to the temporary capture of Baghdad. The period after his death was, however, one of significant instability that witnessed the spread of the Seljuk Turks into Syria. Historians were, therefore, likely to reflect on al-Yāzūrī's legacy in different ways, either viewing him as the cause of the ills of the 450s and 460s or blaming these ills on his execution. This mixed reception of al-Yāzūrī's legacy is not found in the three extant sources that are contemporary to his vizierate. These either fail to describe al-Yāzūrī at all or offer a view that does not reflect Fatimid historiography. The histories of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate are instead found in quotations in later works, particularly those of al-Maqrīzī. However, to fully understand that historiography al-Maqrīzī's texts must be read in the context of other sources that describe al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, particularly those written in Egypt, but also those composed in Syria and Iraq.

Al-Yāzūrī's vizierate is further useful for understanding Fatimid historiography because there is evidence of the two types of Fatimid historiography: personal biography (the SY) and annals. Both survive in most detail through quotations in al-Maqrīzī's texts, but they are also found quoted in other texts. These two source types have been identified and discussed by Brett in his study of the revolts of the Zirids and the Banū Qurra and his study of al-Yāzūrī's execution. In these studies, Brett argued for reading multiple phases in the annals, from an Imam-Caliph-oriented account written in the 440s to an anti-Yāzūrī account written in the

450s. Meanwhile, he argued that the pro-Yāzūrī accounts of the *Itti'āz* had emerged from al-Maqrīzī's use of the SY. Comparison of the *Muqaffā* with the *Itti'āz* and *Ishāra* shows that the SY account of the revolt of the Zirids and Banū Qurra was much more extensive than Brett had thought. It further suggests that the SY provided a pro-secretarial alongside a pro-Yāzūrī perspective on events.

Comparison of the *Muqaffā* with all other surviving quotations from the SY shows that the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī provides the most detailed variant of the source. It seems, moreover, that the *Muqaffā*'s biography uses only the SY as its source, where the *Itti'āz* mixes the SY with the annals. Above all, patterns of text reuse appear to indicate that al-Maqrīzī possessed a copy of the SY, to which he returned when he was composing his texts. This is clear from a statistical comparison of the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī with the *Itti'āz*. The *Bughya* and *Khiṭaṭ* provide the only extant citations of the SY, but by comparing their cited passages with the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*, we see that al-Maqrīzī had used the SY in these sources. The *Muqaffā*, however, contains passages of text that are not given in the *Itti'āz*. Through comparing specific passages of the *Itti'āz* and the *Muqaffā*, we see that the extended passages in the *Muqaffā* often continue the narrative of the source shared between the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* and it is likely that these extended passages belong to the original SY. In the *Itti'āz* there are, moreover, a few similar passages that are not found in the *Muqaffā*. Nonetheless, there is no evidence that al-Maqrīzī had used another source in the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī, and it is possible that the whole biography is a near-copy of the SY. By comparison, only half of the *Itti'āz*'s accounts of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate are based on the SY. The remaining parts of the *Itti'āz* appear to be largely based on the annals, a source that al-Maqrīzī shares with Ibn Muyyasar and al-Nuwayrī.

The observations of this chapter have largely been made by comparing the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* from a distance. However, to properly understand the SY and the annals we need to look closely at al-Maqrīzī's texts and compare them to the other main sources outlined at the start of this chapter. This is particularly the case for the annals where al-Maqrīzī's source usage is less clear and where we must focus on the small differences between the sources. To do this kind of study, we need to look at specific cases. Looking at these cases will also allow us to understand the main differences between the SY and annals, the evolution of their narratives over time and the manner in which they use sources. The following chapters

will therefore focus on three cases: 1. the campaign to capture Baghdad (chapters 3 and 4); 2. the dispute with Byzantium (chapter 5); and 3. the growth of Fatimid influence in Yemen (chapter 6). Above all these cases will show that the histories were not simply pro or anti-Yāzūrī. Rather they were written using different sources with different viewpoints and that this has shaped their perspective on events. They, therefore, provide valuable insight into how Fatimid historiography was written.

Chapter 3. al-Yāzūrī and al-Basāsīrī's campaign to capture Baghdad, part 1: the silence of the Egyptian sources

Introduction

In chapter 2 it was argued that al-Yāzūrī's vizierate forms an ideal vantage point for understanding Fatimid historiography, with its two types of history: the SY and annals. Both of these sources survive only as quotations in the later Egyptian texts, particular al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*, but the quotations in these texts appear to be extensive. The stability of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate was followed by nearly two decades of instability and turmoil, in Egypt and abroad, and this was likely to be reflected in the historiography. To understand this evolution of the historiography, the sources should be closely compared. This chapter will be the first that deals closely with the sources' content alongside the evidence of text reuse. The SY and annals, as they are copied into multiple later texts, account the same events from different perspectives, sometimes disagreeing on key details. Most crucially, the SY provides a pro-Yāzūrī and pro-secretarial perspective where the annals focus on the military or the Imam-Caliph, with parts that are anti-Yāzūrī in nature. Where a standard account of al-Yāzūrī's career might seek to harmonize such differences, this chapter and those that follow will draw attention to them, as they show the differences between contemporary and near-contemporary sources for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. These differences shed light on the authors of these texts and the sources that they used.

This chapter and chapter 4 will discuss the campaign to capture Baghdad. This was the last main event of al-Yāzūrī's career and the event that led to his arrest and execution. I will deal with the last event of his career first, for two key reasons: One, it is the only one of our case studies that is accounted for extensively in non-Egyptian texts, which are used by some later Egyptian sources; Two, its link to al-Yāzūrī's arrest allows us to understand the development of the anti-Yāzūrī agenda in the annals and to understand the pro-Yāzūrī perspective of the SY. This chapter will seek to understand how and why al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* uses Iraqi sources in its accounts of the Baghdad campaign and explain the implications of this for our understanding of the annals and SY accounts of the campaign. The *Itti'āz* clearly presents an account that mixes various sources (including Iraqi sources), whereas Ibn Muyassar's *Akhhbār*

makes a more exclusive use of the Fatimid annals. By comparison, the *Muqaffā* presents a unified narrative of the Baghdad campaign, focussing on al-Yāzūrī, which suggests it has only used one pro-Yāzūrī source (the SY). The Fatimid narrative of the Baghdad campaign that is presented in the *Akhbār* and *Muqaffā* is quite basic and ignores key events, especially in Baghdad. This seems to explain al-Maqrīzī's use of Iraqi sources in the *Itti'āz*, and it suggests that the Fatimid court had a very narrow interest in the campaign.

This chapter will be given in four parts. Part one will describe the stemmatic relationship between the sources and emphasise how few Egyptian texts use Iraqi sources. Part two will examine the use of sources in the *Itti'āz* and focus in particular on how this source uses material from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. Part three will outline the account presented in the annals and SY. It will argue that Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* contains the more detailed version of the annals for the Baghdad campaign, which shares significant text with al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. It will moreover establish that the *Muqaffā* gives the most complete version of the SY account, providing a uniform narrative. Part four will then compare the annals and the SY and draw attention to the material that is shared between the main accounts. Although the annals and SY are largely written in different words, they both rely on the same basic narrative of the Baghdad campaign. This narrative provides limited details for the campaign in Iraq and gives a very simple summary of al-Basāsīrī's occupation of Baghdad.

3.1. Introducing the campaign and its sources

3.1.1. The main events of the campaign

The end of the 440s was ripe for a Fatimid expansion into Iraq and Baghdad. The power of the Buyids in Iran was waning; as they gradually lost territory to the expanding Seljuks, the Seljuk Sultan Tughril had set his sights on Baghdad, as a new protector of the Abbasid Caliph. The Fatimids attempted to exploit this transition of power by backing an estranged Buyid amīr, Abū al-Hārith al-Basāsīrī.¹ Very few of the sources agree on the exact details of the campaign that followed, but here I will attempt a brief outline.²

¹ As Brett has argued: Brett, 'Execution', 83.

² There has yet to be a detailed study of the sources for the campaign. Most studies rely largely the *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad* and the accounts of Ibn al-Jawzī, Ibn al-Athīr and Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī. For example, Daftary, *Ismā'īlīs*, 205-6; Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, 49-50; Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 193-4; M. Canard, 'al-Basāsīrī', *EI2*. Hamdani has

Sometime around 446 or 447, an *amīr* in Baghdad named Abū al-Ḥārith al-Basāsīrī entered into a dispute with the Abbasid vizier Ibn Muslima. In 447, Ibn Muslima's supporters ransacked al-Basāsīrī's properties in Baghdad and forced him to flee the city with his followers. At this point either al-Basāsīrī asked the Fatimids for assistance or the Fatimids courted al-Basāsīrī.³ The result was an alliance, and al-Basāsīrī began to recruit men and acquire territory for the Fatimids in Iraq. For their part, the Fatimids sent their *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad fī-l-Dīn al-Shīrāzī and funds to support al-Basāsīrī in a campaign to capture Baghdad. Al-Mu'ayyad set up a base of operations first in al-Raḥba and later in Aleppo. In the meantime, Tughril was received in Baghdad as Sultan. He went out to meet al-Basāsīrī in battle but was badly defeated at Sinjār in 448.⁴ Capitalising on his gains, al-Basāsīrī then seized Mosul for the Fatimids. Tughril was able to recapture Mosul in 449, placing his brother Ibrāhīm Īnāl as governor. Ibrāhīm rebelled shortly after and made for the Seljuk capital of Hamadhān. Tughril left Baghdad to defend his capital. Al-Basāsīrī seized his opportunity, recaptured Mosul and made for Baghdad. By either Shawwāl or Dhū al-Qa'da of 450,⁵ the Abbasid Caliph was placed under house arrest in 'Āna, and the Fatimid *khuṭba* was proclaimed in Baghdad's mosques.

According to the dates given in most of the sources, al-Yāzūrī did not witness the end of the campaign. He was arrested in Muḥarram 450 and executed in the following month. The sources claim that al-Yāzūrī was arrested on the accusation of conspiring to betray the Fatimids' to the Seljuks. They, moreover, accuse him of having bankrupted the Fatimid state by expending huge sums on the campaign.⁶ Whether or not these accusations are true, shortly after al-Yāzūrī's death the Fatimids appear to have ceased their support of al-Basāsīrī. By 451, Tughril had defeated his brother and returned to Baghdad. Al-Basāsīrī fled the city, was caught by Tughril's army and executed.

seen the campaign as part of a broader Sunnī-Shī'ī confrontation in Baghdad (again relying on eastern authors): Abbas Hamdani, 'Urban Violence at Baghdad in the Rivalry between the Abbasid and Fatimid Caliphates', in *Ismaili and Fatimid Studies*, 208-9.

³ Al-Mu'ayyad, our only eye-witness, uniquely claims that the Fatimids had written to al-Basāsīrī (stating that he had handled the correspondence). Al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 96; Klemm, *Memoirs*, 79.

⁴ Omitted by Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn Muyassar, but described by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, Ibn Zāfir, Ibn al-Athīr and al-Maqrīzī. See section 4.1.3 below.

⁵ For the former: Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 22; for the latter: Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār Duwal*, 67; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:342; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:252.

⁶ See Brett, 'Execution'. Detailed overview given below.

3.1.2. *The main sources outlined*

As Brett has noted in his study of al-Yāzūrī's arrest and execution, the controversy surrounding the Baghdad campaign led to the formation of two opposing views of the campaign. One is a pro-Yāzūrī account that outlines the vizier's role in the campaign and counters the accusations made against him. This is the view presented in the SY. The second is an anti-Yāzūrī narrative that reiterates his betrayal and stresses how his expenditure on the campaign permanently damaged the Fatimid state. Brett has, moreover, argued for two stages to the composition of the critical perspective, the first emerging immediately after al-Yāzūrī's death and the second in the 460s.⁷ There are, however, many details in the sources (in both the SY and annals) that are not directly related to the accusations made against al-Yāzūrī, and these in part will form the subject of this and the following chapter.

Brett's study is mostly interested in the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's arrest and execution, and the manner in which the Baghdad campaign is linked to this. He does not, therefore, look in detail at the differences between the sources for the campaign itself. There are, however, variations in the later Egyptian accounts of the Baghdad campaign itself, many of which stem from their use of non-Egyptian sources. If we are to understand the Egyptian perspective on the Baghdad campaign, we must disentangle these different accounts and their potential sources. Brett, for example, has argued that the Egyptian accounts only mention one occupation of Mosul.⁸ However, this chapter will show that al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* are the only Egyptian histories to mention any occupation of Mosul.⁹ In both cases it appears they have copied the account from Ibn al-Athīr. It seems in fact that the Egyptian sources (or at least the surviving quotations and paraphrases from them) had little to say on the main campaign against Tughril in Iraq.

The SY and annals accounts of the campaign are found in a number of Egyptian sources from the early-sixth to the late-ninth century, some texts rely on only one of the texts and others amalgamate them. From the seventh century we begin to see the use of Iraqi sources by

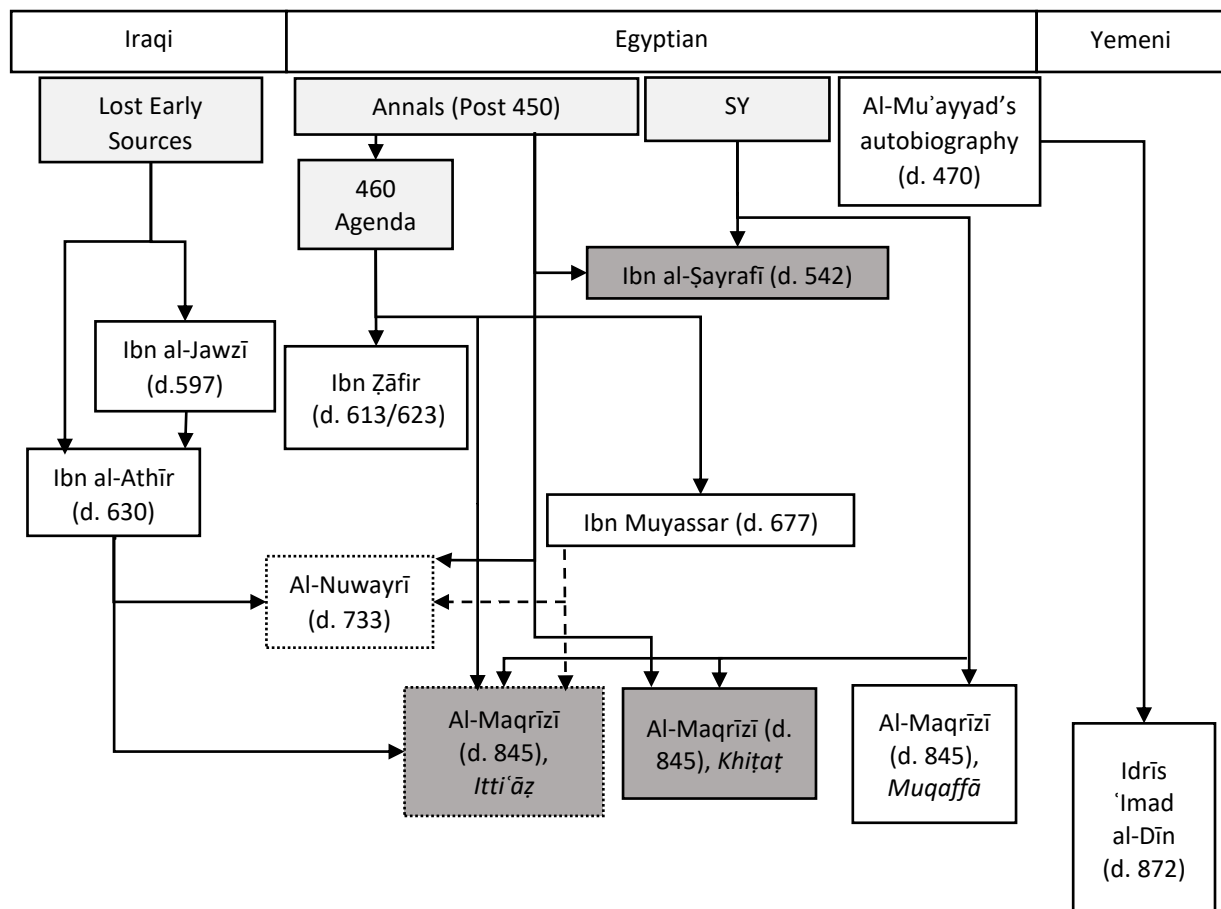
⁷ Ibid, 21.

⁸ Ibid, 20.

⁹ Al-Mu'ayyad is the only other Egyptian author to describe an occupation of Mosul, but his account has not been adopted in the later Egyptian historiography. Al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 134-5

Egyptian authors writing on the campaign. Figure 1 below provides a stemma outlining the key authors for the Baghdad campaign and their source usage.

Figure 1. A stemma of the account for the campaign to capture Baghdad. Dashed lines indicate suspected usage. Light grey indicates sources that are no longer extant. Dark grey indicates sources that have used both the SY and annals. Boxes with dotted edges indicate a source that has used Iraqi and Egyptian sources. Texts are given in chronological order and are divided by region.



As the stemma in figure 1 should make clear, many Egyptian texts use multiple sources for their accounts of the Baghdad campaign. The only surviving text contemporary to the Baghdad campaign is al-Mu'ayyad's *Sīra*. Although this is an eyewitness testimony of the campaign, there is no evidence of its reuse in any later Egyptian text, and the only reuse case is in the chronicle of Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn.¹⁰ However, as will be noted in chapter 4, it is

¹⁰ Idrīs, *Uyūn*, 6 (editor's introduction).

possible that the author of the SY wrote in response to the claims made in al-Mu'ayyad's account.

The two main Fatimid sources used in all later Egyptian accounts (the SY and annals) only survive in quotations in later Egyptian sources. As was discussed in chapter 2 (citing the example of the revolts of the Zirids and the Banū Qurra) the earliest quotation from the SY is found in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*. The same is the case for the Baghdad campaign, where Ibn al-Ṣayrafī provides shortened quotations and paraphrases from the SY, which are mixed with material that may be taken from the annals. The most detailed quotation of the SY account is found in al-Yāzūrī's biography in al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā*. Those texts marked in dark grey in the stemma use both the SY and annals. Al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* does so only in one excerpt, where al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* carefully integrates the SY and annals accounts. There appears to be at least two stages in the composition of the annals accounts. The first dates to around the 450s and the second to after 460. These were probably adapted from a set of annals written in the 440s.¹¹ In the accounts of Ibn Zāfir, Ibn Muyassar and al-Maqrīzī (in his *Itti'āz*) there is clear evidence that they have used annals from the second compositional stage. By comparison, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*, al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* appear to use annals at the first compositional stage. In addition to the annals, al-Nuwayrī uses Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*, but he uses it in a separate section to where he uses Egyptian sources. Al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* is the only work that mixes Ibn al-Athīr's accounts with the annals and SY, attempting to combine them into one narrative.¹² For this reason, we will first examine source usage in the *Itti'āz* (in particular focussing on his use of Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*).

3.2. The amalgamation of the sources: the *Nihāya* versus the *Itti'āz*

The *Nihāya* and *Itti'āz* are the only two Egyptian texts where there is direct evidence of reuse of Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī-l-Ta'rikh*, but both reuse the text in very different ways. The *Itti'āz* provides one of the most detailed accounts of the Baghdad campaign and it does so by mixing together quotations from the SY, annals, other Egyptian sources and the *Kāmil*. By comparison, the *Kāmil* is only used in certain sections of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*. Comparison of

¹¹ These compositional stages have been alluded to by Brett, and I expand on this argument in chapter 4 below. Brett, 'Execution', 21.

¹² Brett has noted the 'composite' nature of the *Itti'āz*: Ibid, 84.

the *Nihāya* and *Itti'āz* shows that al-Maqrīzī had not copied from the *Nihāya*, but directly from the *Kāmil*. In this section, I will argue that the *Itti'āz* supplemented Egyptian sources with the *Kāmil* to provide details that were missing from the surviving Egyptian accounts. Identifying these cases of source usage will, therefore, help us understand the kinds of narrative that were missing in the Egyptian sources. This will be argued in three parts: part one will look at the *Itti'āz*'s broader source usage for the campaign, and underline how the account combines multiple sources into one narrative. Part two will examine the manner in which the *Itti'āz* uses the *Kāmil* and compare this with the *Nihāya*. This will show how the *Itti'āz* reuses the *Kāmil* in a manner that often prefers the Egyptian accounts. Part three will then identify three areas of the Baghdad campaign where the *Itti'āz* uses the *Kāmil*, and the other Egyptian sources appear to be silent.

3.2.1. The *Itti'āz*'s source usage for the Baghdad campaign

Table 1 provides an outline of all of the passages of the *Itti'āz* concerned with the Baghdad campaign, given in the order in which they appear in the *Itti'āz*. This table illustrates how the *Itti'āz* has used parts of the SY, annals, *Kāmil* and other Egyptian sources and combined them into one narrative of the campaign. For each passage, I have noted which sources in the corpus mention the same events or narrative. Sources that are given in bold font in the table share words with the passage in the *Itti'āz*. In these cases, it is hypothesised that either this source is the *Itti'āz*'s source text or that both sources share a source text. In addition to this, the table describes the kind of similarity between the sources, where necessary. 'Small significant similarities' means that the *Itti'āz* shares only a few words with the corresponding text, but that these cases are significant enough to suggest the *Itti'āz* has used the source, or shares a source text with it. 'Contrast' indicates that the corresponding source discusses the same narrative but from a different perspective to the *Itti'āz*. Across the whole table 'similarities' should be taken to mean that text is shared between the two works. The brief description of each passage will, moreover, illustrate how each source text presents a slightly different perspective on the campaign. The SY focuses on correspondence and diplomacy, the annals on the expense and other small details, and the Iraqi sources on key events in Iraq, particularly Baghdad and Mosul.

*Table 1. The Itti'āz and its use of sources. The table gives all sources that share information with the Itti'āz and bold indicates where there are words shared between the text and the Itti'āz. Light grey shading indicates the anecdote was taken from the annals and dark grey from Iraqi sources. The final column details the source tradition from which I hypothesise the anecdote has been derived, based on the similarities between the sources. The passage numbers correspond with the appendices and tables below.*¹³

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
	<u>Year 448 (pp. 232–234):</u>			
147	Money and al-Mu'ayyad sent to al-Basāsīrī. ¹⁴	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (69) Ibn Muyassar (18, 21)		annals
148	Origins of al-Basāsīrī, an explanation of his name and his rise to power in Baghdad.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:223) Ibn Muyassar (24)		annals
149	al-Basāsīrī's dispute with the sons of al-Muḥalabān.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:224, partially using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Athīr (317–8)	Iraqi
150	Destruction of al-Basāsīrī's property, potentially at instigation of vizier Ibn Muslima.	Al-Dhahabī (139) Ibn Muyassar (25) Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:224–5,	Ibn al-Jawzī (XV:347) Ibn al-Athīr (321–2, significant small similarities)	Iraqi

¹³ The texts referenced in the table are as follows: Ibn Ḥayyūs, *Dīwan Ibn Ḥayyūs*, ed. Jalīl Mardān Bek, (Beirut, 1984); Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*; Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal*; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, XXIII, XXVI, XXVIII; al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III, V; Ibn Ḥajar, *Rifā'*, II.

¹⁴ For translation see section 4.1.1 below.

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
		XXVI:288, using Ibn al-Athīr).		
151	Arrival of Tughril and establishment of his <i>khuṭba</i> in Baghdad.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXVI:288–9, using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Athīr (322–3, significant small similarities)	Iraqi
152	Deposition and arrest of Buyid al-Malik al-Raḥīm. Many Baghdad Turks fled to al-Basāsīrī.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXVI:290–1, using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Athīr (323–5, significant small similarities)	Iraqi
153	al-Basāsīrī fled to al-Raḥba.	Ibn Muyassar (17)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XV:348) Ibn al-Athīr (325)	annals
154	al-Basāsīrī asked for refuge in Cairo.	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (69) Ibn Muyassar (25) <i>Muqaffā</i> (389)		SY
155	al-Mustanṣir advised against receiving al-Basāsīrī.	Ibn Muyassar (25) <i>Muqaffā</i> (389-90)		SY
157	al-Mustanṣir was advised to ask al-Basāsīrī to help depose Abbasids and keep Tughril	Ibn Muyassar (17) <i>Muqaffā</i> (390)		SY

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
	from attacking Syria.			
158	Money was sent with al-Mu'ayyad such that the palace coffers were exhausted.	Ibn Muyassar (18) <i>Itti'āz</i> (passage 147)		annals
159	Khaṭīr al-Mulk, al-Yāzūrī's son, was sent to Syria with money and arms, to conquer Latakia. ¹⁵	Ibn Muyassar (18) Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (68) <i>Muqaffā</i> (III:398) Ibn Muyassar (19, 21) Al-Nuwayrī (XXVIII:222) <i>Muqaffā</i> (V:550, biography of Khaṭīr al-Mulk)		annals
160	In Shawwāl al-Basāsīrī and Dubays met Quraysh and Qutulmush in battle.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:225; XXVI:292, using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Athīr (331)	Iraqi
161	The 'famous battle' at Sinjār.	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (69) Ibn Ẓāfir (68)		unknown (perhaps <i>sijill</i>)

¹⁵ For translations of passages 158 and 159 see section 4.1.1 below.

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
		<i>Muqaffā</i> - shared narrative, but few similarities		
162	Quraysh and Qutulmush were defeated, Mosul occupied and <i>khila'</i> sent from Egypt to the victors.	al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:225, using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:8) Ibn al-Athīr (332)	Iraqi
163	Extract from poem by Ibn Ḥayyūs. ¹⁶	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (69) Ibn Ḍāfir (68) Ibn Hayyūs (181–183) (some variation for final line of poem)		unknown
164	Tughril made for Mosul, reaching Nisibis where he executed the rebels.	al-Nuwayrī (XXVI:293, probably paraphrasing Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:8, very different narrative) Ibn al-Athīr (334)	Iraqi
	<u>450 (pp. 236–255):</u>			
167	Al-Mustanşir arrested al-Yāzūrī in this year. There	Ibn Muyassar (19) Al-Nuwayrī (XXVIII:221) Ibn Ḥajar (132)		annals

¹⁶ For translations of passages 160-164 see section 4.1.3 below.

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
	were reasons for this, as follows: ¹⁷			
168	Al-Yāzūrī's spies told him of Tughril's arrival.	<i>Muqaffā</i> (390)		SY
169	al-Yāzūrī's Correspondence with Tughril ¹⁸	<i>Muqaffā</i> (390) Ibn Ḥajar (132)		SY
170	al-Yāzūrī's Correspondence with Tughril	<i>Muqaffā</i> (390, almost verbatim) Ibn Ḥajar (132)		SY
171	al-Yāzūrī's Correspondence with Tughril	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (69) <i>Muqaffā</i> (390-1, one additional sentence in <i>Itti'az</i>) Ibn Ḥajar (132)		SY
172	al-Yāzūrī's Correspondence with Tughril	<i>Muqaffā</i> (391, some small differences)		SY
173	al-Yāzūrī's Correspondence with Tughril	<i>Muqaffā</i> (391, almost verbatim)		SY
174	al-Yāzūrī's Correspondence with Tughril	<i>Muqaffā</i> (391, this variant is lengthier)		SY

¹⁷ For a comparison of the texts in translation, see section 4.1.1 below.

¹⁸ For the exact narrative in passages 169-176 see the corresponding passages of the *Muqaffā*, translated in full below (table 6), which are almost identical.

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
175	al-Yāzūrī attempted to cause key Seljuk figures to defect	Contrast al-Nuwayrī (XXVI: 296, using Ibn al-Athīr) <i>Muqaffā</i> (391-2, some small differences)	Contrast Ibn al-Athīr (341)	SY
176	Khāṭūn (Tughril's wife) withdrew with his elite troops. ¹⁹	<i>Muqaffā</i> (392, this variant is lengthier, uses quoted speech)		SY
176.1	Tughril left Baghdad to regroup his army, al-Basāsīrī and Quraysh recaptured Mosul, Ibrāhīm Īnāl rebelled and fled to seize Seljuk capital of Hamadhān, Tughril followed, abandoning Baghdad.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:226; XXVI:295–6, using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:30–1) Ibn al-Athīr (341–2, significant small similarities)	Iraqi
177	al-Basāsīrī's power grew. He only followed al-Yāzūrī's orders.	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (68, a few similarities) <i>Muqaffā</i> (out of sequence, <i>Itti'āz</i> variant is lengthier)		SY

¹⁹ For a translation of the *Muqaffā* variant of passages 168-176, see table 6 below.

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
186	The conspiracy to depose al-Yāzūrī.	<i>Muqaffā</i> (389, <i>Itti'āz</i> variant lengthier)		SY
187	The conspiracy to depose al-Yāzūrī.	<i>Muqaffā</i> (389, out of sequence)		SY
188	The conspiracy to depose al-Yāzūrī.	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (68) <i>Muqaffā</i> (389, out of sequence)		SY
189	The conspirators pointed to al-Yāzūrī's correspondence with Tughril. ²⁰	Ibn Muyassar (19) Al-Nuwayrī (XXVIII:221) <i>Muqaffā</i> (398, out of sequence, and very different) Ibn Ḥajar (132)		SY
190-262	[This large section of the year 450 (pp. 238–252) has been omitted from the present summary. It deals with al-Yāzūrī's arrest, execution, provides his obituary and recounts events			

²⁰ For a translation of passages 186-189 and comparison with the *Muqaffā*, see section 4.2.1.

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
	under his successor al-Babālī.] ²¹			
263	In this year al-Basāsīrī and Quraysh took Mosul. Ibrāhīm Īnāl rebelled and made for Hamadhān, Tughril followed.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:226, using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:30–1) Ibn al-Athīr (341, significant small similarities)	Iraqi
264	al-Basāsīrī entered Baghdad, <i>khuṭba</i> was given in al-Manṣūr mosque.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:227, copying Ibn al-Athīr) Contrast: <i>Muqaffā</i> (392)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:32) Ibn al-Athīr (342)	Iraqi
265	<i>Khuṭba</i> was given in Ruṣāfa mosque. Ibn Muslima's party was defeated.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:227, using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:32) Ibn al-Athīr (342–3)	Iraqi
266	Caliph rode out in official regalia, realised the severity of the situation and ascended the highest tower of the palace.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:228, using Ibn al-Athīr) Contrast: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (69-8) and <i>Muqaffā</i> (392)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:32–3) Ibn al-Athīr (343)	Iraqi

²¹ For a brief discussion of these parts see: Brett, 'Execution', 89.

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
267	Ibn Muslima called upon Quraysh to help the Caliph, and he was granted safety.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:228–9, using Ibn al-Athīr) Contrast: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (69-8) and <i>Muqaffā</i> (392, one identical phrase in the latter)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:33) Ibn al-Athīr (343)	Iraqi
268	al-Basāsīrī asserted that spoils were to be divided equally, and he was given Ibn Muslima.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:229, using Ibn al-Athīr) Contrast: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (68) and <i>Muqaffā</i> (392)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:33) Ibn al-Athīr (343, significant small similarities)	Iraqi
269	Quraysh took the Caliph to his camp. The palace was pillaged.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:229, using Ibn al-Athīr) Contrast: <i>Muqaffā</i> (392)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:35) Ibn al-Athīr (343, significant small similarities)	Iraqi
270	Objects of symbolic value were transferred to Cairo. ²²	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (II: 196, III:416, brief references, no shared text)		unknown, written post Salāḥ al-Dīn's coup
271	The Caliph was transferred to a man named	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII:230–1, using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI:35) Ibn al-Athīr (343)	Iraqi

²² For a translation and comparison see section 4.1.3 below.

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
	Muhārish in the town of ‘Āna.	Ibn Zāfir (67) Ibn Muyassar (22–3) <i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (II:196)		
272	On ‘Eid al-Naḥr al-Basāsīrī rode out with the Fatimid standard.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII: 231, using Ibn al-Athīr)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI: 36) Ibn al-Athīr (343)	Iraqi
273	The minbar of the Friday mosque was broken and replaced. ²³	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (68) <i>Muqaffā</i> (392)		SY
274	The execution of Ibn Muslima.	Al-Nuwayrī (XXIII: 230, using Ibn al-Athīr) Contrast: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (68) and <i>Muqaffā</i> (392)	Ibn al-Jawzī (XVI: 37) Ibn al-Athīr (344)	Iraqi
275	Celebrations in Cairo and the story of the drummer girl. ²⁴	Al-Nuwayrī (XXVIII: 220–1) Ibn Muyassar (23) <i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (III:416, most detailed variant)		annals
276	Plan to temporarily transfer the Abbasid Caliph to Cairo.	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (II:495) <i>Muqaffā</i> (393, significant small similarities)		SY

²³ For a translation in the *Muqaffā*, see table 6 below.

²⁴ For a comparison and translation see section 4.1.2 below.

Passage no.	Event in summary	Corresponding text in other Egyptian sources:	Corresponding text in Iraqi sources:	Proposed source:
277	Plan to temporarily transfer the Abbasid Caliph to Cairo. ²⁵	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (II:495) <i>Muqaffā</i> (393, almost verbatim)		SY
278	One of the main reasons for al-Basāsīrī's later failure was that the vizier at that time was Abū al-Faraj Muḥammad b. al-Maghribī, who had fled to Cairo from al-Basāsīrī.		Ibn al-Athīr (344, significant small similarities)	Iraqi

I will begin by making some brief observations about the *Itti'āz*'s source usage, and the sections that follow will look deeper at key examples. Where I hypothesise that the *Itti'āz* uses the SY, it always shares text with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*, and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* and *Muqaffā*. In these cases, its language is typically closer to that found in the *Muqaffā*, which (as was argued in chapter 2) provides the most detailed quotation of the SY. The two passages shared with the *Khiṭaṭ* and the *Muqaffā* (passages 276 and 277) show another case where al-Maqrīzī has quoted from the SY across three of his works. Where I have hypothesised that the *Itti'āz* uses the annals, it shares material with five texts: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*, Ibn Zāfir's *Akḥbār*, Ibn Muṣassar's *Akḥbār*, al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* (volume 28), and the *Khiṭaṭ*. In these cases, it shares most text with Ibn Muṣassar's *Akḥbār* (see in particular passages 158, 159, 167 and 275). There are a few passages for which the source is unknown, but most of the remaining passages have copied text from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*.

²⁵ For a translation of passages 276 and 277 in the *Muqaffā* see table 6 below.

3.2.2. Usage of Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* in the *Nihāya* and *Itti'āz*

In a number of passages, the *Itti'āz* describes events that are only recounted in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* and two Iraqi texts: Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam* and Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. Of all the case studies covered in this study, this is the only case where the *Itti'āz* shares material with Iraqi texts. Close comparison of the three texts shows that al-Maqrīzī had worked directly with Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*, rather than Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam*, and he has not simply relied on al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*, which also quotes from the *Kāmil*.²⁶ In nearly all cases, al-Maqrīzī paraphrases the text (which contrasts in particular with his reuse of the SY). These paraphrases of the *Kāmil* preserve only the key details and frame the information taken from the Iraqi sources using Egyptian narratives.

There are no extant contemporary histories from Iraq that document the events of the Baghdad campaign. Omid Safi has hypothesised that there were histories written under Seljuk patronage in the mid-to-late fifth century (chief among them the lost *Maliknāma*), but that these only survive in later sources. Among the authors that may use these contemporary sources are Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn al-Athīr.²⁷ Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam* provides a detailed view of the Baghdad campaign from the perspective of the capital, narrating in detail events such as al-Basāsīrī's estrangement with Ibn Muslima and the Caliph, Tughril's arrival in Baghdad and appointment and al-Basāsīrī's occupation of Baghdad. Text shared between Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* and the *Muntaẓam* suggest that Ibn al-Athīr had relied upon the latter text as a source for the Baghdad campaign. However, it is only one of the sources Ibn al-Athīr uses and he diverges from Ibn al-Jawzī's text in many places, especially for the events surrounding Mosul.²⁸

Comparison of Ibn al-Jawzī's *Muntaẓam* and Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* with the *Itti'āz* and *Nihāya* shows that the *Kāmil* is the most likely source for both texts in their narratives of the Baghdad campaign. It is, moreover, clear that both quote from the text independently of one another. This is seen, for example, when one compares their descriptions of al-Basāsīrī's attack and occupation of al-Anbār (passage 149), an event that occurred prior to his

²⁶ Brett has observed similar for the quarrel with the Zirids, where he believes Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* is the last Egyptian account unaffected by Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. Brett, 'Zirids', 48.

²⁷ Safi, *Politics of knowledge*, chapter 1; see also Peacock, *Early Seljuq*, 6-12.

²⁸ The events of the campaign are found under the years 446-450: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:310-351; Ibn al-Jawzī, XV:343-351, XVI:3-56.

expulsion from Baghdad and which in part led to his dispute with Ibn Muslima. On the capture of al-Anbār, Ibn al-Jawzī provides a very general summary:

In Dhū al-Ḥijja: he [al-Basāsīrī] turned to al-Anbār. Turks and commoners came out with him, desiring plunder. He arrived there, captured it and cut off the hands of a scholar who was there.²⁹ Dubays b. ‘Alī b. Mazyad was with him, and this [happened] after he had burned Dimimā and al-Falūja.³⁰

Ibn al-Athīr echoes this account, also stating that the attack was preceded by the capture of Dimimā and al-Falūja, but he adds a detailed description of how al-Anbār was captured. He states that a mangonel was erected, oil thrown over the walls and the city set ablaze. He also gives the number of prisoners taken and describes the manner in which an enemy of al-Basāsīrī, Abū al-Ghanā’im, was taken back to Baghdad. It is in this manner that Ibn al-Athīr differs most clearly from Ibn al-Jawzī. The former claims that the main purpose for the attack on al-Anbār was the capture of Abū al-Ghanā’im and his followers (the Banū Khafāja). While Ibn al-Jawzī mentions the Banū Khafāja elsewhere as enemies of al-Basāsīrī, he does not directly associate the attack on al-Anbār with their capture. The narrative for the attack on al-Anbār provided by al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī is clearly Ibn al-Athīr’s. Table 2 compares their descriptions of the event.

Table 2. A comparison of the *Itti’āz* with the *Nihāya* and *Kāmil*, concerning al-Basāsīrī’s attack on al-Anbār. Underlining indicates text shared between the *Itti’āz* and the *Kāmil*, and highlighting text shared between the *Nihāya* and the *Kāmil*.³¹

<i>Itti’āz</i>	<i>Nihāya</i>	<i>Kāmil</i>
فسار إلى الأنبار ونصب عليها المجانيق، وهدم سورها وأخذها قهراً.	ودام ذلك من شهر رمضان إلى ذي الحجة! ثم سار إلى الأنبار فمنعه أبو الغنائم ابن المحلبان من دخولها فحاصرها ونصب	ودام ذلك إلى ذي حجة فسار البساسيري إلى الأنبار و انحرق ناحيتي دماً والفلوجة، وكان أبو الغنائم بن المحلبان بالأنبار قد أتاها من بغداد وورد نور الدولة

²⁹ The meaning of this action is unclear. None of the other sources mention that a man’s hands were cut off, and Ibn al-Jawzī does not shed light on who the scholar is.

³⁰ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, XV:344-5.

³¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti’āz*, II:232; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, XXIII:224; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:318 (passage 149).

<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Nihāya</i>	<i>Kāmil</i>
	عليها المجانيق, وقتحها عنوةً ونهبها	دبّيس إلى البساسيري معاوناً له على حصرها ونصب البساسيري عليها المجانيق فهدم برجاً ورماهم بالنفط فأحرق أشياء كان قد أعدها أهل البلد لقتاله ودخلها قهراً
وأسر أبا الغنائم ابن المحلبان ومائة رجل من بني خفاجة, وكثيراً من أهل الأنبار.	وأسر من أهلها خمسمائة رجل ومائة من بني خفاجة وأسر أبو الغنائم	فأسر مائة نفس من بني خفاجة, وأسر أبا الغنائم بن المحلبان فأخذ وقد ألفي نفسه في فرات ونهب الأنبار وأسر من أهلها خمسمائة رجل
ورجع إلى بغداد وأبو الغنائم بين يديه على جمل في رجليه قيد, فصلب كثيراً من الأسرى.	وعاد إلى بغداد وهو بين يديه على جمل وعليه قميص أحمر وعلى رأسه برنس وهو مقيد, وأتي إلى مقابل التاج وقبل الأرض وعاد إلى منزله.	وعاد إلى بغداد وبين يديه أبو الغنائم على جمل وعليه قميص أحمر وعلى رأسه برنس وفي رجليه قيد و أراد صلبه وصلب من معه من الأسرى, فسأله نور الدولة أن يؤخر ذلك حتى يعود وأتي البساسيري إلى مقابل التاج فقبل الأرض وعاد إلى منزله وترك أبا الغنائم لم يصلبه وصلب جماعة من الأسرى فكان هذا أول الوحشة.

As can be seen in table 2, the two authors have excerpted from Ibn al-Athīr quite heavily, but they retain the key details that are unique to his account (the erection of a mangonel, and the details on the taking of prisoners, including Abū al-Ghanā'im). In doing so both

share a significant amount of text with Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. Of the two quotations, the *Nihāya*'s is the more detailed, but al-Maqrīzī has not simply copied from al-Nuwayrī. As can be seen from the text in the column labelled *Kāmil*, there are several short phrases and words that are underlined but not highlighted, meaning that they are only shared with the *Itti'āz* and not the *Nihāya*. For example, the *Itti'āz* copies the phrase: 'He crucified many of the prisoners', which is omitted by al-Nuwayrī. This pattern is found throughout the *Nihāya* and the *Itti'āz*. Where they use the Iraqi narrative, their texts are always closer to Ibn al-Athīr's. The *Nihāya* always provides a less-abridged quotation from Ibn al-Athīr's text, but the *Itti'āz* often retains details that are not given in the *Nihāya*. This is clear evidence that al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī have worked directly with Ibn al-Athīr's text to find material for their accounts of the Baghdad campaign.

Al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī also differ significantly in how they reuse Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. The example above has already shown how al-Maqrīzī excerpted from the *Kāmil* more heavily than al-Nuwayrī, preferring to give the Egyptian sources greater weight in his narrative. This does not mean that al-Nuwayrī attached less significance to the Egyptian tradition. He instead followed a different organisational schema. The historical sections that make up the fifth (and final) *fann* of al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* are not arranged as a chronicle.³² Rather, al-Nuwayrī divided this part of his work into geographical units and then narrated the history of that region and its people chronologically. The Baghdad campaign is, therefore, told three times in the *Nihāya*: in the Abbasid section (told from the perspective of the Caliphate), in the Turkish section (told from the Seljuk perspective), and in the Egyptian section (told from the Fatimid perspective). It is clear that al-Nuwayrī intended for his readers to read across these geographical divisions, as he added cross references into his text. For example, on the Baghdad campaign he wrote in the Egyptian section:

Of the al-Basāsīrī affair, his rise, and the *Khuṭba* for this al-Mustanşir in Baghdad, we outlined this previously in the *akhbār al-dawla al-'abbasīya*.³³

Statements such as this encouraged al-Nuwayrī's readers to consult the parallel accounts in the other sections and it avoided the need to duplicate source usage or material across

³² For a study of the structure of the *Nihāya*, see Muhanna, *World in a book*, esp. 36, 48 (This study as a whole, however, focusses less on the last *fann* of the work).

³³ Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, XVIII:220. See also: Muhanna, *World in a book*, 34-5.

sections. All quotations from Ibn al-Athīr on the Baghdad campaign are copied into the Abbasid and Turkish sections, and we find no quotations from Iraqi sources in his Egyptian section. Instead the Egyptian sections of his work align most closely with other late Egyptian sources (in particular Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz*) – see for example passages 148, 159, 167 and 275 in table 1 above.

By contrast, al-Maqrīzī's approach in the *Itti'āz* is one of greater compromise, which retains only the details in Ibn al-Athīr's account that enrich the narrative provided by the Egyptian texts. This is seen throughout table 1, where quotations from Ibn al-Athīr are distributed between those taken from the SY, annals or other Egyptian sources. See, for example, his account of the origins of al-Basāsīrī's alliance with the Fatimids (passages 150-3). On the start of al-Basāsīrī's campaign, most Egyptian sources state simply that al-Basāsīrī had disputed with the vizier Ibn Muslima, fled Baghdad and joined the Fatimid cause. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī briefly mentions that the 'Turks attacked' al-Basāsīrī, and that was a reason for his departure.³⁴ Ibn Muyassar adds a further detail in a summary of al-Basāsīrī's career under the year 451 of his chronicle (the year of al-Basāsīrī's death). He claims there that Ibn Muslima had heard of al-Basāsīrī's correspondence with the Fatimids (that is, prior to his exit from Baghdad) and had in response ransacked his houses in Baghdad and attacked his family and followers.³⁵ Similar claims are made in al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*, but unlike the above texts al-Maqrīzī clearly depends upon Ibn al-Athīr. In this case al-Maqrīzī has used the *Kāmil* to illustrate the reasons for al-Basāsīrī's departure from Baghdad.

For these events al-Maqrīzī provides a short summary that amalgamates two parts of Ibn al-Athīr's account. The following is a translation of the passage (where underlining indicates words shared with Ibn al-Athīr):

In the month of Rabī' al-Ākhar of the year [four-hundred and forty] seven, it happened that a boat arrived containing al-Basāsīrī's yield [*thamar*]. Ibn Sukhra al-Hāshimī went out to it with his followers. They poured it away, plundered his houses and took his mounts. He was at that time in the region of Wāsiṭ. When [news] of that reached him he associated it with the vizier Ra'īs al-Ru'asā' Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Muslima.³⁶

³⁴ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 70.

³⁵ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 25. A full translation is given in section 3.3 below.

³⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:233 (passage 150).

Al-Maqrīzī has used Ibn al-Athīr's narrative here to briefly provide context for al-Basāsīrī's departure from Baghdad, describing an attack on one of his boats that preceded the attacks on his houses described by Ibn Muyassar. In doing so, al-Maqrīzī abbreviates the *Kāmil* to a point where the meaning is rendered unclear. Ibn al-Athīr states that the boat in question was carrying wine and that Ibn Shukra's followers had smashed the amphorae and poured away their contents. It is from here that al-Maqrīzī has taken 'they poured it away'. Ibn al-Athīr then explains how al-Basāsīrī had associated this attack with the *Ra'īs al-Ru'asā'* (Ibn Muslima) and protested that the wine was not his but a Christian's, and its destruction was as such unlawful. In response, Ibn Muslima rallied the Baghdadi Turks against al-Basāsīrī and his houses were sacked. Al-Maqrīzī has, therefore, shortened Ibn al-Athīr's text and changed the order of some of the elements. Table 4 compares the two parts of Ibn al-Athīr's narrative (the part describing the destruction of the wine and that describing the attack on al-Basāsīrī's houses).

Table 4. Ibn al-Athīr's Kāmil and al-Maqrīzī's Itti'āz on the destruction of al-Basāsīrī's goods and property. Part 1 is the section of the Kāmil describing the destruction of al-Basāsīrī's wine and part 2 is the section of the Kāmil describing the attacks on al-Basāsīrī's houses (they are separated by around 70 words). Underlining shows words shared between part 1 of the Kāmil and the Itti'āz and highlighting words shared with part 2 of the Kāmil.³⁷

<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Kāmil</i> (part 1)	<i>Kāmil</i> (part 2)
<p>واتفق في شهر <u>ربيع الآخر</u> من سنة سبع وصول زورق فيه ثمر للبساسيري, فخرج إليه <u>ابن سكرة الهاشمي</u> في جماعة,</p>	<p>ثم إن أبا سعد النصراني صاحب البساسيري حمل في سفينة ستمائة جرة خمرأً ليحدرها إلى البساسيري بواسط في <u>ربيع الآخر</u>, فحضر <u>ابن سكرة الهاشمي</u> وغيره من الأعيان في هذا الباب,</p>	<p>فحضروا [الأتراك] دار الخلافة واستأذنوا في قصد</p>

³⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:233; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:321-2.

<p>دور البساسيري ونهبها، فأذن لهم بذلك، فقصدها ونهبوها واحرقوها ونكلوا نسائه وأهله ونوابه ونهبوا دوابه وجميع ما يملك ببغداد.</p>	<p>وتبعهم خلق كثير وحاجب باب المراتب من قبل الديوان وقصدوا السفينة وكسروا جرار الخمر وأراقوه بلغ ذلك البساسيري فعظم عليه ونسبه إلى رئيس الرؤساء وتجددت الوحشة.</p>	<p>فأراقوه ونهبوا ثوره واخذوا دوابه، وكان هو إذ ذلك في نواحي واسط. فلما بلغ ذلك نسبه إلى الوزير رئيس الرؤساء أبي القاسم بن مسلمة،</p>
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As can be seen in table 4, al-Maqrīzī has combined the two parts of Ibn al-Athīr's account into one narrative that shares a very small number of words with the *Kāmil*. Al-Maqrīzī has thus used the minimum number of details from the *Kāmil* and kept only the information that he thinks relevant for explaining al-Basāsīrī's exit from Baghdad.

The Egyptian accounts, however, typically take precedence in the *Itti'āz*, and this is seen in al-Maqrīzī's use of names. The Iraqi accounts uniformly refer to the Abbasid vizier not by his name, Ibn Muslima (which is mentioned only infrequently), but by his title '*Ra'īs al-Ru'asā*'. The Egyptian sources rarely use the title and all cases where it is mentioned in the *Nihāya* and *Itti'āz* can be traced to their author's use of the *Kāmil*.³⁸ The Egyptian sources instead typically refer to the vizier as Ibn Muslima. This is, moreover, the approach taken by our only contemporary al-Mu'ayyad, suggesting that the use of the name rather than the title is taken from contemporary usage.³⁹ In the case discussed above, al-Maqrīzī has copied Ibn al-Athīr's use of the title *Ra'īs al-Ru'asā*' but then immediately followed it with the full name Abū al-Qāsim ibn al-Muslima, and in doing so he has ensured that what he has copied from Ibn al-Athīr agrees with the usage in his Egyptian sources. By contrast, where he copies from any Egyptian source, al-Maqrīzī does not append Ibn Muslima's title. Thus the *Itti'āz* is using Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* to enrich the narrative of the Egyptian sources, but it is the terms of the Egyptian accounts that take precedent.

³⁸ See passages 150, 265, 267, 268 and 274. The title is used once in the *Muqaffā*, suggesting that the author of the SY was aware of the title (passage 151).

³⁹ For example, al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 95. It is often misspelt 'Ibn al-Muslima' in the Egyptian texts.

3.2.3. What is missing in the Egyptian accounts?

The differing approaches for reusing the *Kāmil* described in the above section are valuable for understanding the Egyptian tradition in two ways. It firstly establishes that sources of Egyptian origin can only be found in the Egyptian sections of al-Nuwayrī's text (volume 28 of the modern edition). Secondly, al-Maqrīzī's choice to integrate only parts of the *Kāmil* into his chronological narrative of the Baghdad campaign, suggests that he preferred to use the Egyptian sources. It therefore indicates the kind of material and details that he found lacking in those sources. There are three areas where al-Maqrīzī relies on Ibn al-Athīr for his narratives of the Baghdad campaign: 1. The period that led up to and just followed al-Basāsīrī's campaign (passages 149-152); 2. The broader campaign in Iraq (passages 160, 162, 164, 176.1, 263); 3. The descriptions for al-Basāsīrī's occupation of Baghdad (passages 264-269, 271, 272, 274). In all three we see that al-Maqrīzī relied on the *Kāmil* to provide details on certain protagonists and events that appear to have been omitted from the Egyptian sources.⁴⁰

Both of the examples given above are taken from the first area. In the passages of this section of the work, the *Itti'āz* uses the *Kāmil* to describe al-Basāsīrī's actions just prior to his expulsion from Baghdad, and his treatment at the hands of Ibn Muslima and his followers (passages 149-150). In addition, the *Itti'āz* relies on the *Kāmil* to describe Tughril's ceremonial arrival in Baghdad and appointment as Sultan and the deposition of the Buyids (passages 151-152). In this area, it appears that the other Egyptian texts have little to say. All of these texts remark only briefly on al-Basāsīrī's exit from Baghdad, and only al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra* (both using the SY) fleetingly mention Tughril's arrival in Baghdad.⁴¹ The *Itti'āz*, therefore, supplemented these sparse accounts with the detail from the *Kāmil*.

In the second area, al-Maqrīzī copies from the *Kāmil* to provide greater detail on al-Basāsīrī's campaign in Iraq that led up to the capture of Baghdad in 450. According to the Iraqi accounts, Tughril and his commanders were involved in a sustained battle against al-Basāsīrī in Iraq from 448, which included: the Fatimid victory at Sinjār (passage 160); the temporary

⁴⁰ In the following discussion I will reference passage numbers for the *Itti'āz*. For page references in individual texts see the corresponding passage number in table 1.

⁴¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:390 (passage 168); Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 69.

capture of Mosul by al-Basāsīrī (passage 162); Tughril's recapture of Mosul and occupation of the surrounding regions (passage 164); and the rebellion of Ibrāhīm Īnāl, which forced Tughril to leave Iraq for his capital of Hamadhān (passage 176.1). The Egyptian texts describe little of the campaign in Iraq. Ibn Zāfir mentions only the battle of Sinjār.⁴² Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra* and al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* refer to the battle of Sinjār, and briefly note a rebellion against Tughril, but they do not associate it with Ibrāhīm Īnāl.⁴³

In this case, the *Itti'āz* uses the *Kāmil* to supplement the Egyptian narrative with key protagonists. Thus, al-Maqrīzī takes the Egyptian accounts of Sinjār and adds in the names of two adversaries of al-Basāsīrī at Sinjār (Qutulmush and Dubays b. Mazyad) – passage 160.⁴⁴ In addition, al-Maqrīzī uses Ibn al-Athīr's accounts to describe al-Basāsīrī's capture of Mosul (including, strangely, to describe his use of Fatimid ceremonial robes [*khila*], a detail which is not found in the surviving Egyptian accounts) – passage 162. He also copies the *Kāmil*'s description of Tughril's broader efforts to reassert control over Mosul and his eventual recapture of the city (passage 164). Finally, the *Itti'āz* adopts Ibn al-Athīr's detailed narrative of Ibrāhīm Īnāl's rebellion (passage 176.1). One can see in this case how al-Maqrīzī has used the accounts of the *Kāmil* to both update the Egyptian accounts and to provide supplementary narrative.

In the third area, there are instances where al-Maqrīzī has taken the narrative of the *Kāmil* in preference to the available Egyptian accounts. For the description of al-Basāsīrī's occupation of Baghdad, the Egyptian sources provide key details. They describe al-Basāsīrī's strategy to enter the city, his capture of the palace, execution of the vizier Ibn Muslima and the giving of the *khutba* in the name of the Fatimids. None of the Egyptian sources provide a detailed account of al-Basāsīrī's movements in Baghdad.⁴⁵ In this case the *Itti'āz* has adopted Ibn al-Athīr's version, taking this narrative in preference of the Egyptian one. This is seen, for example, in his description of Ibn Muslima's execution (passage 274). The Egyptian accounts agree that Ibn Muslima was placed into an ox skin, which then dried out and crushed him.⁴⁶ Al-Maqrīzī's instead copies Ibn al-Athīr's description that states Ibn Muslima

⁴² Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal*, 68.

⁴³ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 68; Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:392 (passages 161 and 176).

⁴⁴ For the comparison, see appendix E, table 6 and section 4.1.3.

⁴⁵ Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* provides a typical account. See the translation in table 8 below.

⁴⁶ See for example: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 68; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 23.

was dressed in an ox skin, complete with its horns on his head. Iron hooks were then put through his jaw and he was tied to a post using those hooks. There are clear similarities between the two accounts, but in this case al-Maqrīzī does not share any text with the other Egyptian works. He instead copies directly from Ibn al-Athīr.⁴⁷

Across al-Maqrīzī's usage of narratives from the *Kāmil*, he appears to be primarily interested in adding details. In the first two areas, al-Maqrīzī found that the surviving Egyptian narratives omitted certain key events or persons and so he filled in the gaps from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. As a consequence, he is one of only two late Egyptian historians to delineate two separate occupations of Mosul and the key protagonists involved in those battles (the only other case being al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*, where the narrative is provided in the Abbasid and Turkish sections of his history, which is also taken from the *Kāmil*). In the third area, al-Maqrīzī entirely preferences Ibn al-Athīr's accounts over the Egyptian ones. This appears to be because Ibn al-Athīr's descriptions of Baghdad's occupation are more detailed and precise. Al-Maqrīzī's use of Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*, therefore, leaves the impression that he found the Egyptian sources inadequate in these particular areas.

3.3. The perspectives of the SY and annals outlined

Altogether the pattern described above suggests that al-Maqrīzī preferred to use Egyptian sources, but in certain cases he found them lacking. This hints at a broader lack of detail in the Fatimid accounts of the Baghdad campaign. In this section I will examine the narratives that are provided in the Egyptian sources, as they are seen in the two source types: the annals and the SY. As we saw in the section above, the *Itti'āz* makes use of both of these sources. To understand each source type we must compare with other texts, crucially Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* and the *Muqaffā*. The outlines of each account will be discussed in the two parts that follow: Part one will examine the annals, compare the *Akḥbār* with the *Itti'āz* and conclude that both share a source text, which is probably derived from an earlier set of annals. Part two will then look at the SY, comparing the *Muqaffā* with the *Itti'āz* and *Ishāra*, and conclude that the *Muqaffā* presents the most complete quotations of the SY with a coherent pro-Yāzūrī narrative of the Baghdad campaign.

⁴⁷ For similar examples, see appendix A passages 264-274, where yellow highlighting indicates text that is shared with Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*.

3.3.1. The annals: the *Akhbār* and the *Itti'āz*

As was noted in table 1 above, the *Itti'āz* contains a number of passages that share text with the *Akhbār*. Throughout the years 440-450, the *Akhbār* shares text with the *Itti'āz*, often giving reports under the same years and in the same order. This suggests that the *Itti'āz* has either relied heavily on the *Akhbār* as a source text, or that both share a source text. In some cases, the *Itti'āz* provides more detail than the *Akhbār* (this is particularly the case for accounts of the early 440s, as will be discussed in chapter 5). This would suggest that both share a source text.

However, in contrast to the case studies that follow, the *Akhbār* contains some reports on the Baghdad campaign that are absent in al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. For those events that are shared with the *Itti'āz*, the events are arranged in the same order as in the *Akhbār*. Where there is no overlap, it appears that the *Itti'āz* has chosen an alternative version in preference to that found in the *Akhbār*. Events surrounding the Baghdad campaign are described under the years 447, 448 and 450 of the annals. In all of these years, the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz* share material in the same order. Table 5 below outlines all of the relevant years and the events that the *Akhbār* provides under that year in the order that they appear in the original text and gives parallels found in other works.

Table 5. A comparison of the years 447-450 of the Akhbār with passages in the Itti'āz and other sources. Passage numbers refer to passages used in table 1 above and appendices A and E. For other sources, page numbers have been provided. Bold indicates that the source shares text with the Akhbār.

Year	Event	Shared with <i>Itti'āz</i> , with passage no.	Parallel in other source
447 ⁴⁸	1. al-Basāsīrī's flight to Raḥba and request for Fatimid assistance.	X -154 (under year 448)	
	2. Dispute over Constantinople mosque.	X - 143.1	<i>Khīṭaṭ</i> (II:231-2)

⁴⁸ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 17-18.

Year	Event	<i>Shared with Itti'āz, with passage no.</i>	Parallel in other source
	3. Increase of Turkmān around Aleppo.	X - 143.2	
	4. Worsening of the famine in Egypt.	X - 143.3	
448 ⁴⁹	1. Dispatch of al-Mu'ayyad to al-Basāsīrī with funds, palace coffers emptied.	X - 158	<i>Nihāya</i> (XXVIII:220)
	2. Excursion of Khaṭīr al-Mulk to Jersusalem and Latakia	X - 159 (more detail)	<i>Muqaffā</i> (V:550)
450 ⁵⁰	1. Arrest and execution of al-Yāzūrī	X - 167	<i>Nihāya</i> (XXVIII: 221)
	2. Reasons for the arrest		<i>Nihāya</i> (XXVIII: 221)
	3. Al-Yāzūrī's obituary		<i>Nihāya</i> (XXVIII: 221-2)
	4. Khaṭīr al-Mulk in Fuwwa	X - 262	<i>Nihāya</i> (XXVIII: 222) <i>Muqaffā</i> (V:550)
	5. al-Yāzūrī's successors in the year 450	X - 262 (more detailed)	<i>Nihāya</i> (XXVIII: 223-224)
	6. Occupation of Baghdad		<i>Ishāra</i> (69-68)

⁴⁹ Ibid, 18.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 19-24.

Year	Event	Shared with <i>Itti'āz</i> , with passage no.	Parallel in other source
			<i>Akhbār al-duwal</i> (27-28) <i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (III:316) (all partial)
	7. Story of the drummer girl	X - 275	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i> (III:316) <i>Nihāya</i> (XXVIII: 22)

All but one of the events outlined in table 5 appear in the same order in the *Akhbār* and the *Itti'āz*. The exception is event 1 under the year 447. This account is not found verbatim in the *Itti'āz*, but there are similarities in the accounts of the year 448. Under that year, the *Itti'āz* also notes that al-Basāsīrī had fled to Raḥba (this detail is uniquely shared between the *Itti'āz* and the *Akhbār*). In the case of the year 450, events 2 and 6 are not shared with text in the *Itti'āz*, and the latter uses different sources to describe the same events. Thus, the *Itti'āz* gives reasons for al-Yāzūrī's arrest (event 2) by detailing at length the correspondence that he had allegedly sent to Tughril (quoted from the SY).⁵¹ In its description of the occupation of Baghdad (event 6), the *Itti'āz* uses a combination of material unique to the SY and long quotations from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*.⁵² Thus the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz* largely share the same arrangement of events and share significant amounts of text, but the *Akhbār* provides a more complete version of the annalistic account.

In the remaining texts that share material with the *Akhbār* the order is not adhered to as strictly. The *Nihāya* describes event 7 of the year 450 (the story of the drummer girl) after

⁵¹ See passages 168-176 in table 1 above, table 6 below and appendix A.

⁵² See discussion in section 3.2.3 above.

event 1 (the dispatch of funds to Baghdad) of the year 448, compressing the narrative surrounding the Baghdad campaign into a much shorter account. After this, he describes events 1-5 of the year 450 in the same order as the *Akḥbār*, but under the heading ‘The arrest of the vizier... al-Yāzūrī and some of his *akḥbār*’. It is possible, therefore, that the *Nihāya* shares a source text with the *Akḥbār* or has copied directly from it, and moved the material relevant to al-Yāzūrī under its own heading. The presence of additional details in events 4 and 7 of the year 450 suggest that it is more likely that they share a source text.⁵³ By comparison, the *Khiṭaṭ* and *Muqaffā* (in its biography of Khaṭīr al-Mulk) share short excerpts with the *Akḥbār*, but do not adhere to the same order. This is to be expected, given that both works (unlike the *Akḥbār*, *Itti’āz* and *Nihāya*) are not arranged chronologically.

Of all the texts, the *Itti’āz* is closest to the *Akḥbār* in wording, occasionally providing a few additional words not found in the *Akḥbār*. Event 5 under the year 450 is a case that suggests the *Akḥbār* and *Itti’āz* had shared an annalistic source text. There we are given a very detailed description of the succession to al-Yāzūrī and other relevant events at court. It is possible that al-Maqrīzī had inserted this narrative from another source, but the narrative shares a significant number of words with the *Akḥbār*. Bauden has highlighted al-Maqrīzī’s tendency to return to original source texts where possible. In the case of the history of Ibn al-Ma’mūn, al-Maqrīzī originally quoted the history in his *Khiṭaṭ* from quotations in Ibn ‘Abd al-Zāhir’s history, but he later acquired Ibn al-Ma’mūn’s work and corrected the text of the *Khiṭaṭ* using the original. It is possible that al-Maqrīzī had returned to an annalistic source text that had also been used by Ibn Muyassar and updated the *Akḥbār*’s account accordingly.⁵⁴

3.3.2. The SY as it appears in the *Muqaffā*

As was argued in the previous chapter, the SY is one of the main sources used by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī in his *Ishāra* and by al-Maqrīzī in his *Itti’āz*. It is used briefly in al-Maqrīzī’s *Khiṭaṭ* (sometimes with citation), but the *Muqaffā* nearly always provides the most detailed quotation from the SY. Table 1 above showed how the *Itti’āz* integrates the SY with accounts

⁵³ For a comparison of the passages in translation, see sections 4.1.1 and 4.1.2 respectively below. The Arabic text is compared in appendix E, table 7.

⁵⁴ Bauden, ‘Maqriziana XII’, 58-60. As we shall see in chapter 5, where an account is found only in Egyptian sources, the *Itti’āz* seems to have a more detailed quotation from the annals than the *Akḥbār*.

from other Egyptian sources and from the *Kāmil*. The *Itti'āz* shares a significant amount of text with the *Muqaffā*, but the latter provides more detailed accounts. Moreover, the *Muqaffā*'s accounts of the Baghdad campaign provide a coherent narrative, and this further suggests that it has used only one source which is primarily concerned with describing the events of al-Yāzūrī's life, even distorting the chronology to praise the vizier. Table 6 below outlines the *Muqaffā*'s version of the Baghdad campaign.

Table 6. A translation of the Muqaffā account of al-Basāsīrī's campaign with comparisons to sources that share narrative or text. Underlining indicates text that is shared with al-Maqrīzī's Itti'āz and highlighting text shared with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's Ishāra. Passage numbers correspond to table 1 above and appendices A and E.⁵⁵

Passage no.	<i>Muqaffā</i>
148	It happened that there was in Iraq a man known as Abū al-Ḥārith al-Basāsīrī. He became a commander of the armies [Asbāslār] ⁵⁶ of great ability, and [the value of] his 'iqṭā' reached around thirty-thousand <i>dīnārs</i> .
151	A dispute had broken out between him and the vizier Ra'īs al-Ru'sā' Abū al-Qāsim b. al-Muslima, the vizier of al-Qā'im b-'Amr Allāh al-'Abbāsī in the year four-hundred and forty seven. ⁵⁷
153	[Ibn Muslima] fought [al-Basāsīrī] until he forced him out of Baghdad, so he made for Diyār Bakr.
154	<u>He corresponded with</u> al-Mustansir when he [al-Basāsīrī] was in the province of Aleppo, communicating <u>his desire</u> to serve [the Fatimids] and present himself [at the Fatimid court]. <u>And he asked permission to come to his highness,</u> [stating] that he had <u>300 ghilmān</u> with him.
155	The vizier [al-Yāzūrī] took the correspondence. He received it favourably and took counsel from the people of the state on whether to permit [al-Basāsīrī]. All

⁵⁵ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, 70-68; Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:389-93; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:232-233, 236-238, and 254-255.

⁵⁶ This appears to be an Arabic transliteration of a Persian or Turkish title.

⁵⁷ Although Ibn al-Ṣayrafī does not provide a date, he states clearly that al-Basāsīrī's dispute with Ibn Muslima broke out around the time that the price of grain had inflated. Ibn Muyassar states there was a famine in 447 and Ibn Ḥajar claims that the Nile flood failed in that year. Elsewhere in the *Muqaffā*, al-Maqrīzī describes the grain shortage and its causes at length. Thus al-Maqrīzī's dating agrees with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 18; Ibn Ḥajar, *Raf'*, II:132; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:386.

Passage no.	<i>Muqaffā</i>
	of them were of the opinion that if he came, he would motivate others to come, as they would expect the same honour that he received. [And that] through this there would be an increase in the men of the state [<i>rijāl al-dawla</i>]. So they did not agree that he should come. They said: 'This man has an <i>'iqṭā'</i> in Iraq, the value of which exceeds thirty thousand <i>dīnārs</i> . He has with him boys who are the clients [<i>mawla</i>] of [the Buyid] al-Malik Abū Ṭāhir b. Kālījār. Others are sons of [Iraqi] governors [<i>mulūk</i>] and the <i>'iqṭā'</i> of the most eminent of them is one thousand two-hundred <i>dīnārs</i> . So, if we limit him [his <i>'iqṭā'</i>] to what is obligatory for them, he will not be content, but if it is increased, it would be repulsive. Also, we cannot sustain those Turks that [we employ] today, so how could we add this kind of number [of men] to [their ranks]?'
156	[They continued] 'answer that [al-Basāsīrī] should remain where he is, and we will be friendly to him. We will direct him to fight the enemies of the [Fatimid] state. If he rises to it, it will be a profit to the state and its reputation [lit. its name]. If he is incapable of it, that will be on his head.'
168	It happened that the Seljuk Ṭughrilbik <u>arrived in Baghdad from Khurāsān</u> with the <i>ghuzz</i> [Turks] in this year [447]. The vizier [al-Yāzūrī] had spies in [Baghdad]. They wrote to him, telling him of [Ṭughrilbik's] <u>arrival</u> and that he was determined to move from Baghdad to the region of <u>Greater Syria in order to take possession of it as</u> he had taken possession of Baghdad.
169	[al-Yāzūrī] <u>was anxious</u> about this, for the affairs of Ṭughrilbik had become great. He had subdued kingdoms, killed rulers and took possession of them [the kingdoms]. His reputation had spread, and his affairs had become large in the hearts of the kings. There was no opponent left for him [Ṭughrilbik] to fear. <u>So he [al-Yāzūrī] judged that what needed to be done had to go beyond</u> wanting to push out [Ṭughrilbik] from the lands <u>through standing prepared</u> [with an army] because his [Ṭughrilbik's] armies were too great.
170	<u>So he wrote to him [Ṭughrilbik] congratulating him on his arrival into Iraq, offering to serve him, to give him what he hoped for,</u> and [stating] that all of the

Passage no.	<i>Muqaffā</i>
	land of <u>Egypt</u> was under his jurisdiction. [He added] that he [al-Yāzūrī], even if he served one state and made the call to it, <u>knew</u> from its <u>neighbours</u> <u>how much controversy there was with regard to its lineage, whereas everyone unanimously agreed to consent to a caliph of sound lineage, the esteemed Hashimite Abbasids, and he does not refuse to acknowledge that.</u>
171	He [al-Yāzūrī] <u>agreed with him to give the pledge of allegiance and surrender the state to him [Tughrilbik].</u> [al-Yāzūrī noted to Tughrilbik] that it had come to his knowledge that his highness intended to invade Syria, but he was <u>anxious not to surrender it to him, because his armies would trample it underfoot with their great size, assembling [in those regions], such that they would lay waste to [Syria], leaving not a trace [lit. its traces would be effaced].</u> [He said that he was concerned to save Syria] <u>from the trampling of the armies, and the arrival of their mounts, and instead he should turn his attention and look to Damascus and the improvement⁵⁸ [of the city]. This [he said] was a better idea.</u>
172	<u>When Tughrilbik finished reading al-Yāzūrī's letter he said: 'This is the writing of an astute man and it is incumbent [upon us] to do as he has advised.'</u> So, he permitted his <u>armies to return to their lands.</u> <u>Every army went</u> to their homeland and he [Tughrilbik] took down his tents ⁵⁹ <u>and put them up on the west side [of Baghdad], facing Greater Syria.</u>
173	The vizier's <u>spies wrote to him</u> about this, and [al-Yāzūrī] <u>was</u> severely <u>anxious.</u> He wrote to Tughrilbik: <u>'Do not be deceived by claims and deception that I will surrender to you the state's provinces and betray my loyalty to he who supports me with his grace and whose charity is plentiful, and whom to obey and support is incumbent upon me. If you were to surrender to me what your followers have from the lands of Iraq and its provinces, I would surrender to you what is in the hands of my followers. [But] it is necessary that the word of Islam is united</u>

⁵⁸ We should perhaps read this to mean 'fortification' of Damascus, as the *Itti'āz* variant uses *ḥaṣana*, rather than the *ḥasana* found in the *Muqaffā*.

⁵⁹ The *Itti'āz* uses *fasāṭiṭ* rather than *khiyām* found in the *Muqaffā*. This suggests that read should perhaps read this as the 'royal tent'.

Passage no.	<i>Muqaffā</i>
	<u>under the son of the daughter of the Prophet [that is the Fatimid line], who is more worthy of his place than others. If you desire to do what brings peace and conclude a truce, the situation between the two states will be well organised and the people between the two will feel safe. [But] if you refuse, preferring difference, and your whims move you to corrupt thoughts and delusive greed, I have nothing for you except the sword. If you want, I will rise up. If you want, I will set out!'</u>
174	<u>Tughrilbik was infuriated at that and said: 'This peasant has tricked and ridiculed me!'</u> He wrote to his brother Ibrāhīm Īnāl: <u>'Return the armies to me immediately!'</u> Ibrāhīm executed [the order] to return them, but not one of them returned, and they said: 'There are those among us whose homeland is two, or three, or five months away. We marched with him [Ṭughrilbik] until we had trodden provinces underfoot, took possession of lands, conquered towns, occupied them and defeated those within them. [But] we did not receive anything from him except fatigue, disease and disappointment. If we did not achieve good through the length of our march, what could we possibly hope [to achieve] if we returned?' And they left.
175	<u>Al-Yāzūrī had imbedded his agents and spies in Tughrilbik's army, and he attempted to cause their [the Seljuks'] notables to defect, he showed kindness to them, did much to [satisfy] their wishes and [made] promises to them.</u> He gained access to <u>Ṭughrilbik's wife</u> , to Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr <u>al-Kundurī, his vizier</u> , and to <u>Ibrāhīm Īnāl, his brother and head of his army [ṣāhib jayshihī]. They turned to him [al-Yāzūrī] and defected from Ṭughrilbik.</u>
176	But that was not enough for him [al-Yāzūrī]. <u>He called upon Khatūn, Ṭughrilbik's wife, to kill him [Ṭughrilbik].</u> So she said: 'I am not able, but I could <u>withdraw</u> from him with <u>my qhilmān, who are</u> the most fanatical [among] his army – <u>their number was around twelve thousand</u> – and in my withdrawal with them his side would be weakened.' So <u>she withdrew from Ṭughrilbik with them, and that was the reason for victory over him.</u>

Passage no.	<i>Muqaffā</i>
161	Then Ṭughrilbik sent <u>to Sinjār</u> , in the year four hundred and fifty, <u>two thousand five hundred</u> <i>ghuzz</i> to [face] al-Basāsīrī. He [al-Basāsīrī] reached them and <u>was victorious over</u> them, killing all of them. <u>Of them</u> , only around <u>two hundred horsemen remained</u> . After that, he [Ṭughrilbik] did not fight men of the Fatimid state, and he abandoned Baghdad.
177	<u>al-Basāsīrī's power grew and his troop expanded. He made for the provinces of Iraq</u> and conquered them <u>town by town</u> [<i>yaftaḥuha baladan baladan</i>]. The vizier supported him with all of the help that he asked for in that [campaign], [providing him] with money, advice [<i>al-ra'y</i>] and organisational support.
264	Until he <u>reached Baghdad and began hostilities. He divided his army</u> into two groups. One group fought in the <u>day and the other</u> fought from the <u>maghrib [sunset] prayer until fajr [dawn]</u> . Then he <u>entered</u> [the city] and turned his attention to <u>occupying its sites and its streets</u> .
266	Then he reached the palace [<i>dār al-khilāfa</i>] and made <u>siege to it</u> . He directed fighting against it on all sides, and <u>sent sappers</u> against each of its <u>sides</u> . When [the palace] was on the brink of capture, al-Qā'im b-amr Allāh ascended the highest part of the palace, and looked down on the people.
267	He turned to shout: <u>'Oh people of Baghdad!' and he roused them to help him</u> and defend his property. <u>He called on the protection</u> of Quraysh b. Badrān, and asked for a safe conduct from him.
268	<u>So [Quraysh] took him and prevented</u> al-Basāsīrī <u>from [taking] him</u> . The vizier Ibn Muslima was turned over to [al-Basāsīrī].
269	Al-Basāsīrī took possession of the palace and all that was in it.
273	<u>He broke the minbar of the Friday Mosque</u> , and said: 'This is a minbar upon which hatred of the family of Muhammad was proclaimed.' <u>He established another minbar and gave the khutba to al-Mustansir upon it.</u>
274	He then wrapped <u>Ibn Muslima in a bull's skin and gibbeted him until it dried upon him and he died.</u>

Passage no.	<i>Muqaffā</i>
274.1	The <i>khutba</i> to al-Mustanṣir was undertaken for forty Fridays, and al-Qā'im was detained in the fortress at al-Ḥadītha by Muhārish for around ten months.
276	Al-Yāzūrī was determined to send ten thousand <i>dīnārs</i> to Muhārish, to take the Caliph off his hands and carry him to Cairo in a friendly manner. As he approached [the city] he would be received by the people of the state in the best manner, and he would go to great lengths to honour him. He would be quartered in the western palace, he would be provided for as he was accustomed to, and an annuity would be set up, [a portion of] which would be given [to him] daily. Every day one hundred <i>dīnārs</i> would be granted to him. He would be directed to ride in al-Mustanṣir's procession, [riding] with him, covered from sight.
277	Once he had ridden with [al-Mustanṣir] a number of times, and the news of this condition had spread in the lands, he would give him a <i>khil'a</i> , prepare banners of the <i>wilāya</i> [Fatimid rule] for him [and send them] to Iraq, and draw up a covenant with [the Abbasid Caliph] in his [the Abbasid?] fashion and send it to him. [The Abbasid Caliph] would [then] return to his kingdom and his caliphate of his own accord. But [al-Yāzūrī] was prevented by the fate that befell him before he could realise what he intended.

The narrative provided in the *Muqaffā* detailed above is one that has a strong narrative that justifies and emphasises al-Yāzūrī's role in the Baghdad campaign. This narrative unity suggests that the *Muqaffā*'s account is closest to that of the original SY. As is shown in table 1, in the *Itti'āz* this narrative is split up across two years (448 and 450) with other details added in between, including material taken from later in the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī (see passages 187-189 in table 1).

The fragmentation of the narrative in the *Itti'āz* is seen mostly clearly when one compares their treatment of the battle of Sinjār (passage 161). In the *Muqaffā* the description of this battle is immediately preceded by a description of al-Yāzūrī's attempts to encourage defections among Tughril's supporters, resulting in the defection of his wife Khaṭūn with

some of his most fanatical soldiers (passages 175 and 176). This, according to the *Muqaffā* account, 'was the reason for victory over' Tughril. The *Muqaffā* then states that in the year 450 Tughril's army was defeated at Sinjār. There is a clear narrative here: al-Yāzūrī's work to turn Tughril's followers had weakened his army and allowed al-Basāsīrī to defeat the Fatimids at Sinjār. The *Itti'āz* cuts up this narrative. The battle of Sinjār appears under the year 448 (a date probably adopted from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*).⁶⁰ The anecdotes about Khaṭūn's defection are described under the year 450, which he follows with a description of the rebellion of Ibrāhīm Īnāl, adapted from the *Kāmil* (he thus associates Khaṭūn's rebellion with Ibrāhīm's, again relying on the *Kāmil* for the alternative narrative). The *Itti'āz* has adapted the SY to agree with the other sources, and in doing so it disassociates al-Yāzūrī with the battle of Sinjār. This in turn dilutes the pro-Yāzūrī agenda that is clearly present in the *Muqaffā*'s variant of the SY.

It might be countered that al-Maqrīzī could have formulated the narrative in the *Muqaffā* to create a narrative more favourable to al-Yāzūrī. This, however, appears unlikely. As will be argued in chapter 4, the defence of al-Yāzūrī provided in the SY should be viewed as part of a debate about his legacy that occurred not long after his death. It is not clear why al-Maqrīzī would deliberately arrange the account in such a manner, when in the *Itti'āz* he shows a clear awareness (adopted from the *Kāmil*) that the battle of Sinjār had occurred in 448, not in 450, and prior to Ibrāhīm's rebellion. This is clear evidence that the *Muqaffā*'s full account of the campaign to capture Baghdad has been copied entirely from one source with a distinct agenda and with potential errors, where in the *Itti'āz* al-Maqrīzī has mixed that source with others.

3.4. A shared source base for the Baghdad campaign

There are two clear source traditions for the Baghdad campaign: the annals and the SY. The annals are best represented by the account Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār*, whose order of events (and often phrasing) is mirrored in the *Itti'āz*, suggesting that they share an annalistic source text. Other Egyptian sources share material with that found in the *Akḥbār* and the *Itti'āz*, but not with the same uniform order. The SY, by comparison, is copied most completely into the

⁶⁰ See section 4.1.3 below.

Muqaffā, which (in contrast to the *Itti'āz*) offers a clear and uniform narrative of the events of the Baghdad campaign and al-Yāzūrī's role within them.

As was noted in the first section of this chapter, the *Itti'āz* supplements its accounts with material from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*, and in its accounts of Baghdad's occupation takes the *Kāmil* in preference to the Egyptian narrative. This, it was argued, suggests that the Egyptian accounts were poorly informed about certain parts of the Baghdad campaign. Comparison of the annals and the SY further suggest that this is the case. Although there are some key differences between these accounts of the Baghdad campaign, both share the same basic outline of the campaign. This suggests that each source tradition was written using a shared source base. This will be argued in in two parts: Part one will provide a general overview of the similarities and differences between the sources. Part two will examine two examples of areas where material is shared: the initiation of the Baghdad campaign and the occupation of Baghdad. These two examples will show how this shared narrative provides a very basic account of the Baghdad campaign.

3.4.1. *The annals and the SY compared*

There are some key differences between the annals and the SY, but it is clear that both accounts adapt the same basic overview of the Baghdad campaign. This was a simple narrative that noted al-Basāsīrī's expulsion from Baghdad and his alliance with the Fatimids, and described al-Basāsīrī's occupation of Baghdad using broadly the same basic terms. Table 7 below outlines the key similarities and differences between the two accounts, using the *Muqaffā* and *Akhbār* as representatives of each type.

Table 7. The key differences and similarities between the SY and the annals.

Area	SY (according to the <i>Muqaffā</i>)	Annals (according to the <i>Akhbār</i>)
Shared protagonists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al-Basāsīrī • Ibn Muslima • Tughril • Al-Qā'im • Muhārish 	

Area	SY (according to the <i>Muqaffā</i>)	Annals (according to the <i>Akḥbār</i>)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al-Yāzūrī • Al-Mustanşir 	
Unique protagonists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Khaṭūn (Tughril's wife) • Abū Naşr al-Kundurī (Tughril's vizier) • Ibrāhīm Īnāl • Quraysh b. Badrān 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al-Mu'ayyad
Events shared between accounts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al-Basāsīrī's dispute with Ibn Muslima and exit from Baghdad • Alleged correspondence between al-Yāzūrī and Tughril. • Main events of the capture of Baghdad 	
Unique events to each account	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inciting Khaṭūn to rebel. • The battle of Sinjār • Detailed description of the capture of the Caliphal palace • Plan to convey Abbasid Caliph to Cairo 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dispatch of al-Mu'ayyad and funds to support al-Basāsīrī • Sending of Khaṭīr al-Mulk to Latakia • Minting of coinage • Story of the drummer girl
Agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pro-Yāzūrī • Pro-secretarial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anti-Yāzūrī in places

As the comparison outlined in table 7 shows, the SY and annals share the same outline of the Baghdad campaign. They agree that the campaign began when al-Basāsīrī asked to ally with the Fatimids. Both state very little on the events that occurred in Iraq. Finally, they both provide a short description of the occupation of Baghdad. To this list of shared events we might add the victory at Sinjār. Although this battle is not mentioned in the *Akhbār*, it is described in the *Ishāra*, Ibn Zāfir's *Akhbār al-Duwal* and *Itti'āz*, who appear to share a pro-Fatimid source (potentially a *sijill* issued on the occasion of the victory).⁶¹

Both accounts agree on a basic set of protagonists, which clearly illustrate Fatimid concerns. There is a focus on the main leaders on the Fatimid and Abbasid side, plus Muhārish who was responsible for receiving the Abbasid Caliph after his capture. In complete contrast to the Iraqi narratives, there is no mention of some of al-Basāsīrī's key allies, such as Dubays b. Mazyad.⁶² Where the SY mentions three key Seljuk individuals (Khaṭūn, al-Kundurī and Ibrāhīm Ṭnāl), it is only in connection with one event (al-Yāzūrī's attempt to get key figures to defect from Tughril's side). It seems that the surviving Egyptian accounts as a whole are unaware of Ibrāhīm's role in a rebellion against Tughril (the SY claims it was Khaṭūn who rebelled and states that the rebellion occurred prior to Sinjār), and we are not given detailed accounts of the involvement of any of these individuals.

It is clear, therefore, that both sources share a very basic understanding of the events that occurred in Iraq. All of the material that is shared is illustrative of court concerns about the campaign: the alliance itself, the key leaders and the manner in which victory was attained in Baghdad. The sources differ in their exact descriptions of each event, which in some cases betray the agenda of the author. That the sources have the same basic outline of the campaign but describe it differently, suggest that both are working with the same agreed Fatimid narrative of the campaign, but adapting it to their purposes. This is clearly seen when we compare specific examples from the *Akhbār* and *Muqaffā*.

⁶¹ See section 4.1.3 below.

⁶² This contrasts with al-Mu'ayyad's account, which documents his regular correspondence with these allies. See, for example, a letter to Dubays in: al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 142-3. This is further evidence that Fatimid and later Egyptian historians had ignored the account of the *Sīra*.

3.4.2. Two examples of a shared narrative

In this section I will look in detail at the two parts of the narrative that are shared between the *Akhbār* and the *Muqaffā*: the initiation of the alliance with al-Basāsīrī, and the occupation of Baghdad. In both of these cases it is clear that both sources are using the same basic narrative, but rendering it differently. Under the year 451, Ibn Muyassar describes the defeat of al-Basāsīrī and provides an obituary of al-Basāsīrī that contains similar material to the early part of the SY account. It does not, however, appear to be taken from the SY. The account shares very few words with any of the quotations from the SY, and it provides material that is different and even contradicts the SY's narrative. It suggests, therefore, that the annals and the SY shared some knowledge about the Baghdad campaign, but treated this information in different ways.

The following is a translation of the *Akhbār*'s account (underlining indicates text shared with the *Muqaffā* and bold material that is not found in the *Muqaffā*):

He [al-Basāsīrī] was the *mawlā* of Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī al-Nahwī, circumstances led him until Bahā' al-Dawla 'Aḍud al-Dawla b. Būyah came to own him. Things improved for him until he became one of the most senior commander of the Turks in al-Mīnā⁶³ as a commander of the armies [*bi-l-Isfihsilāriyya*], which was [the office of] the most senior Turk in Baghdad.

[Then, the relationship] that was between him [al-Basāsīrī] and the vizier Abū al-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Muslima worsened. **It became [the case] that all things that happened with the Turks in Baghdad were associated with al-Basāsīrī. The estrangement between the two of them grew such that [Ibn Muslima] corrupted all that was between al-Basāsīrī, and the governors [*al-amara*] and the Caliph. The vizier wrote to al-Qā'im informing him that al-Basāsīrī had corresponded with al-Yāzūrī, al-Mustanşir's vizier. So his position with the Caliph was also spoiled. He [the Caliph] ordered him to be distanced from him; he was forced out of Baghdad, his houses plundered and harem and *ghilmān* scattered.**

⁶³ Sayyid (the editor) notes that the exact meaning of this is unclear.

When that happened to him, necessity led him to write to al-Mustanşir to make him interested in allying with him. So he asked his permission to come to him in Egypt. It was advised to al-Mustanşir and his vizier al-Yāzūrī that there was not room for him to enter Egypt, for he had a large retinue and 'iqṭā' in Baghdad, for which an equivalent could not be found in Egypt. So a reply was sent deterring him from coming [to Egypt]. **So he [al-Basāsīrī] wrote to al-Yāzūrī and al-Mustanşir requesting money and men to capture Baghdad. These were sent to him, as has been previously mentioned.**⁶⁴

It is clear that this account shares some details with passages 151 to 156 of the *Muqaffā*. These passages describe how al-Basāsīrī had been forced out of Baghdad and had asked to take refuge in Cairo, and how al-Yāzūrī was advised that al-Basāsīrī's 'iqṭā' was too large to allow for this. However, as can be seen above, there are very few words shared between the accounts. Moreover, the *Muqaffā* version places a greater emphasis on the role played by al-Yāzūrī, details the exact size of al-Basāsīrī's 'iqṭā', and uses quoted dialogue.

There are also details in Ibn Muyassar's account that are not found in the *Muqaffā*, and which change the narrative. Ibn Muyassar's version provides the details of al-Basāsīrī's estrangement with Ibn Muslima and suggests that al-Basāsīrī had corresponded with the Fatimids prior to his expulsion from Baghdad. It also claims that al-Basāsīrī asked for help to conquer Baghdad. In contrast the *Muqaffā* assumes that al-Basāsīrī is able to accomplish the task without help, claiming that al-Yāzūrī said: 'If he rises to it, it will be a profit to the state and its reputation [lit. its name]. If he is incapable of it, that will be on his head.'⁶⁵ The SY (as it is quoted in the *Muqaffā*) only describes the dispatch of support to al-Basāsīrī after the battle of Sinjār (passage 177). It seems, therefore, that Ibn Muyassar's account under the year 451 uses sources that have similar information to the SY, but this information is framed differently. This, therefore, reflects a shared Fatimid narrative that claimed al-Basāsīrī had initially asked to come to Cairo, was refused on the grounds of the size of his 'iqṭā', and directed to fight for the Fatimids in Iraq instead.

Similar cases of shared knowledge are seen for the occupation of Baghdad. The *Akhbār's* description of Baghdad's occupation shares material with many sources, including

⁶⁴ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 25. 'Previously mentioned' refers to the year 448 (p. 18).

⁶⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:390 (passage 156).

significant pieces from the SY, but it arranges that material in a unique manner. Table 8 provides Ibn Muyassar's full account of Baghdad's occupation with notes on the sources that contain similar material.

Table 8. Ibn Muyassar's Akhbār on al-Basāsīrī's capture of Baghdad and parallels in other sources.

No.	Ibn Muyassar's <i>Akhbār</i> ⁶⁶	Material shared with other sources ⁶⁷
1	On Friday, when seven days remained of Shawwāl of this year, the call to al-Mustaṣṣir was established in Baghdad after al-Basāsīrī had fought a difficult fight against its people, and when boxes of money and armies had arrived from Egypt.	Unique to this text
2	He had divided his army into two groups, a group to fight at night and another to fight in the day, until he occupied Baghdad.	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, <i>Ishāra</i> (SY) Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Muqaffā</i> (SY, passage 264)
3	The Caliph fled to Muhārish al-'Uqaylī, the Bedouin, seeking refuge with him,	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, <i>Ishāra</i> Ibn Zāfir, <i>Akhbār</i> Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Itti'āz</i> Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Muqaffā</i> (SY)

⁶⁶ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 22-23.

⁶⁷ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 69-68; Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-duwal*, 27-28; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, XXVIII:220; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III:316; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:252-255; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:392-394.

No.	Ibn Muyassar's <i>Akhbār</i> ⁶⁶	Material shared with other sources ⁶⁷
4	he granted them asylum, sent him to al-Anbār and he remained there.	Unique to this text
5	Al-Basāsīrī broke the minbars of the mosques and produced replacements,	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, <i>Ishāra</i> (SY) Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Itti'āz</i> (SY) Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Muqaffā</i> (SY)
6	and gave the <i>khuṭba</i> to al-Mustanṣir.	All Egyptian texts
7	He minted coins in his name.	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, <i>Ishāra</i> Ibn Ṣafīr, <i>Akhbār</i>
8	He arrested the vizier Ibn al-Muslima, put him in the skin of an ox, and gibbeted him [until] it dried around him and he died.	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, <i>Ishāra</i> (SY) Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Muqaffā</i> (SY)
9	He put two iron hooks in his [Ibn Muslima's] jaws.	Unique to this text
10	[Narrative on the drummer girl – for a full translation see section 4.1.2 below]	Al-Nuwayrī, <i>Nihāya</i> Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Itti'āz</i> Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Khiṭaṭ</i>

In table 8, there are four cases of material shared with the SY. These cases indicate that the annals and SY relied on a shared narrative of Baghdad's occupation. Of the four cases, two share some text with the SY accounts: passages 2 and 8 in table 8 above. Ibn Muyassar followed passage 8 with another detail, stating that hooks were placed in Ibn Muslima's jaws (passage 9).⁶⁸ The other details that are shared with the SY are found in passages 3, 5 and 6. In these cases, the *Akhbār* does not share words with the *Ishāra*, *Muqaffā* or *Itti'āz*. In the case of 5, the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* add further detail, quoting what al-Basāsīrī had said as he smashed the minbar (see passage 273). Moreover, for passage 3, the *Muqaffā* states that Muhārish kept the Caliph at Hadīthat 'Āna, rather than al-Anbār, as Ibn Muyassar claims. The *Muqaffā* adds a description of al-Yāzūrī's elaborate plans to have the Caliph transported to Cairo (passages 276 and 277).

All other Egyptian texts that convey the information given in Ibn Muyassar's account present the information in different orders, with differing emphasis. To illustrate, I will compare al-Nuwayrī's and Ibn Zāfir's versions of the occupation, referencing passage numbers from table 8 in brackets. Al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* only briefly notes the declaration of the *khuṭba* in Baghdad (6) and then provides the anecdote about the drummer girl (10). By comparison, Ibn Zāfir states first that the Abbasid Caliph fled to Muhārish (3), then that Ibn Muslima was killed (8), but he does not mention the manner of his execution. He then notes the date of al-Basāsīrī's entrance into Baghdad (1), but he provides an entirely different date. This is followed by a description of the return of Tughril and al-Basāsīrī's capture (which is described in the *Akhbār* under the year 451).⁶⁹ Ibn Zāfir concludes the account of the occupation by noting that the Fatimid *khuṭba* was given in Baghdad (6) along with al-Ahwāz, Kufa and Basra, and that coins were struck (7). On the whole, Ibn Zāfir's version shares very few words with Ibn Muyassar's.

Overall, it appears that the annals and SY have relied upon a shared Fatimid narrative of the Baghdad campaign. In the case of the initiation of the Baghdad campaign, it seems that this narrative circulated less widely, where with the occupation of Baghdad accounts appear to have circulated more broadly and resulted in a greater number of variations. This should

⁶⁸ This is a detail that is only found in the Iraqi sources, but Ibn Muyassar does not copy from Ibn al-Athīr or Ibn al-Jawzī anywhere else in these accounts. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:355; Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, XVI:37. Ibn Muyassar does, however, cite Ibn al-Athīr elsewhere. See, for example, Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 129.

⁶⁹ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 24-5.

come as little surprise, as it is likely the victory in Baghdad was celebrated in Cairo and it is possible that details of the city's capture were circulated in *sijillāt*. In each case the accounts are very simple, focussing on specifics that probably mattered more to the Fatimid court. We are not presented with a detailed narrative of al-Basāsīrī's dispute with Ibn Muslima and exit from Baghdad (as we are in the *Kāmil*), but rather an account that is concerned about his intention to come to Cairo. Moreover, the sources do not give a detailed narrative of Baghdad's occupation, but a list of the key events that occurred when Baghdad was occupied, which perhaps correspond to what had been written in *sijillāt*. That the annals and SY do not deviate significantly from this simple narrative further suggests that this was the only material available to the authors of both accounts.

Conclusions: the importance of al-Yāzūrī's arrest

This chapter has introduced the main Egyptian accounts of the Baghdad campaign and argued that Fatimid sources focused on a narrow set of key events eschewing detailed narrative. The campaign is widely discussed in the Egyptian historiography from early on in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*, but the accounts typically omit many of the key details of the campaign. This is seen most clearly in how al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* uses its sources. In the *Itti'āz* at least three types of source can be distinguished for the campaign: the annals, the SY and Iraqi. It is clear from shared text that the *Itti'āz* relies quite heavily on the narratives of Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. The only other Egyptian source to quote from the *Kāmil* is al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*. However, the *Nihāya* only uses the *Kāmil* in specific sections of the work and only quotes from Egyptian sources in the Egyptian sections of his work. By comparison, the *Itti'āz* combines the *Kāmil* with the other two types of Egyptian source, typically giving priority to Egyptian sources. That al-Maqrīzī was forced to use the *Kāmil* suggests that he found Egyptian sources to be lacking, in certain cases.

For the Baghdad campaign, the *Itti'āz* uses significant quotations from both the annals and the SY, but it does not represent the most detailed or complete quotation of either source. The annalistic account of the Baghdad campaign is found in most detail in Ibn Muyassar's *Akhhbār*. The *Itti'āz* shares a significant amount of text with the *Akhhbār*, and it arranges its accounts in the same order and under the same years as in the *Akhhbār*. There are additionally parts of the year 450 for which the *Itti'āz* provides a more detailed account than the *Akhhbār*. Yet, in the descriptions of the Baghdad campaign itself, the *Akhhbār* preserves

more material from the annals than the *Itti'āz*. The most detailed quotation of the SY is found in the *Muqaffā*. The *Muqaffā*'s variant of the SY account forms a clear narrative that emphasises al-Yāzūrī's role in the campaign. This further suggests that the *Muqaffā* has quoted its account of the campaign from one source, the SY, which primarily provides a narrative of al-Yāzūrī's life.

The *Itti'āz* is more detailed than the *Akhbār* for the Baghdad campaign primarily because it substitutes or modifies the annals using material from the SY and the *Kāmil*. This manner of working with the sources suggests that where al-Maqrīzī found material in the annals that was repeated in the *Kāmil* or SY, he preferred to use one of the latter two sources. Both the annals and the SY presented quite simple accounts of the Baghdad campaign, ignoring much of the detail of the fighting in Iraq and not describing the occupation of Baghdad in detail. This is seen in particular when one looks at the similarities between the annals and the SY. Although the accounts differ, both provide very similar accounts of the initiation of the campaign and similar details for Baghdad's capture. Thus, it appears that both were relying on a common Fatimid narrative for these events, which often lacked detail.

However, as should be obvious from the outline of the two sources provided in this chapter, there are significant differences between the two accounts. There are some differences in small details – I noted, for example, how the SY names key Seljuk protagonists, where the annals do not – but the main difference between the two sources is their agenda. The SY mentions these Seljuk protagonists not to describe specific events in Iraq, but to emphasise how al-Yāzūrī's spies had successfully infiltrated Tughril's ranks, a clear pro-Yāzūrī version of events. Al-Yāzūrī was arrested and executed because of policies he had adopted during the Baghdad campaign. When the historians of the 450s began to write accounts of the campaign they were likely to take sides: pro-Yāzūrī or anti-Yāzūrī. As will be argued in the following chapter, this debate over al-Yāzūrī's legacy has profoundly shaped the surviving narratives of the Baghdad campaign.

Chapter 4. Al-Yāzūrī and al-Basāsirī's campaign to capture Baghdad, part 2: the narrative of the 450s and 460s

Introduction

The campaign to capture Baghdad is told across the later Egyptian sources in varying levels of detail. As for most of the events of al-Yāzūrī's career, the accounts of the campaign can be divided into at least two types: those that rely on the SY, and those that rely on the annals. In the previous chapter we found that al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* uses material from both of these source types for its narratives of the Baghdad campaign. In addition, it uses material from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* and chapter 3 argued that this was indicative of how poorly informed the extant Egyptian sources are about the Baghdad campaign. Through a close study of the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī, it was clear how this source contains the best surviving quotation of the SY account, which provides a cohesive narrative for the Baghdad campaign (a narrative which is fragmented by al-Maqrīzī in the *Itti'āz*, interwoven with accounts from other Egyptian sources and the *Kāmil*). Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār*, by comparison, provides the best quotations from the Egyptian annals, often sharing text with the *Itti'āz*. These instances of shared text indicate that either the *Itti'āz* is quoting directly from the *Akhbār* or that he shared a source text with Ibn Muyassar. Chapter 3 concluded that there was only a limited set of events from the Baghdad campaign that are known to the Egyptian tradition, and which are often shared between the SY and annals. In this chapter I will argue that the main distinction between these two source types is their perspective on these events, which is clearly shaped by their respective agendas.

Unlike the other case studies discussed in the following chapters, the accounts surrounding the capture of Baghdad were profoundly influenced by the arrest and execution of al-Yāzūrī in early 450. In the annals the account is largely anti-Yāzūrī and in the SY it is pro-Yāzūrī. Moreover, in the annals (as they survive in quotations in Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār*) there is a two-staged account of the Baghdad campaign: first, those for 448 and 450 are overtly anti-Yāzūrī based on criticism that had developed in the 450s; second, accounts of the year 451 are affected by a much later critique that developed out of a *sijill* issued by Badr al-Jamālī. Both phases were probably amendments of an earlier set of annals written in the 440s, seen

in the accounts of the year 447. The SY account clearly engages with the critique of the first stage, and it is, therefore, likely that it was written in the 450s. Brett has broadly argued for a similar division of the sources in his article on the execution of al-Yāzūrī, using the *Itti'āz* as his source for the SY. Using the *Muqaffā* and comparing it with the other Egyptian sources, I will elaborate on the development of the narratives surrounding the Baghdad campaign and show how the SY's account is clearly a product of the 450s.

This argument will be presented in three parts. Part one will examine the annals, looking at the two stages of their development. It will look at how these sources came to criticise al-Yāzūrī for his role in the Baghdad campaign, but it will also look at how other anecdotes about the Baghdad campaign had circulated without reference to al-Yāzūrī. Some of these accounts circulated separately from the annalistic source used by Ibn Muyassar. Part two will then turn to the SY. It will look first at how the SY responds to the criticism of the 450s, before examining how it engages with al-Mu'ayyad's narrative of the Baghdad campaign. This is good evidence that the SY was written in the 450s. Part three will conclude by looking at how certain elements of the SY's accounts of the Baghdad campaign are mirrored in other narratives in the SY, as it is found in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*. This suggests that the SY is a source with a uniform agenda about al-Yāzūrī and his role as a man 'of the pen'.

4.1. Reading the evolution of the annals through Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār*

In 'The execution of al-Yāzūrī', Brett built on his ideas in 'The Quarrel with the Zirids' (for a summary and discussion of this piece see section 2.2 above), to understand the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate in the light of al-Yāzūrī's arrest and execution. Brett argues that Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* contains an annalistic account based on the 'Fatimid tradition', which had criticised the vizier in two stages. In the first stage it is claimed that al-Yāzūrī was involved in treasonable correspondence with Tughril and had intended to flee to Baghdad with his wealth, and that he was arrested for this. The second claims that al-Yāzūrī had bankrupted the state and caused the subsequent ruin of Egypt.¹ Brett argues that the first was part of a contemporary debate about al-Yāzūrī's legacy. Around the time of al-Yāzūrī's arrest in early 450, the Baghdad campaign had looked ready to fail and al-Yāzūrī

¹ Brett, 'Execution', 88.

could easily be condemned for wasting money on the venture.² The SY was written around the same time to defend al-Yāzūrī against such claims. The second claim, by comparison, had clearly emerged around the 460s, because it was only then that the Fatimid state had begun to disintegrate.³

This section will provide an analysis of Ibn Muyassar's accounts of the Baghdad campaign that broadly agrees with and builds upon Brett's thesis for the annals. It will, however, use examples specific to the Baghdad campaign, and compare with other sources. This will allow us to better understand the evolution of the sources used in Ibn Muyassar's account and in the broader Egyptian tradition. Brett has suggested, along with others, that Ibn Muyassar might have copied from the lost annals of al-Muḥannak, and there is evidence within the accounts of the Baghdad campaign to suggest that this is the case.⁴ It will be argued here that Ibn Muyassar's account is copy of an annalistic source from around the mid-sixth century, but that this account is based on a series of earlier accounts that circulated, some contemporary and some potentially based on *sijillāt*. This will be argued in three parts. Part one will look at his accounts of 448 and 450 and highlight the parts of these accounts that are likely to be contemporary to al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. Part two will examine his accounts for the year 451 and their basis in a *sijill* issued much later by Badr al-Jamālī. It will also examine two further reports, one that was clearly written later (although it is unclear when) and one that might be dated to the sixth century. Part three will then examine two accounts that did not find their way into Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār*, but were transmitted by other Mamluk historians. Viewed together, the evidence suggests that Ibn Muyassar's account, although probably based on a relatively late source, uses a set of contemporary and near-contemporary narratives of the Baghdad campaign.

4.1.1. The anti-Yāzūrī accounts of the year 448 and 450

In many Egyptian sources the year 448 is associated with the dispatch of the *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad to assist al-Basāsīrī, along with money to finance the campaign. Ibn Muyassar, al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī (in his *Itti'āz*) all stress that the expense was such that it emptied the palace treasures. Either all three share the same source, or al-Nuwayrī and al-Maqrīzī have

² Ibid, 90.

³ Ibid, 88.

⁴ For an outline of studies, see note 36 in chapter 2 above.

quoted from Ibn Muyassar. The following is the version given by al-Maqrīzī (underlining indicates text shared with Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār*):

Great chests of money were made ready for him carried by al-Mu'ayyad fī-l-Dīn Abū Naṣr Hibat Allah b. Mūsā in the year forty-eight, such that there did not remain in the treasuries of the palace anything at all.⁵

Ibn Muyassar and al-Maqrīzī both follow this account with a report concerning al-Yāzūrī's son. Of the two, that in al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* is the more detailed (underlining indicates text shared with Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* and bold material unique to the *Itti'āz*):

Khaṭīr al-Mulk Muḥammad, son of the vizier, left Cairo in great adornment. He had with him all that he wanted, such that he took wooden boxes containing soil, which was sown with many herbs [each] with a record of their culinary use. He had with him boxes of money, weapons, instruments and objects which are too numerous to describe. He went to Jerusalem, and travelled from there to Latakia, wishing to occupy it.⁶

Firstly, one should note that both of these reports for year 448 do not mention al-Yāzūrī's role in the Baghdad campaign. In each case we are not told who ordered the dispatch of funds or who sent Khaṭīr al-Mulk to Latakia. However, in both cases there appears to be an element of criticism. In the first, the emphasis is on how the palace treasuries were left bare. The second appears to provide an unflattering portrait of al-Yāzūrī's son, which satires his love of court life. He is depicted as taking 'all that he wanted' on campaign, including herbs to furnish his dinner table. One might suppose that this is an attempt to claim he is a poor candidate to lead a campaign – as we shall see below, the meaning becomes clearer when we read another report of Khaṭīr al-Mulk's actions. The accounts of the year 448 in the *Akḥbār* and *Itti'āz* are, therefore, critical, but they do not direct their criticism at al-Yāzūrī.

However, when we read the *Akḥbār* and *Itti'āz* accounts of the year 450, the two events of 448 become closely associated with al-Yāzūrī and his arrest. At the start of the year, Ibn

⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II: 233; Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 18 (passage 158). Arabic compared in appendix E, table 4.

⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II: 233-4; Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 18 (passage 159). Arabic compared in appendix E, table 4.

Muyassar describes al-Yāzūrī's arrest as follows (underlining indicates text shared with the *Itti'āz*):

Al-Mustanşir arrested his vizier Nāşir li-l-Dīn Ghayyāth al-Muslimīn Abī Muhammad al-Hasan ibn 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Raḥman al-Yāzūrī at the start⁷ of Muharram. He had accumulated investitures in the vizierate and legal offices that no other had [before him] in the region of Egypt and Syria. The reason for that was...

Al-Maqrīzī follows this text with a description of al-Yāzūrī's correspondence with Tughril, which (as was noted in the previous chapter) is copied from the SY (passages 168-174). By comparison, Ibn Muyassar follows the above statement with a claim that is paralleled in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* (highlighting indicates text shared with the *Nihāya*):

it was alleged to al-Mustanşir that he [al-Yāzūrī] had **corresponded with Tughrilbik** and **made it desirable** for him to come to Egypt. [Another reason for that] was that he sent out his money with his son to Jerusalem.⁸

Al-Maqrīzī has clearly used Ibn Muyassar's account as the 'skeleton' (to use Brett's terminology)⁹ for the year 450, but appended the SY's longer account of the correspondence in preference to Ibn Muyassar's shorter accusations against al-Yāzūrī.¹⁰ The last of Ibn Muyassar's accusations parallels that given in the year 448 concerning Khaṭīr al-Mulk. There we are also told that Khaṭīr al-Mulk first travelled to Jerusalem, but with a much different purpose. In the 450 version he is sent by al-Yāzūrī to carry personal funds, and there is no mention of a possible conquest of Latakia. However, if the account under 448 was written or modified by the same author as the year 450, this would explain the negative tone under that year.

As Brett has already observed, these accusations made against al-Yāzūrī under the year 450 are clearly near-contemporary, and I would argue that the annals for the year 448 should be seen in the same light. Both represent the reasons that were given for al-Yāzūrī's arrest at

⁷ *Itti'āz*: 'first of Muḥarram'.

⁸ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 19; al-Nuwayrī, XXVIII:221; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz* II:236. For a comparison of the Arabic, see appendix E, table 6.

⁹ Brett, 'Execution', 84.

¹⁰ This is seen across the years when one compares the *Akhbār* and the *Itti'āz*. See the discussion in section 3.3.1 above.

the time when he was detained. This shorter-term perspective is seen in how al-Yāzūrī is simply accused of inviting Tughril to Egypt, without any discussion of the longer-term implications. A later source might have been expected to blame al-Yāzūrī for the Seljuks' later occupation of Syria and invasion of Egypt (as indeed the annals written in the 460s appear to do). These are, therefore, likely to be the remnants of the official history written by those in power in the early 450s to justify their position and perhaps their role in al-Yāzūrī's deposition.

There are also two other accounts concerning the expense of the campaign and one concerning Khaṭīr al-Mulk. Those concerning the expense of the campaign are not shared with Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* and might have, therefore, originated outside the annals. Meanwhile, the second account surrounding Khaṭīr al-Mulk is found in the *Akhbār*, but it is repeated with quite significant variation in other sources. This suggests that criticisms of Khaṭīr al-Mulk had also circulated separately from the annals. The first reference to the cost of the campaign is given in the *Khiṭaṭ* under its short history of the Fatimids, and it simply notes that funds were sent to al-Basāsīrī alongside official robes (*khila'*, sg. *khil'a*).¹¹ The reference to official robes is not unique to this anecdote. In one other place in the *Itti'āz* it is stated that *khila'* were sent to al-Basāsīrī,¹² but in both cases it is unclear from where al-Maqrīzī had derived this information.

The second reference to the dispatch of funds is unique to al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*, and its source is also unclear. It is given at the start of the year 448. This version stresses the enormous cost of the campaign, but it does not make the more polemical claim that the treasuries were emptied:

In this year [448] money was prepared for Abū al-Ḥārith al-Basāsīrī. Al-Mu'ayyad fī Allāh 'Abd Allāh b. Mūsā left with it. Its [value] in total was two million three-hundred thousand dīnārs, [of this] one million nine-hundred thousand was in cash [*al-'ayn*] and four-hundred thousand in commodities [*al-'urūd*].¹³

This statement contains the key elements that are found in the other report shared by the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz*: it is dated to 448, it mentions al-Mu'ayyad, and it mentions money.

¹¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:196 (to compare with other versions, see appendix E, tables 4 and 5)

¹² Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:233 (passage 157).

¹³ Ibid, II:232 (passage 147).

However, it does not share any text with the other account, and it provides a different variation on al-Mu'ayyad's name. The key difference here is that the *Itti'āz* provides exact quantities for the amount spent on the campaign. On the one hand, one should stress that these figures are not explicitly symbolic (no use of either seven or twelve to mean 'lots' here). On the other, Fatimid contemporaries would have probably understood it to be an unimaginable quantity of money. In SY's account of the famine of 446 (documented in the *Ishāra*, *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*), it is stated that an inflated price of grain was seven *dīnārs* for a Tillīs (probably a quantity of grain suitable for commerce, akin to measuring the value of oil in 'barrels').¹⁴ It should be stated, of course, that the inflated grain price was probably also a rhetorical exaggeration (note that it is 'seven'), but it allows to understand the sheer magnitude of the alleged cost of the Baghdad campaign. As such, while this version provides no direct criticism of al-Yāzūrī, it places a significant emphasis on the money spent. Given that this account is entirely different from those we have identified with the annals, it is possible evidence that other sources had remarked upon and exaggerated the expense of the campaign.

Similar is seen in a claim surrounding Khaṭīr al-Mulk. As we saw above, it is claimed that al-Yāzūrī's son, Khaṭīr al-Mulk went to Jerusalem and then Latakia in the year 448. This is repeated under the year 450, where it is stated he was carrying al-Yāzūrī's money rather than going on campaign. I also noted how the 448-report stressed the trivial food items that Khaṭīr al-Mulk had took with him. This criticism is reinforced by another variation on this story that is given under the year 450 of the *Akḥbār* and *Itti'āz* (as part of their obituaries of al-Yāzūrī). This version of the story is also given in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* (also in al-Yāzūrī's obituary), and al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* (in the biography of Khaṭīr al-Mulk). Below is a translation from the *Akḥbār* (underlining indicates text shared with the *Itti'āz* and highlighting text shared with *Nihāya*, differences are discussed in the notes):

His son Khaṭīr al-Mulk was his deputy in the [offices of] chief qādī, the vizierate and others. He went to Greater Syria. Matters were made suitable for him with a large

¹⁴ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 70; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:386; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:147 (passage 125). In this period a Tillīs was probably equivalent to around 87.7 litres of wheat or 67 kilograms. See, M. Ismael Marchinkowski and Walther Hinz, *Measures and Weights in the Islamic World* (Kuala Lumpur, 2003), 76-7.

army at his service.¹⁵ Then it was reported of him that after that he was in a Mosque in the town of Fuwwa sewing for people for a fee, and he was in a state of great poverty. It was reported that one day, he was asking a man for the fee for the sewing that he had done for him. The man resisted and took his time with it. So he urged him to comply with the request, and did not reduce the price for him while he waited.¹⁶ When he urged him [again], he said 'O Sir, add this small price to the sum of all that you lost in the Syrian journey?' So he said: 'Stop mentioning the past'. [Another] man asked him¹⁷ about that, but he did not tell him. So [the man] asked someone else,¹⁸ and he said: 'That what he took with him on his journey for his food expenses was sixteen-thousand dīnārs'. Praise be to Him whose reign does not end [that is, God].¹⁹

This version of events further stresses that we should also read the 448 report as a critique of Khaṭīr al-Mulk. Here emphasis is also placed on how a large amount of money was sent with Khaṭīr al-Mulk for 'his food expenses [*naḥqāṭi simāṭihī*]' Note in particular how *simāṭ* refers literally to 'tablecloth', indicating food for Khaṭīr al-Mulk's personal use, not his army's. This mirrors the claim in the 448 report that he had taken herbs with him to furnish his dinner table. However, this report clearly relies on different information to the 448 account. It does not state that Khaṭīr al-Mulk went to either Jerusalem or Latakia, but rather greater Syria. It, moreover, adds that al-Yāzūrī had made his son his deputy. In this case, therefore, it more clearly implicates al-Yāzūrī in his son's behaviour.

Establishing a date for this report is difficult. It seems likely that this negativity towards Khaṭīr al-Mulk would have emerged contemporary to al-Yāzūrī's arrest, especially as his son was probably among his defenders at court. The *Itti'āz* suggests that these events occurred sometime after al-Yāzūrī's arrest, which had led Khaṭīr al-Mulk's situation to worsen ('When his father fell out of favour his situation became worse until...' see note 15). In the *Muqaffā*'s biography of Khaṭīr al-Mulk the account is combined with two further reports,

¹⁵ The *Itti'āz* adds: 'It was of such splendour and size that it would be impossible to describe it. When his father fell out of favour his situation became worse until...'

¹⁶ This phrase is only shared with the *Muqaffā*'s variant.

¹⁷ The *Nihāya* and *Muqaffā* states 'I asked him' (that is the narrator of the report). The *Itti'āz* claims the man's 'servant' ('*abduhu*') asked.

¹⁸ The *Nihāya* and *Muqaffā* again states: 'I asked someone else'.

¹⁹ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 21; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, XXVIII:222; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:246; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, V:550. For the comparison of the Arabic text, see appendix E, tables 7 and 8 (passage 262).

which suggest a chronology for the events.²⁰ Al-Maqrīzī provides first an abbreviated version of the report that is usually found under the year 448 and adds that Khaṭīr al-Mulk had returned from Latakia. Al-Maqrīzī then reports that Khaṭīr al-Mulk:

Rose until he was appointed to the vizierate and office of qāḍī together, on the twenty third of Ṣafar in the year four-hundred and sixty-one. He was dismissed from both in Shawwāl... then his situation became disordered.

This report appears to be to be similar to one found under the year 461 of the *Itti'āz*, and it might have been copied from an annalistic source.²¹ Then al-Maqrīzī follows with the account of Khaṭīr al-Mulk's situation in Fuwwa. The version in the *Muqaffā* suggests the opposite to that of the *Itti'āz*; Khaṭīr al-Mulk's situation did not immediately get worse, rather he was briefly given a high office, before his situation then became bad. It appears that al-Maqrīzī has tried to combine three reports on Khaṭīr al-Mulk into a biography, assuming (quite logically) that the events in Fuwwa had occurred at the end of his life. There appears to be a paradox here. The report on the situation at Fuwwa always begins with description of Khaṭīr al-Mulk's journey to Syria, which implies that the events described happened immediately upon his return (and the *Itti'āz* is clear they occurred after his father's dismissal). Yet, we find Khaṭīr al-Mulk in an office ten years later.²² The report of Khaṭīr al-Mulk's descent into poverty is, therefore, very suspicious. That the *Akḥbār*, *Nihāya* and *Itti'āz* all situate a report within the obituary of al-Yāzūrī (it is not, by comparison, mentioned under the year of Khaṭīr al-Mulk's dismissal, 461) suggests that this story had become closely associated with the vizier and the various accusations that had been made against him, and which led had to his arrest.

The *Nihāya* and *Muqaffā* both cite a source for the report; the former states: 'The Qāḍī Abū al-Ḥusayn Aḥmad al-Aswānī said in his history: the Qāḍī Ibrāhīm b. Muslim al-Fuwwī related to me and said: I witnessed Khaṭīr al-Mulk..²³ The latter provides a slight variation: 'The

²⁰ The full biography is in al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, V:549-550.

²¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:300.

²² Khaṭīr al-Mulk's stint as a vizier is poorly understood. See, for example, al-Imad's work on the Fatimid vizierate, which does not include Khaṭīr al-Mulk in its appendix listing the Fatimid viziers. Al-Imad notes that the history of the viziers of 458-466 is complex, and 'many of them served in such short periods of time that some names might not have reached us'. Leila al-Imad, 'The Fatimid Vizierate 969-1172', PhD Diss., New York University, 1986, 150 and 133-135 (an appendix covering the viziers after al-Yāzūrī).

²³ Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, XXVIII:222.

Qāḍī Abū al-Ḥassan Aḥmad b. al-Zubayr said in his book *Jinān al-Janān*: The Qāḍī Ibrāhīm b. Muslim al-Fuwwī (in Egypt) said: I witnessed Khaṭīr al-Mulk...²⁴ The author of the ‘history’ or *Jinān al-Janān*, noted in the two texts, appears to be Rashīd Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 563), a late-Fatimid author whose works are mostly lost.²⁵ The work in question can be identified, along with seven other works attributed to Ibn al-Zubayr, in the Ashrafiyya library catalogue (in Damascus). Hirschler believes that the *Jinān al-Janān* was a work on poetry, as it the cataloguer categorised it alongside other poetic works, but there is no evidence of poetry in this anecdote.²⁶ It appears that the *Nihāya* and *Muqaffā* have copied independently from this source as the *Muqaffā* (the later of the two sources) contains one line ‘and [he] did not reduce the price for him while he waited’, which is not found in the *Nihāya*. Nonetheless, the citation makes clear that the version in these two texts dates from the mid-sixth century, long after the events it describes.

This brings us to the transmitter cited by Ibn al-Zubayr. In both versions the report is given in the first person; Ibrāhīm b. Muslim claims that he witnessed the events he describes and had asked Khaṭīr al-Mulk’s customer directly about what he meant when he spoke of the ‘Syrian journey’.²⁷ It should be additionally noted that the transmitter is given the nisba ‘al-Fuwwī’. Whoever originally wrote down this anecdote clearly wished to emphasise its validity, by stressing that the witness was a local. Although we can never be sure, this overall gives the impression that the report is a contemporary fabrication, probably written in the 450s (before Khaṭīr al-Mulk had took up office). When al-Yāzūrī was arrested it is likely his son was still in Syria, and as al-Yāzūrī’s enemies turned on his followers Khaṭīr al-Mulk probably went into hiding, only returning to court once those who had conspired against al-Yāzūrī had themselves been deposed. In the meantime, al-Yāzūrī’s enemies associated Khaṭīr al-Mulk with the plot to betray the Fatimids and spread rumours about his indulgent behaviour. These reports were evidently successful (and probably written down quite early), as they were picked up in the sixth-century by Rashīd Ibn al-Zubayr.

4.1.2. Evidence for later additions to the Baghdad campaign in Ibn Muyassar’s Akhbār

²⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, V:550.

²⁵ Walker, *Exploring*, 146.

²⁶ Hirschler, *Arabic Library*, chapter 4 (entries: 462, 1098a, 1615, 1673 – entry for *Jinān al-Janān*, 1675, and 1676).

²⁷ See notes 17 and 18.

The years 448 and 450 of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* provide a criticism of al-Yāzūrī's role in the Baghdad campaign that focus on three issues: his expenditure on the campaign, his treasonous correspondence with Tughril, and his son's journey to Syria (either to help al-Yāzūrī embezzle funds, or lead a campaign). It appears that all of these criticisms had their origins in the immediate aftermath of al-Yāzūrī's arrest and were probably crafted by his enemies at court. However, some of these reports were preserved by much later authors, as is seen with the attribution of the report about Khaṭīr al-Mulk to the sixth-century historian Rashīd Ibn al-Zubayr. Ibn Muyassar's version of this report does not cite Rashīd Ibn al-Zubayr. However, the version of the annals used by Ibn Muyassar does not date from the 450s. This is seen in two narratives that reflect on the Baghdad campaign from a distance: the first regards the long-term legacy of the Baghdad campaign in Egypt and Syria and can be dated to around the 460s; the second is the story of the drummer girl, which cannot be dated so precisely.

Under the year 451 of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*, we find a different criticism of al-Yāzūrī's Baghdad campaign, which focusses on its long-term impacts and probably dates to the vizierate of Badr al-Jamālī. In the year 451, Tughril had defeated his brother's rebellion and returned to retake Baghdad. Al-Basāsīrī fled the city and was killed. These events are narrated in the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz*. As with some of his other accounts of the Baghdad campaign, al-Maqrīzī's version clearly paraphrases from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*,²⁸ where Ibn Muyassar appears to only rely on Egyptian sources. Ibn Muyassar first states that the reading of the Fatimid *Khuṭba* in Baghdad had been brought to an end, he then provides a summary of al-Basāsīrī's dispute with Ibn Muslima and alliance with the Fatimids.²⁹ Subsequently he states:

It was said that this al-Basāsīrī event was the reason for the destruction of Egypt and the weakening of the Egyptian *dawla*, because of the money that was sent to him.³⁰

Ibn Muyassar then notes for how long the Fatimid *khuṭba* was read in Baghdad, describes Tughril's return to Baghdad and his defeat of al-Basāsīrī. Finally, he concludes the year 451

²⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:256-258; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:344-348.

²⁹ The whole summary is found in Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 24-5. See translation and discussion in section 3.4.2 above.

³⁰ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 25.

with a claim, which is shared almost verbatim with a report in the *Itti'āz*. The latter's variant is the most detailed (underlining indicates text shared with the *Akḥbār*):

This event was the last good fortune of the Fatimid³¹ state, for Greater Syria left their hands after a little while. The Turks occupied it, and nothing remained in their hands, only rule of Egypt.³²

These two claims differ from the earlier critical remarks on the Baghdad campaign in one key manner. They are taken from a longer-term perspective that was unavailable to the author(s) of the claims we find under the years 448 and 450.

Ibn Muyassar's first claim does mention the expense of the campaign, but it provides a perspective not immediately available to al-Yāzūrī's rivals. As has been highlighted by Brett, the 'destruction of Egypt' being hinted at here refers to the political and economic turmoil that had occurred in the two decades following al-Yāzūrī's execution.³³ The decade following al-Yāzūrī's vizierate witnessed rapid changes in office with viziers and chief qāḍīs barely able to hold their offices for longer than a year. This was accompanied by a conflict in 454 between the Black and Turkish regiments of the army, which eventually led the Turkish regiments to attempt to usurp power.³⁴ Ibn Muyassar's source is thus claiming that this moment of state weakness was triggered by the huge expenditure on al-Basāsīr's campaign.

The second claim, shared by Ibn Muyassar and al-Maqrīzī, refers to an even longer-term impact, but this time in the Fatimids' Syrian domain. As with the previous claim, there is a parallel in the accounts of the 450s. The claim under the year 450 that al-Yāzūrī had conspired with Tughril against the Fatimids implicates him in the future Seljuk expansion into the region, but this is not mentioned as part of al-Yāzūrī's obituary under the year 450. The invasion did not begin in earnest until the reign of Tughril's successors Alp Arslan (r. 455-465) and Malikshah (r. 465-485). Moreover, the complete loss of Syria that is described

³¹ *Akḥbār*: 'Egyptian'.

³² Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 26; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:257.

³³ Brett, 'Execution', 88.

³⁴ For a summary of the events, Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 197-206.

in the account above did not occur until the late 460s – for example, Damascus was taken by the Seljuk Atsiz in 468.³⁵

What both of the above claims share is a link to a much later vizier, Badr al-Jamālī (r. 467-487). Badr was a Fatimid general, who had fought against the Seljuks in Damascus and Acre. In 466 the Imam-Caliph al-Mustanşir invited Badr to come to Cairo and put down the Turkish insurrection.³⁶ Badr defeated the rebels and was rewarded with the vizierate. He then spent much of his career fighting the Seljuks and their followers, including their short-lived invasion into Egypt itself.³⁷ Badr, therefore, had good reason to look back on al-Basāsīrī's campaign and its influence on both the state and the Seljuk incursion.

The evidence of Badr's influence on the Egyptian tradition is stated explicitly by Ibn Ẓāfir. He very concisely summarises the campaign, the occupation of Baghdad and al-Basāsīrī's defeat. At the very end of this summary, he states the following (underlining indicates words shared with the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz*):

This great event was the last good fortune of this [the Fatimid] *dawla* and the beginning of the decline of its affairs, like the lamp that flares up as it is extinguished. After that the Turkish *dawla* extended until al-Afshīn captured Damascus, then after him Tāj al-dawla Tutush b. Alb-Arslān entered [the city] and took possession over most of the coast and Aleppo. These events are mentioned in the [volume about the] Abbasid *dawla* and the [volume about the] Seljuk *dawla*. It was related [that] all the money that al-Yāzūrī had dispatched to al-Basāsīrī was pivotal [lit. the pivot point that was the reason] for the weakening of this [the Fatimid] *dawla*. That [fact] was included in a *sijill* issued during the vizierate of the Amīr al-Juyūsh Badr al-Mustanşirī. In addition, [it] cursed al-Yāzūrī and cursed Ibn Manzū. As for al-Yāzūrī, it was because he took from the treasury [lit. the houses] money that he sent to al-Basāsīrī. As for Ibn Manzū, it was because he was the reason that [Badr] was forced out of Damascus [and sent] to Acre.³⁸

³⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:315. On the Seljuk expansion: Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 215-218; Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, 61-4.

³⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:311.

³⁷ For his appointment, restoration of the state and fight against the Seljuks: Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 205-218.

³⁸ Ibn Ẓāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal*. 68–9.

In his account Ibn Ẓāfir makes a clear link between the Seljuk expansion into Syria and the money that al-Yāzūrī expended on the campaign. However, the occupation being described occurred long after al-Yāzūrī's arrest. 'Afshīn' in the account probably refers to Atsiz, the Seljuk Atabeg who had captured Damascus in 468 and who was usurped by Tutush b. Alp Arslān. The events described here are, therefore, those of Badr's vizierate. The conclusion of Ibn Ẓāfir's account makes Badr's involvement clear, as the author claims that he had taken this material from a *sijill* issued by Badr al-Jamālī that was intended to criticise al-Yāzūrī's role in the Baghdad campaign. Its mention of Ibn Manzū in Damascus, moreover, suggests that Badr had issued this *sijill* to excuse his own failures to confront the Seljuks in Syria.

Either the claims found under the year 451 derive from this *sijill*, or from an amendment of the annals that was undertaken around the time the *sijill* was written. Note in particular how there are certain terms that are shared between Ibn Ẓāfir's *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and the 451 accounts, such as the phrase 'the last good fortune of the state [*ākḥir sa'ādat al-dawla*]'. The similarities are not significant enough to suggest that the *Akḥbār* and *Itti'āz* have copied from Ibn Ẓāfir, but suggest instead that both share a source text. This shared source text evidently dates from the vizierate of Badr al-Jamālī or afterwards.

Under his description of the occupation of Baghdad, Ibn Muyassar provides another anecdote that suggests he is using a source text that was written after the 450s. As was underlined in section 3.4.2 above, the *Akḥbār* and *Itti'āz* have very different accounts of the occupation of Baghdad. The *Akḥbār* provides a unique account that shares details with various Egyptian accounts, whereas the *Itti'āz* relies heavily on Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*, supplementing this with material from the Egyptian sources. Both, however, conclude their accounts with the story of the drummer girl and the land of the drummer ('Arḍ al-Ṭabbāla). This is an account that is also quoted in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ*. The account is shared almost completely between the *Akḥbār*, *Nihāya* and the *Itti'āz*, where the *Khīṭaṭ* adds further detail. The following is the version given in the *Akḥbār* (underlining indicates text shared with the *Itti'āz* and highlighting text shared with the *Nihāya*, differences are noted in the footnotes).³⁹

³⁹ Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 23; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, XVIII:220; Al-Maqrīzī, *Khīṭaṭ*, III:316; Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:254 (passage 275). For a comparison of the Arabic, see appendix E, tables 7 and 9.

When the news of this [victory in Baghdad] arrived, al-Mustanşir was very happy.⁴⁰
Egypt [miṣr]⁴¹ and Cairo⁴² were decorated. Nashab⁴³ came and she sung with a drum in
front of al-Mustanşir,⁴⁴ and she said:⁴⁵

Return o Banū ‘Abbas!

The destined ones are [now] in power.

Your rule is a rule borrowed,

And what has been loaned is demanded back.

He⁴⁶ [al-Mustanşir] said to her: ‘What is your wish?’⁴⁷ so⁴⁸ the land adjacent to Maqṣ
was granted [to her],⁴⁹ and he said ‘This is for you’. [Since then] this land has been
known by her, and they call it ‘Land of the drummer [*‘ard al-tabbāla*’].’⁵⁰

This appears to be a case where the *Itti’āz* is potentially using a different source to the *Akḥbār*. Although most of the text is shared, the *Itti’āz* uses a different word to describe the Imam-Caliph’s happiness ‘*surūr*’, rather than ‘*farah*’, and the *Itti’āz*’s usage is mirrored in the *Khiṭaṭ* variant (see note 40). In this case, al-Maqrīzī might have switched the words when copying from Ibn Muyassar’s text. However, similar is seen at the end of the passage, where

⁴⁰ Different words for happiness are used here. The *Akḥbār* writes ‘*fariḥa al-Mustanşiru farāḥan kathīran*’, where the *Itti’āz* writes: ‘*al-Mustanşiru surra surūran kathīran*’, and the *Khiṭaṭ* writes: ‘*surra al-Mustanşiru surūran ‘aẓīman*’.

⁴¹ Given the context this might be translated as Fustāt

⁴² The *Khiṭaṭ* writes: ‘Cairo, the palace, the city of old Cairo [*madīnat miṣr*], and al-jazīra [of Cairo] were decorated.’

⁴³ The *Itti’āz* and *Khiṭaṭ* have the name as Nasab.

⁴⁴ The *Itti’āz* adds ‘in the palace’.

⁴⁵ The *Nihāya* writes: ‘al-Mustanşir had a singing girl who used to sing with a drum, on that day she came to see him and sung’; the *Khiṭaṭ* writes: ‘There was a woman walking [in the parade] who stopped under the palace during the festivities and celebrations. She would [usually] walk in front of the procession with her followers around here, and she would beat the drum and sing. When she had stopped under the palace she sang.’

⁴⁶ The *Khiṭaṭ* adds: ‘That pleased al-Mustanşir’.

⁴⁷ Where the *Akḥbār* and *Nihāya* write ‘*tamannā*’, the *Itti’āz* is more literal: ‘*tamannā fa-laki hukmukī*’

⁴⁸ *Itti’āz* adds: ‘she asked for’, and the *Khiṭaṭ*: ‘she asked that she be apportioned’.

⁴⁹ *Itti’āz* adds: ‘so it was apportioned to her’, and the *Khiṭaṭ* ‘this land was apportioned to her’.

⁵⁰ Both the *Nihāya*, *Itti’āz* and *Khiṭaṭ* add ‘until today’, although with different phrasing: *Nihāya*, ‘*ilā waqtina hādihā*’; *Itti’āz*, ‘*ilā al-yawmī*’; *Khiṭaṭ*, ‘*min hīn idhin*’. The *Khiṭaṭ* adds at the end of the account: ‘and for the building of this cemetery with a large mausoleum known as “Nasab’s tomb”’

both the *Itti'āz* and *Khiṭaṭ* share unique phrases relating to the granting of land to Nasab (see notes 47-50). In addition, the *Nihāya* and *Khiṭaṭ* describe Nasab's role in the palace or celebrations in more detail, with the latter providing the most detail (see notes 42, 45 and 50). From this it seems likely that al-Maqrīzī has not copied from either the *Akḥbār* or the *Nihāya*. Rather, all of these versions rely on a shared source text or tradition.

As with the discussion of the long-term impact of the Baghdad campaign, this shared source is unlikely to have been written immediately after al-Yāzūrī's arrest. All of the reports conclude with a statement that the area in Cairo has become known as 'Arḍ al-Ṭabbāla' because of this event. It seems that the event has been remembered because of its topographical importance. As such, the report as it is found in our later sources is likely to have been composed sometime after 450, when the location in Cairo had become well-known under that name.

4.1.3. Material excluded from Ibn Muyassar's account

From the evidence discussed above, the annalistic account of the Baghdad campaign quoted by Ibn Muyassar appears to be relatively late. The reports from the year 451 can at least allow us to comfortably date it to around Badr al-Jamālī's vizierate. However, the anecdote about Khaṭīr al-Mulk in Fuwwa (which is attributed by the *Nihāya* and *Khiṭaṭ* to the sixth-century historian Rashīd Ibn al-Zubayr) suggests that the source used by the *Akḥbār* may have been written around that time period. This would, at least, agree with previous assumptions that al-Muḥannak (d. 549) was Ibn Muyassar's key source for his annals of this period. It is impossible, however, to be certain, as Ibn Muyassar might himself have brought together multiple sources in each year.

What is clear is that the events of the Baghdad campaign had been returned to in different periods by authors with different agendas and that the *Akḥbār* contains examples of at least two stages of agenda. The first was composed around the 450s and is found under the annals for 448 and 450. This accused al-Yāzūrī of overspending on the Baghdad campaign and betraying the Fatimids to Tughril. Al-Yāzūrī's son, Khaṭīr al-Mulk, was tied up in these accusations, allegedly helping convey al-Yāzūrī's money to Jerusalem. The annals for 448 and 450 therefore direct their criticism to both al-Yāzūrī and his son. The second stage of critique states that al-Yāzūrī's spending and the failure of the campaign had weakened the

state and opened Syria and Egypt to Seljuk occupation. Ibn Ẓāfir establishes that this second stage of criticism had its origins in a *sijill* issued by Badr al-Jamālī. To this might be added a third earlier stage (probably written in the 440s), which was adapted by the later accounts. The *Akḥbār*'s accounts of the year 447 do not contain any overt criticism of al-Yāzūrī and were perhaps initially written before his arrest (this will be discussed at the conclusion of this chapter).

As we found through the comparisons above, Ibn Muyassar is not alone in describing many of these events. There are parallels found in other Egyptian sources that sometimes present variations. This is seen in the accounts of the spending on the Baghdad campaign, the stories surrounding Khaṭīr al-Mulk in Fuwwa and the 'Arḍ al-Ṭabbāla anecdote. This suggests that the stories surrounding the Baghdad campaign were discussed across various sources, following a set of themes. This is seen in particular in the two anecdotes that are not quoted in Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār*: the battle of Sinjār and the transfer of spoils to Cairo. In the first case, there is the possibility that the account had originated in a *sijill*, while the second provides evidence for the continued circulation and amendment of accounts of the Baghdad campaign, at the start of the Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's sultanate.

Nearly all of Ibn Muyassar's accounts of the Baghdad campaign reflect negatively on al-Yāzūrī, and this might represent an anti-Yāzūrī agenda on the part of his source. Under the year 447 (where he describes the beginning of the campaign), he makes no mention of al-Yāzūrī. Under the years 448, 450 and 451 an anti-Yāzūrī bias is more overt. The more positive 'Arḍ al-Ṭabbāla account which notably celebrates the capture of Baghdad, complete with a victory song, is recounted after al-Yāzūrī's death. It should, therefore, be no surprise that Ibn Muyassar ignores the battle of Sinjār. This was a victory against Tughril that showed how al-Yāzūrī's campaign in Iraq had attained success.

The surviving accounts of the battle of Sinjār suggest that it was celebrated both at the time and after Baghdad was captured. The account is told in the same manner in three texts: Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*, Ibn Ẓāfir's *Akḥbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. In these we are presented with a jubilant account of the victory that potentially originated in an official record, but which did not provide a date for the event. It is told in slightly different terms in the SY, but that

version will be discussed further below. Table 1 provides the version given in al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*.

Table 1. The victory at Sinjār as described in al-Maqrīzī's Itti'āz and compared with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's Ishāra, Ibn Zāfir's Akhbār al-Duwal and Ibn al-Athīr's Kāmil. Underlining indicates text shared with the Ishāra and highlighting text shared with the Kāmil, differences are given in the notes.⁵¹

Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Itti'āz</i>	Comments on shared text
When it was Shawwāl of this year [448] al-Basāsīrī and Dubays fought Quraysh b. Badrān al-'Uqaylī, master of Mosul and Qutulmush, Tughril's cousin.	The material here is taken from Ibn al-Athīr's <i>Kāmil</i> .
<u>Tughrilbik</u> had sent him [Qutulmush] <u>to Sinjār</u> with <u>two thousand five-hundred horsemen</u> . [Then] <u>there was the famous battle in which only two-hundred [of their] horsemen or less escaped.</u>	The underlined text is shared with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's <i>Ishāra</i> , some of the details are shared with the <i>Muqaffā</i>
Quraysh and Qutulmush were defeated, and al-Basāsīrī and Dubays occupied Mosul and established the call to al-Mustaṣṣir there. They wrote to him about this, and he sent official robes to them both, and to a group of Arab princes.	Although there is no text shared with Ibn al-Athīr's <i>Kāmil</i> , the details described here are only found in the Iraqi texts.
<u>Poetry was composed about this battle. Of the most beautiful is that by Ibn Hayyūs:</u>	Shared with Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's <i>Ishāra</i>

⁵¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:234; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 69; Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal*, 68; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:331-2 (passages 160-163).

Al-Maqrīzī, <i>Itti'āz</i>	Comments on shared text
<p><u>I wondered at the one who claimed to rule the horizons,</u> <u>But the most he could do was lie low in Baghdad.</u></p> <p><u>And at the deputy⁵² who is content with shame,</u> <u>Driven from watering places, not driving others away from</u> <u>them.</u></p> <p><u>But what is to be wondered at more than these are the people⁵³</u> <u>in Egypt,</u> <u>Drawing boundaries in Sinjār.⁵⁴</u></p>	<p>Shared with Ibn al-Şayrafī's <i>Ishāra</i> and Ibn Zāfir's <i>Akhbār</i>, with some changes to the final line.</p>

The *Itti'āz* is the only one of the three versions to provide a date, situating the account under the year 448, and this was likely taken from Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*. As can be seen from table 1, the *Itti'āz* has relied upon the *Kāmil* for certain details, and the *Kāmil* clearly dates the battle to the year 448. It would appear, therefore, that the Egyptian account for the battle of Sinjār had circulated without a date.

The description of the battle reads as if it was written based on earlier celebratory accounts. This is seen in the use of the phrase 'the famous battle [*al-waq'a al-mashhūra*]' which is shared by all three sources and suggests that by the time the report was written the event had become well-known (perhaps through *sijillāt* issued at the time). The celebratory element is also seen in the addition of Ibn Ḥayyūs' poem. It gives the impression that this was the manner in which the news of the victory was celebrated and praised in Cairo. It is worth emphasising that Ibn Ḥayyūs appears to be an important court poet, who is known for his praise of al-Yāzūrī. Brett has observed how the official account for the quarrel with the Zirids is mirrored in a poem by Ibn Hayyūs, which in that case is not excerpted by any of

⁵² '*Khalīfa*', This might be read as an allusion to the Abbasid Caliph, condemning him for his choice of Tughril as Sultan.

⁵³ Both Ibn al-Şayrafī and Ibn Zāfir write instead: 'sword in Egypt'. This agrees with Ibn Ḥayyūs, *Dīwān*, 183.

⁵⁴ Ibn Zāfir writes instead: 'Baghdad'. Ibn Ḥayyūs's *Dīwān* agrees with Sinjār (p. 183).

the extant histories.⁵⁵ He has stressed, however, that the poem emphasises al-Yāzūrī's role.⁵⁶

The poetry shared by the three texts above is almost identical and excerpted in the same way. When compared with Ibn Ḥayyūs' original, this is an excerpt of specific lines. Between the first and second lines of the excerpt, one line of Ibn Ḥayyūs' original has been omitted; and between the second and third, five lines have been omitted.⁵⁷ It would seem that all three texts have benefited from a shared source that excerpted the poem in the same manner. Alterations to the final line of the poem, however, suggest that each author had used a slightly different version of the source, which had perhaps changed over time. In the first hemistich of the final line al-Maqrīzī's variant states that it was the 'people in Egypt' who were the vanquishers at Sinjār. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī and Ibn Zāfir have it as the 'sword in Egypt'.

Differences in the second hemistich hint at how the poem has changed to reflect Baghdad's capture. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī and al-Maqrīzī's variant has 'drawing borders at Sinjār', whereas Ibn Zāfir's has it as 'drawing borders at Baghdad'. The version in Ibn Ḥayyūs's *Dīwān* agrees with the first version. Given that the account was written at a time when the battle had become 'famous', it was likely written sometime after the events it describes. The presence of 'Baghdad' in Ibn Zāfir's variant further suggests that this report was issued in late 450, after Baghdad had been captured. This would further explain al-Yāzūrī's omission from the anecdote, as he was executed before Baghdad was captured (where in the SY he is associated with the battle and its success).

For the quarrel with the Zirids, Brett suggests (citing the similarities between Ibn Ḥayyūs's poetry, the *ṣijillāt* and annals) that Ibn Ḥayyūs might have worked in the chancery converting the *ṣijillāt* into the annalistic account that survives in Ibn Muḥammad's *Akhbār* and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*.⁵⁸ However, in this case Ibn Ḥayyūs' influence on the annals is less clear, and the excerpts of his poetry that celebrate the campaign did not appear to feature in the source (or sources) used by Ibn Muḥammad. It seems more likely that this narrative of

⁵⁵ Brett, 'Zirids', 53.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 56.

⁵⁷ Ibn Ḥayyūs, *Dīwān*, 181-183.

⁵⁸ Brett, 'Zirids', 55.

the battle of Sinjār was based in part on *sijillāt* (issued by al-Yāzūrī to celebrate the victory) and perhaps even copied from a second *sijill* issued after Baghdad's capture.

In addition to the battle of Sinjār, Ibn Muyassar omits one other description concerning Baghdad's capture. In this case, the account is only found in al-Maqrīzī's texts and it appears to survive through a much later re-reading of the events of the Baghdad campaign. This suggests that Ibn Muyassar's *Akhhbār* uses a version of the Fatimid annals that dates prior to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's coup. The report concerns the transfer of objects from Baghdad to Cairo, and it is found in two places in al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*: the first in his short history of the Fatimids and the second prefacing his version of the 'Arḍ al-Ṭabbāla narrative. The two accounts are as follows (underlining indicates text shared between the *Khiṭaṭ* passages, and highlighting words that are shared with the *Itti'āz* account):

Al-Qā'im's clothing, and his turban and other possessions were sent to Egypt.⁵⁹

Al-Qā'im's turban, [along with] his clothing, his mat that he reclined upon when he [wished to] sit, and other possessions and rarities were sent to Cairo in the year four-hundred and fifty.⁶⁰

The most detailed version is, however, given under the year 450 of the *Itti'āz*, as part of al-Maqrīzī's description of Baghdad's occupation, which is as follows (highlighting indicates words shared with the above two accounts):

Al-Qā'im's scarf that he wrapped around his head with his own hands was sent from it [the Abbasid palace] to Egypt. It was put in a marble casket [lit. mould] such that it did not waste away. [It was brought] with his cloak and the mat that he used to recline upon. They were used [ceremonially?] in the vizier's palace [*dār al-wizāra*] in Cairo. As for the turban and the cloak, the Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf, when he had occupied the palace, sent them to the Caliph al-Mustaḍī⁶¹ in Baghdad. [They were sent] with a letter within which al-Qā'im had abdicated and firmly resolved and testified that the Banū 'Abbās had no right to the Caliphate so long as [the descendants of] the radiant Fāṭima

⁵⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:196.

⁶⁰ Ibid, III:316.

⁶¹ Spelt by al-Maqrīzī, as al-Mustaḍā'

were in existence. Treasures, books, the staff, and the cloak of the Prophet were also carried to Cairo.⁶²

There is no significant text shared between the accounts in the *Khiṭaṭ* and the *Itti'āz*, but (as the highlighting indicates) both use the same terms to refer to objects taken from the Abbasid palace to Cairo. As such, it appears most likely that the shortened versions in the *Khiṭaṭ* have been adapted from the account that is copied into the *Itti'āz*. Among the accounts of the Baghdad campaign, this is the only reference to the transfer of objects of symbolic importance from Baghdad to Cairo. It should, therefore, concern us that the only record of this event is part of an account that is evidently written to praise Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn and emphasise Egypt's renewed submission to the Abbasids. The account above all serves as a symbolic account of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's expulsion of the Fatimids from Egypt and return of power to the Abbasids. At worst, this whole account is an invention of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's secretaries. At best, the author had taken pieces from extant accounts of the Baghdad campaign and shaped them into this pro-Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn narrative. Either way, the account as it survives must date after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's coup in Egypt in the year 567.

That no remnant of the pro-Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn account is found in Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* further suggests that Ibn Muyassar's account is based almost wholly on one Fatimid annalistic source without additions from other sources. Moreover, the exclusion of this anecdote makes it more likely that the annalistic account pre-dates Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's coup in Egypt. In this section we have seen how Ibn Muyassar appears to provide from the year 448 of his *Akḥbār* a uniformly anti-Yāzūrī account of the Baghdad campaign. Under the year 448 this criticism is less clear, but it is stated more firmly in the year 450. From these two years it is clear that critique revolves around al-Yāzūrī and his son, the expense of the Baghdad campaign and attempt to betray the Fatimids through correspondence with Tughril. This criticism dates from the 450s. Under the year 451, another layer of critique is found, which stresses the longer-term impacts of the Baghdad campaign upon the Fatimid state and Seljuk expansion. The anti-Yāzūrī tone of the account is perhaps also seen in its exclusion of the battle of Sinjār, al-Yāzūrī's key victory in the campaign. Surrounding Ibn Muyassar's account are a number of other reports that touch on similar themes, but do not share any words with Ibn

⁶² Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:253 (passage 270).

Muyassar's version of events. Altogether, it would appear that Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* contains a wholly anti-Yāzūrī account that is unique among the Egyptian sources and which dates from after the vizierate of Badr al-Jamālī (but perhaps as late as the sixth century).

4.2. The SY: a 450s account of the Baghdad campaign

It was argued above that a large part of the critique against al-Yāzūrī in Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* was written sometime around the 450s by his competitors at court. As has been asserted by Brett, the SY was written as part of a contemporary debate about al-Yāzūrī's legacy. In this section, I will build on Brett's conclusions, using in particular the *Muqaffā's* more-complete quotation from the SY,⁶³ and argue that the SY responds not only to the critique of the 450s, but also engages with al-Mu'ayyad's *Sīra*. This will be argued in three parts: Part one will examine how the SY responds directly to the critique found under the year 450 of the annals. Part two will look at how the narrative of the SY engages indirectly with criticisms of al-Yāzūrī made in the 450s. Part three will examine al-Mu'ayyad's account of the Baghdad campaign and how the SY responds to the claims in that account.

4.2.1. The SY as a response to the criticism of the 450s

Under the year 450 of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* we are presented with two reasons for al-Yāzūrī's arrest: one, that he corresponded with Tughril in an attempt to betray the Fatimid cause and two, that he sent money to Jerusalem with his son, Khaṭīr al-Mulk. In the *Muqaffā's* biography of al-Yāzūrī we are presented with a description of some of the events that contributed to his arrest. This description is copied partially into the *Itti'āz* (as part of al-Yāzūrī's obituary) and is also found partially in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*. The following is a translation of the version in the *Muqaffā* (underlining indicates text shared with the *Itti'āz* and highlighting text shared with the *Ishāra*. Differences are given in the notes):

Al-Mustanṣir met with him [al-Yāzūrī] every Tuesday of every week, to spend the night with him in joy and pleasure. He brought to him curiosities, novelties, and marvelous things that someone other than he would hardly be able to value. He continued that for eight years.

⁶³ Translated in full in section 3.3.2, table 6 above.

Those who envied him [al-Yāzūrī] grew, [envying] the good fortune that he had attained and how fate had helped him.⁶⁴ Those envious of him bode their time, sought out calamities for him and set up snares for him. They assembled places [to trap him]. Finally, his fall was caused by the the least in rank, the smallest and lowest in status and least powerful. They were from the rank of servant. For as God sets down his verses to the people to inform them ‘God above all things is almighty’. That [came] from two among the ranks of his servants: one of them was a servant known as Faraj al-Maghrāwī,⁶⁵ who was in his [personal] entourage. The other was a treasurer in the treasury [bayt al-māl], who was responsible for the treasury of soft-furnishings [furush], known as Tanā.

They spread idle talk about him, wrote elegant reports [*al-aḥādīth*] and embellished accounts. They reported⁶⁶ that he had sent money to Greater Syria in chests, and enclosed in wax.⁶⁷ [They reported that] he conveyed it to Jerusalem and to Hebron, and that he had decided to flee to Baghdad.⁶⁸ That was deemed to be true, and he was arrested without [having committed] any crime except the irritation and envy that had come about through a custom of kings.⁶⁹

As is characteristic for accounts in the SY, the report above is lengthy and thorough. Where Ibn Muyassar’s *Akḥbār* provides one line that states how al-Yāzūrī was accused of sending money to Jerusalem, the SY counters this accusation by providing a detailed description. In doing so, it provides more insight into the substance of the accusation. The *Akḥbār* simply claims that al-Yāzūrī’s son had conveyed money to Jerusalem. By comparison, the SY makes clear that this was considered a crime because al-Yāzūrī planned to then flee to Baghdad. This further adds substance to the *Akḥbār*’s claim of treason, as the implication is that he

⁶⁴ The *Itti’āz* adds further text, such that it reads: ‘Those who envied him grew, [envying] how his fortune continually improved every day, and the renewal of [his] position of power which his good influence in the *dawla* had necessitated. [They envied] his influences in all of the regions and kingdoms, his skilful policy and firm governing, through which he had attained his utmost hopes, while others only partially reached this, and [only] by spending enormous sums [of money] and emptying the treasuries [*buyūt al-’amwāl*]. Hardly had he come to one of his hopes, when he had already conquered it and his influence was fixed there for a long time. So his enemies began to wonder at the good fortune he attained and to which Fate had helped him.’

⁶⁵ The *Itti’āz* writes: ‘Mafrāj al-Maghribī’.

⁶⁶ The *Ishāra* writes: ‘It was alleged’.

⁶⁷ The meaning of this claim is difficult to understand. Potentially the coins were sealed with wax to prevent theft.

⁶⁸ The *Itti’āz* adds: ‘And they pointed to his correspondence that was directed to Tughril.’

⁶⁹ *Al-Maqrīzī, Muqaffā*, III:398; *al-Maqrīzī, Itti’āz*, II:237-8; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 68 (passages 185-189).

intended to join the Seljuk cause and carried money with him for this purpose. Despite these overlaps, the SY does not claim that Khaṭīr al-Mulk was involved in carrying the funds to Jerusalem. The *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī (and probably also the SY) does not mention Khaṭīr al-Mulk at all and refers only to a 'child of al-Yāzūrī [walad al-Yāzūrī]', with the title Ṣafī al-Mulk (whether this is the same son, is unclear).⁷⁰

The SY account carefully explains how these accusations had come to be made against al-Yāzūrī and in doing so situates them in a jealous and rumour-laden court (mirroring the competitive politics of the 450s, the period when its author was probably writing).⁷¹ It should be emphasised at this point how the versions in the *Itti'āz* and *Ishāra* are more abbreviated (as we saw in chapter 2 for the Zirid revolt, and in chapter 3 for the Baghdad campaign). In the case of the *Itti'āz*, the omission of the first paragraph removes some of the important context that explains how the jealousy had come about. However, in the *Itti'āz* there is some additional material that is perhaps derived from the SY, but dropped in the *Muqaffā*'s quotation of the source (see note 64). This addition seems to further situate the claim in the context of the Baghdad campaign, and counter the accusations in the annals. It shifts the blame for 'emptying the treasuries' onto other secretaries, who could allegedly only increase their power by spending money (unlike al-Yāzūrī who relied on his superior skill). It, moreover, stresses that his fall from power occurred after he had just achieved one of his hopes (an allusion, perhaps, to recent successes in Iraq).

The opening paragraph of the *Muqaffā* variant makes clear that the jealousy at court had arisen because al-Yāzūrī had gained al-Mustanṣir's favour. Both variants agree that those who spread the rumours against al-Yāzūrī were low in rank, and it is implied that the conspiracy against him was so well engineered that his downfall could have been achieved by mere servants. Above all, the SY's point is clear: the accusations were forged and concocted by those who were jealous of al-Yāzūrī. Moreover, the author insists that the conspirators had no good reason to be jealous, because al-Yāzūrī was simply reaping the rewards brought about by his superior abilities. This is emphasised in the variant in the *Itti'āz*, which praises al-Yāzūrī's 'skilful policy and firm governing' (see note 64). The manner

⁷⁰ Mentioned in three passages (190, 191 and 198). See: al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:399-400; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:238-9.

⁷¹ On these 'personal rivalries of the secretaries of states', see: Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 199.

that the accusations are made against al-Yāzūrī perhaps echoes the infighting in the court in the 450s, where ambitious men were relying on rumour and conspiracy, rather than ability, to gain power (and where no one appears able to hold office for very long).

4.2.2. Indirect engagement with the criticism of the 450s

The claim that al-Yāzūrī had sent funds to Jerusalem, intending on fleeing Cairo, is only one of the accusations. As was noted above, the annals (as they are quoted in the *Akhbār*, *Nihāya* and *Itti'āz*) also stated that al-Yāzūrī had corresponded with Tughril and spent excessively on the Baghdad campaign. The SY account of the Baghdad campaign was written in part to respond to these two accusations, providing detailed narratives that are clearly intended to absolve al-Yāzūrī. In addition to this, the SY appears to re-read al-Yāzūrī's legacy in the context of the *fitna* that had broken out in the year 454.

The first claim is mentioned explicitly in the *Itti'āz*'s version of the account outlined above, where it provides an alternative conclusion to the narrative, claiming that the two accusers had 'pointed to his correspondence that was directed to Tughril' (see note 68). Whether this is closer to the reading of the original SY is unclear, as the whole passage differs heavily between the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* (see appendix A, passage 189). The phrasing of the *Itti'āz*'s addition is, however, interesting, because it does not dismiss the existence of the correspondence, but rather it implies that it was misused.

It appears that the SY quotes al-Yāzūrī's correspondence with Tughril in order to illustrate how it could be deliberately misinterpreted by al-Yāzūrī's enemies, and to show that vizier was loyal to the Fatimids. As we can see from the full outline of the SY in section 3.3.2 above, the largest part of the Baghdad narrative concerns correspondence with Tughril. It is claimed that when al-Yāzūrī had heard of Tughril's expansion into Iraq and the threat that he posed to Syria, he had concluded that he would need to do more than send an army against him. He initially sent letters to Tughril pretending to have submitted to the Seljuks, congratulating him and offering him Egypt. This succeeded in convincing Tughril to send his followers back to Khurāsān but he himself remained in Baghdad.⁷² Tughril, however,

⁷² This appears to be a uniquely Egyptian reading of events. Iraqi sources instead claim the follow: Tughril's followers had ransacked Baghdad. The Caliph had pleaded with Tughril to send away his men, but he was only persuaded to do so after the Prophet had appeared to him in a dream. Thus, the later Iraqi sources read the

realised that he had been deceived, when al-Yāzūrī sent further correspondence that asked him to submit to the Fatimid Imam-Caliph. As with the case of the conspiracy against al-Yāzūrī discussed above, the SY's attempt to dismiss the accusations made against al-Yāzūrī consists of a detailed narrative.

The correspondence itself, which is likely invented, responds directly to the accusations. It states clearly that al-Yāzūrī's goal was to combat the threat posed by Tughril, but that use of arms would be insufficient to do so.⁷³ He had thus used his correspondence to face the Seljuk threat. In other words, al-Yāzūrī's long-term goal was to fight the Seljuks not join them. It moreover contains phrases that stress al-Yāzūrī's loyalty, written in his own words, including emphasis on the validity of the Fatimids' lineage: 'it is necessary that the word of Islam is united under the son of the daughter of the Prophet, who is more worthy of his place than others.'⁷⁴ The message in the SY is therefore clear. Al-Yāzūrī's loyalty does not need to be questioned, and his clever deception of Tughril had been misused by his enemies as evidence of betrayal.

In three places, the SY also engages with criticisms of the campaign's cost. First, unlike the accounts for the year 448, it does not claim that funds were dispatched immediately to al-Basāsīrī, rather it states that money was sent (along with other support) after the victory at Sinjār (passage 177). Second, in introducing the alliance with al-Basāsīrī, the SY underlines how the financial implications had been accounted for. The account begins by stressing the size of al-Basāsīrī's 'iqṭā' (30,000 *dīnārs*) and how al-Basāsīrī had asked to take refuge in Cairo. Al-Yāzūrī took advice, was informed more about al-Basāsīrī's 'iqṭā', and told that Egypt could not sustain him if it led others to join him (passages 148-155).⁷⁵

This account is thus far paralleled by the detailed given in an obituary of al-Basāsīrī under the year 451 of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār*,⁷⁶ and the only difference is that the SY gives the

departure of Tughril's followers from Baghdad as an example of the Sultan's piety. Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, XVI:3-4; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII:332-3; D. G. Tor, "'Sovereign and pious': the religious life of the great Seljuk sultans", in Christian Lange and Songül Mecit (eds.), *The Seljuqs: politics, society and culture* (Edinburgh, 2011), 53-4.

⁷³ The quotation is from the *Muqaffā*'s version. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:390; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:236 (passage 169).

⁷⁴ The quotation is from the *Muqaffā*'s version. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:391; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:236-237 (passage 173).

⁷⁵ The version in the *Itti'āz* does not discuss the size of the 'iqṭā'. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:389-90; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:233.

⁷⁶ For a full translation, see chapter 3. Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 24-5.

exact size of al-Basāsīrī's *'iqta'*. However, as I stressed in section 3.4.2 above, there is no evidence that the *Akhbār* had used the SY and it is likely that this has been derived from information shared between the SY and annals. This is seen clearly in the conclusion of Ibn Muyassar's version, which states that money and men were sent to al-Basāsīrī. In contrast, the SY, as it is quoted in the *Muqaffā*, concludes with the phrase:

We will direct him to fight the enemies of the state. If he rises to it, it will be a profit to the state and its reputation. If he is incapable of it, that will be on his head.⁷⁷

The SY thus ignores any hint of money being sent immediately to al-Basāsīrī and instead stresses that the alliance was a low-risk strategy for the Fatimids, whose reputation would be enhanced by any successes, but unharmed by failure. This introduction to the Baghdad campaign in the SY, therefore, appears to respond to the criticism of al-Yāzūrī that is found under the years 448 and 450 of the annals by stating that he had taken account of the costs of the campaign.

The third reference to expenditure on the Baghdad campaign appears at the conclusion of the SY account of the Baghdad campaign, and this might also be read as a response to the claims of the annals for the year 450. At the end of the SY we are told that al-Yāzūrī had: 'determined to send ten thousand *dīnārs* to Muhārish, to take the [Abbasid] Caliph off his hands and carry him to Cairo'.⁷⁸ This is then followed with a lengthy description of how the Caliph would be brought to Cairo, given an annuity and made part of parades with the Fatimid Caliph, before being returned to Baghdad as a loyal subject of the Fatimids (passages 276-277). From the phrasing of this account, it is unclear if the author of the SY meant that al-Yāzūrī had planned to send the money or if he had actually sent the money. We might, however, read this as an attempt to explain why al-Yāzūrī had sent money to Jerusalem, which was intended for Baghdad. The crucial flaw in this explanation is that by the time the Abbasid Caliph had been captured, al-Yāzūrī was already dead. However, as we saw in section 3.3.2, the author of the SY is not afraid to distort the chronology to suit his agenda. For the moment, it is sufficient to note that this statement in the SY is at least attempting to further justify al-Yāzūrī's expenditure on the Baghdad campaign.

⁷⁷ Only in the *Muqaffā*'s version. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:390 (passage 156).

⁷⁸ Translation from the *Muqaffā*. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:393; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:254-5 (Passage 276).

In addition to the correspondence with Tughril and claims about expenditure on the campaign, there is a third element in the SY account that situates it within the 450s debates about al-Yāzūrī's legacy. This is also found in the SY's account of the origins of the alliance with al-Basāsīrī. As we noted above, when al-Basāsīrī asked to come to Cairo, al-Yāzūrī took advice. After detailing al-Basāsīrī's *'iqṭā'*, the advisers concluded:

We cannot sustain those Turks that [we employ] today, so how could we add this kind of number [of men] to [their ranks]?⁷⁹

This appears to be an implicit statement about accusations surrounding al-Yāzūrī and the recruitment of Turks and Blacks into the army during his vizierate. In the year 454, fighting had broken out between the Turkish and Black regiments of the army. This marked the beginning of a *fitna*. Blame for the violence appears to have fallen squarely on the queen mother (umm al-Mustaṣṣir) Raṣad, in an account that appears to be shaped by equal shares of misogyny and racism.⁸⁰ Under the year 454 of the *Itti'āz* it is claimed: 'the reason was the increase of Blacks in the palace...' The *Itti'āz* explains that the queen mother was herself a black slave, that she had imported a large number of blacks, and that this had led to the dispute with the Turkish soldiers.⁸¹

Raṣad had been a major supporter of al-Yāzūrī. She had initially taken him on as part of her *dīwān* (the *dīwān al-sayyida*),⁸² and al-Yāzūrī remained close to her throughout his vizierate.⁸³ It is possible, therefore, that after his death his name had become associated with the accusations surrounding Raṣad. The statement in the SY counters the account we are given under the year 454 in two ways. First, it establishes that al-Yāzūrī was aware of the strain that the recruitment of Turks had placed on the state and had thus prevented al-Basāsīrī from coming to Egypt and increasing the burden. Second, it stresses that it was the ranks of the Turks and not the blacks that had grown. This might be read as a defence of Raṣad, perhaps even suggesting that the *fitna* had been started by the increased influence

⁷⁹ Only in the *Muqaffā'*'s version. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā'*, III:389 (passage 155).

⁸⁰ Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 170. On the fragile balance of Blacks and Turks in the army, see: Lev, *State & Society*, 93-5. Cortese and Calderini have noted how the blaming of Raṣad fits into a broader topos of associating women with moments of political instability: Delia Cortese and Simonetta Calderini, *Women and the Fatimids in the World of Islam* (Edinburgh, 2006), 112.

⁸¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:265-268.

⁸² This is described in the early parts of the SY: al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā'*, III:370-375; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:200-7 (passages 26-30, and 32-60).

⁸³ Cortese and Calderini, *Women*, 111-112.

of Turks over the state. This might be reading too far into the statement, but the claim at the very least situates the text in the 450s. When al-Yāzūrī was vizier, it is unlikely that either he or his advisors were actually aware of the conflict building between the Turkish and Black regiments. This is likely a reflection on al-Yāzūrī's handling of al-Basāsīrī that was written after 454, by which time the fighting between the two regiments had broken out.

4.2.3. *The SY and the Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad*

There are, moreover, elements of the SY that appear to respond to another account of the 450s, the *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad*. The final part of the *Sīrat al-Mu'ayyad* provides a detailed personal account of al-Mu'ayyad's management of the Baghdad campaign from Syria. It is an account in which al-Mu'ayyad is at the very centre. He tells us that it was he who corresponded with al-Basāsīrī and convinced him to join the Fatimid cause.⁸⁴ Al-Mu'ayyad was then sent (reluctantly) to Syria to coordinate the campaign,⁸⁵ where he details his management of various local groups and tribes to build up support for the Fatimids, filling his account with copies of correspondence that he had sent to local and Seljuk elites.⁸⁶ The *Sīra* consists of two clear parts. Klemm has argued that the first part of al-Mu'ayyad's account was written from Aleppo, during the campaign itself. The second part, which concerns events around the time of Ibrāhīm Īnāl's rebellion and the events that followed, was written after 454.⁸⁷ As I have argued above, the SY engages directly with the events of the 450s, including the *fitna* that began in 454. It seems that it is also engaging with the claims of al-Mu'ayyad's account, particularly his negotiations with key Seljuk figures.

Al-Mu'ayyad is conspicuous by his absence in the SY, at least as it is quoted in later texts. Unlike the annals, the SY does not mention that al-Mu'ayyad had been sent out with funds for al-Basāsīrī. This is probably a deliberate omission intended to diminish al-Mu'ayyad's role. In two places in the SY account of the Baghdad campaign, we are told how al-Yāzūrī was kept informed by spies (termed either *'uyūn* or *jawāsīs*) and how he coordinated his campaign through these men in the field. In the first case, we are informed how al-Yāzūrī's correspondence with Tughril was informed by these spies. First they informed him that

⁸⁴ Al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 96; Klemm, *Memoirs*, 80.

⁸⁵ Al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 97-100; Klemm, *Memoirs*, 80-1.

⁸⁶ See the frequent use of correspondence in his account of the campaign: al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 101-169.

⁸⁷ Klemm argues that al-Mu'ayyad's use of a blessing after the name of Thimāl b. Mirdās, the governor of Aleppo, suggests that the account was written after his death in 454. Klemm, *Memoirs*, 83-84 and 83, n. 12.

Tughril had set his sights on Syria, and later they updated him to let him know that Tughril had sent his followers back to Khurāsān but had himself remained in Baghdad. In the second case we are told how al-Yāzūrī used his spies to infiltrate Tughril's camp and persuade those closest to him to defect - Khaṭūn (Tughril's wife), Abū Naṣr al-Kundurī (his vizier), and Ibrāhīm Īnāl (the commander of his armies). In the end Khaṭūn was persuaded to defect, but she could not be convinced to murder Tughril. Instead she left him, taking 12,000 of Tughril's most devoted troops with her. This defection, according to the SY, was the reason for al-Basāsīrī's defeat of the Seljuks at Sinjār.

The second account does not clearly respond to any of the criticism found in the annals for 448 or 450. It would appear that other Egyptian sources are entirely unaware of Khaṭūn's defection or its role in the victory at Sinjār. It is, moreover, an account that is difficult to reconcile with the extant Iraqi sources. Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn al-Athīr only mention Ibrāhīm Īnāl's rebellion, which they claim occurred after the battle of Sinjār.⁸⁸ This is the account that al-Maqrīzī paraphrases in his *Itti'āz*, situating it after the SY account of Khaṭūn's defection (passages 175-176). Sibṭ ibn al-Jawzī is alone in claiming that Khaṭūn had attempted a brief rebellion, shortly before al-Basāsīrī's capture of Baghdad (that is, also after the battle of Sinjār).⁸⁹ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī is the only other Egyptian source to refer to a rebellion (potentially adapting the SY), stating: '[Then] the [event] happened to Ṭughrilbik that made it necessary for him to return to Khurāsān.'⁹⁰ The mention of Khurāsān exemplifies the confusion of the Egyptian accounts, as by this period Tughril's capital was not in Khurāsān, but Hamadhān. The SY account concerning Khaṭūn's defection is, therefore, either an invention, or a significantly redated version of the event described by Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī.

This account of Khaṭūn's defection could be read as a direct response to al-Mu'ayyad's account of his role. It is likely not a coincidence that the SY mentions spies in the region, but fails to name al-Mu'ayyad by name. The impression is that al-Mu'ayyad is but one of many unnamed operators in the region, all of whom were coordinated by al-Yāzūrī. Aside from his broader attempts to gather support and build alliances for al-Basāsīrī, al-Mu'ayyad describes

⁸⁸ Ibn al-Jawzī, *Muntaẓam*, XVI:30-1; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:341-2.

⁸⁹ Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, 50.

⁹⁰ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 69.

two failed attempts to infiltrate the Seljuk elite. He states that prior to corresponding with al-Basāsīrī, he had written to Tughril's vizier, al-Kundurī, and failed to gain his support.⁹¹ Sometime after Mosul was reoccupied by the Seljuks, he attempted to turn Tughril, through corresponding with al-Kundurī a second time, but this did not meet with success. Al-Mu'ayyad quotes the second letter to al-Kundurī, and the terms that he offers to Tughril are similar to those that al-Yāzūrī had offered in the SY (where both suggest that Tughril become a subsidiary of the Fatimids in Iraq).⁹² The SY, therefore, reads as a response to al-Mu'ayyad's claims, detailing how the efforts to cause defections were coordinated by al-Yāzūrī directly (not al-Mu'ayyad) and that they were, moreover, successful (unlike al-Mu'ayyad's attempts). This is compounded by the SY's refusal to mention al-Mu'ayyad, instead attributing the efforts to a network of unnamed spies.

4.3. Reading the annals and SY beyond the Baghdad campaign

In the above sections I set out how the annalistic accounts as they are quoted in Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār*, al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* and other sources, offer at least two stages of critique of al-Yāzūrī's role in the Baghdad campaign. The first dating from the 450s and the second from around the vizierate of Badr al-Jamālī. The accounts of the SY respond clearly to the criticism of the 450s, and potentially also to debates about the 454 *fitna*, which would suggest that the source was written after that event. This is further suggested by the SY's discussion of the use of spies in the Baghdad campaign, which appears to respond to al-Mu'ayyad's *Sīra*, a text that was probably completed after 454. There is, therefore, evidence of a discussion of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, which had a clear influence on how Egyptian sources account the events of the Baghdad campaign. The agenda of the SY, however, stretches beyond its accounts of the Baghdad campaign. In this section we will note how the key features identified in the accounts above can be seen elsewhere in the Egyptian sources, and what this might tell us about the broader Egyptian perspective. The first part will look at how the agenda found in the SY's account of the Baghdad campaign is mirrored elsewhere in the source. The second part will discuss the only part of the annals of the Baghdad

⁹¹ Al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 95; Klemm, 79.

⁹² Al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 154-6; Klemm, 83; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:391; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:236-7 (passage 173).

campaign that does not present an anti-Yāzūrī agenda (the year 447), and suggest that this appears to express a Fatimid concern that is shared between the annals and the SY.

4.3.1. *The unified agenda of the SY*

The SY's account of Baghdad has two features that are found elsewhere in the text: one, its emphasis on correspondence and two, its stress on the role played by al-Yāzūrī. The dominance of these features across the SY suggests that the source as a whole has one clear agenda that is both pro-secretarial and pro-Yāzūrī.

In the SY account of the Baghdad campaign, it is clear that correspondence and activities by 'men of the pen' are given significant precedence. This is seen in the lengthy quotation of correspondence with Tughril and the discussion of al-Yāzūrī's use of spies to both collect information and encourage defections.⁹³ On one hand, these represent the author's response to the annals and al-Mu'ayyad respectively. However, this focus on 'men of the pen' is seen elsewhere in the SY. As I noted in the case of the Zirid revolt, the SY puts significant emphasis on the role played by al-Yāzūrī's correspondence with Mu'izz b. Bādīs and his understanding of diplomatic terminology. As with the Baghdad campaign, the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* accompanied the narrative with quotations from the alleged correspondence (albeit shorter than that quoted in the Baghdad case). In the case of the Zirids, Brett has proposed that this was a pro-secretarial bias expressed by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī,⁹⁴ but as the Baghdad campaign shows, this is clearly part of the broader agenda of the SY (Ibn al-Ṣayrafī does not mention either the correspondence with Tughril or the spies). As the following chapter will show, there is another case where the SY quotes lengthy excerpts from correspondence, and that is the Fatimids' negotiations with the Byzantine ruler Ibn Saqlārūs.⁹⁵ This is, moreover, an episode that is entirely overlooked by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī. In all of these cases, the SY is clearly emphasising the merits of well-phrased correspondence and strategy, and it contrasts with material that is quoted from the annals which focuses on the main military events.

⁹³ Van Den Bossche has recently observed how *Sīras* of Mamluk Sultans were similarly written with a pro-secretarial agenda, including the quoting of letters. However, in the Mamluk case, secretaries express their agendas with far greater literary sophistication than is seen in the SY. Van Den Bossche, 'Sultan biographies', chapter 6.

⁹⁴ Brett, 'Zirids', 57; Brett, 'Execution', 85.

⁹⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:387-390; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:227-230 (passages 131-141).

In the correspondence with Mu'izz and Tughril, al-Yāzūrī is mocked as a 'peasant'. In the case of the Baghdad campaign, when Tughril realises that he has been tricked by al-Yāzūrī, he states: 'This peasant [*fallāḥ*] has tricked and ridiculed me!'.⁹⁶ This is paralleled in the accounts of the Zirid revolt. In that case, the rebel Mu'izz b. Bādīs stated after having read a letter from al-Yāzūrī: 'What is it that this peasant [*fallāḥ*] wants from me?'.⁹⁷ Al-Yāzūrī's enemies thus describe him as a 'peasant' in two different contexts. In this term we might read a response to criticism of al-Yāzūrī that had come about in the 450s. As we saw above, the author of the SY believed that al-Yāzūrī had been deposed by conspirators jealous of him for using his superior abilities to acquire power. Al-Yāzūrī had come to Cairo from Ramla, where his father had held a position as a local judge, and afterwards quickly risen through the ranks at court. To those who had spent their lives building careers in the Cairo court (including those who had conspired to depose him), al-Yāzūrī might well have appeared to be a provincial upstart.⁹⁸ As such, it is possible that the author of the SY is attempting to portray those at court who had called al-Yāzūrī a 'peasant' as equivalent to the enemies of the Fatimid state.

This use of the term 'peasant' in the correspondence is clearly part of the broader attempt by the author of the SY to contend with those at court and provide a pro-Yāzūrī account. The organisation and dating of the SY underline al-Yāzūrī's pivotal role in the campaign. Through describing the occupation of Baghdad as part of the biography, the SY implies that al-Yāzūrī was alive when city was captured and he is thus given responsibility for the success of the campaign as a whole. This is evidently how Ibn al-Ṣayrafī read the SY, because when he used it in the *Ishāra* he stated: 'The *khuṭba* was undertaken for a number of months until al-Yāzūrī was arrested'.⁹⁹ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, therefore, not only believed al-Yāzūrī was alive when Baghdad was occupied, but it was his death that had led to the loss of the city.

In two places the SY claims that al-Yāzūrī had a pivotal importance in the Baghdad campaign. The first is the description of Khaṭūn's rebellion against Tughril, which was instigated by al-Yāzūrī, on which the text states: 'That was the reason for victory over

⁹⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:391; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:237 (passage 174)

⁹⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:377; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:212 (passage 76).

⁹⁸ Al-Imad in fact agrees with this depiction of al-Yāzūrī: al-Imad, 'The Fatimid vizierate', 146.

⁹⁹ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 68.

him'.¹⁰⁰ Thus, the vizier's intervention is given as a key reason for victory over Tughril (potentially at Sinjār, or perhaps more generally in Iraq). The second case is found at the very conclusion of the SY account. There the author stresses that al-Yāzūrī had planned to have the Abbasid Caliph transported to Cairo, paraded ceremonially with the Fatimid Imam-Caliph and then sent back to Baghdad as a loyal subject. The account concludes by stating that al-Yāzūrī 'was prevented by the fate that befell him.'¹⁰¹ In short, al-Yāzūrī came close to helping the Fatimid Imam-Caliph achieve the long-held goal of subduing the Abbasids, but his arrest and execution prevented this.

A similar topos is repeated elsewhere in the SY. In the case of the Byzantine campaign, we are told that al-Yāzūrī had successfully negotiated a truce with the Byzantines that was favourable to the Fatimids. Then, just as the Byzantines' tribute was to be shipped from Antioch to Cairo: 'they heard of the dismissal of al-Yāzūrī. So [the tribute] was returned to Constantinople'¹⁰² (for a more detailed discussion see chapter 5). Here, as with the Baghdad campaign, it is al-Yāzūrī's dismissal that is said to have brought about failure.

4.3.2. *The expansion of the Turkmān: a shared concern*

This chapter has broadly understood the annals and SY as having opposed agendas that represent a debate of al-Yāzūrī's legacy that occurred around the 450s. As was stressed above, this pro-Yāzūrī and pro-secretarial agenda can be seen throughout the SY. However, the annals for the years prior to the 448 do not show a clear anti-Yāzūrī agenda. They instead ignore the role of al-Yāzūrī and are told from the perspective from the Imām-Caliph. This is seen in the year 447 of the annals. When this year is compared with the SY it is possible to identify a Fatimid agenda that underlies both the SY and annals. That is, a broader concern about the potential for a Seljuk invasion of Syria.

In the SY the author stresses that al-Yāzūrī corresponded with Tughril precisely because his spies had told him that the Seljuks had set their sights on Syria.¹⁰³ This could be seen as part of the SY's general agenda, an example used to show al-Yāzūrī's concern and efforts to defend Syria. However, comparison with the annals suggests that there was a general

¹⁰⁰ Translation from the *Muqaffā*. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā* III:392; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:237 (passage 176).

¹⁰¹ Translation from the *Muqaffā*. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:393; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:255 (passage 277).

¹⁰² Translation from the *Muqaffā*. Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:390; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:230 (passage 141).

¹⁰³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:390; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:236 (passage 168).

Fatimid concern for Syria. As was noted in section 3.3.1 above, Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* outlines four events under the year 447. The first described al-Basāsīrī's departure from Baghdad for Raḥba and his alliance with the Fatimids, and it concludes with the statement:

So he sent a request to al-Mustanṣir for help to conquer Baghdad, and he would do what was sufficient to prevent Ṭughrilbik from attacking Syria and Egypt. That was agreed to [by the Caliph].¹⁰⁴

This is a narrative told from the perspective of the Imam-Caliph, rather than al-Yāzūrī, but it makes a similar case to the SY. That is, that the key purpose of al-Basāsīrī's campaign was to protect Syria. The above account is not shared with al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*, but the other three events of the year 447 are. The fourth event shows a clear concern for the impacts of the Seljuk expansion, and it is shared verbatim between the *Akḥbār* and *Itti'āz*:

In this year [*fīha*] a number of Turkmān gathered in Aleppo and elsewhere and they ruined the provinces of Greater Syria.¹⁰⁵

The Fatimid annals were, therefore, clearly aware of the expansion of Tughril's followers into Syria, and considered this worth documenting. Moreover, the annals regarded al-Basāsīrī's campaign in Baghdad as an opportunity to put an end to that expansion. This appears to be a rare instance in the sources for the Baghdad campaign where a shared perspective can be found that is unaffected by the anti-Yāzūrī bias of the 450s. This concern for the expansion into Syria appears elsewhere and (as will be argued in chapter 5) it shapes the annals of the early 440s.

Conclusions: seeing beyond the agenda

This chapter has argued that the Egyptian annals and the SY present two views on the Baghdad campaign. While the SY has one uniform agenda, the Egyptian annals developed over stages, and this is best seen in Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār*. The version of the annals quoted in the *Akḥbār* has at least two clear stages. The first stage was written in the 450s and is exemplified by the annals for the years 448 and 450, which have a clear anti-Yāzūrī agenda. Under these years it is claimed that al-Yāzūrī had exhausted the palace treasuries to finance

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 17.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 17; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:230.

the Baghdad campaign, and sent Khaṭīr al-Mulk to Syria (either on a lavishly-equipped campaign, or to carry al-Yāzūrī's money ready to flee to Baghdad). In addition, it is claimed under the year 450 that al-Yāzūrī had betrayed the Fatimid cause through his correspondence with Tughril. These claims probably mimic those that were used to justify al-Yāzūrī's arrest and execution, were clearly circulating in the 450s and are part of a debate about al-Yāzūrī's legacy. The second stage of the annals is found under the year 451. This adopted a longer-term critique of al-Yāzūrī, blaming his Baghdad campaign for the ruin of the Fatimid state and Seljuk occupation of Syria. These claims were issued as part of a *sijill* during the vizierate of Badr al-Jamālī, who had just rescued the Fatimid state from the *fitna* and was closely involved in fighting the Seljuks in Syria. Both of these phases of the annals probably adapt an earlier annalistic account written in the 440s, best exemplified by the reports under the year 447 (where there is no clear anti-Yāzūrī agenda).

These multiple phases in the accounts in the *Akḥbār* are probably derived from one later copy of the annals, dating at the very least from Badr's vizierate but perhaps from the mid-sixth century. The claims circulating about the Baghdad campaign, however, were quite varied and not all clearly fit into the anti-Yāzūrī claims of the 450s or those made by Badr. For example, a narrative of the battle of Sinjār evidently circulated very widely, but is not found in the version of the annals used by Ibn Muyassar. Above all, it appears there was a debate about al-Yāzūrī that was ongoing in the historiography during the 450s. The SY is clearly part of this debate. It provides a pro-Yāzūrī account that engages with the criticisms elaborated in the annals under the years 448 and 450. These criticisms and the SY's response to them represent the concerns of a competitive court considering al-Yāzūrī's legacy. The SY is, moreover, responding to other claims that were circulating in the 450s. In particular, its emphasis on al-Yāzūrī's management of spies in the region suggests that it is engaging with the account of the Baghdad campaign in al-Mu'ayyad's *Sīra*, which was also written in the 450s.

The pro-secretarial and pro-Yāzūrī stance of the SY that is found throughout its account of the Baghdad campaign is not, however, unique to this case study. Its use of descriptions of correspondence and even the use of the word 'peasant' to describe al-Yāzūrī within that correspondence is found in other parts in the SY (as it is quoted in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*) This further suggests that the SY has a unified agenda that both defends al-Yāzūrī and

emphasises his actions as a man 'of the pen'. This is further evidence that the narrative provided in the *Muqaffā's* biography of al-Yāzūrī (which is entirely pro-Yāzūrī and pro-secretarial) is copied from one text. There is in addition one concern that underlies all of the Egyptian accounts: the expansion of the Seljuks into Syria. This is seen in the year 447 of the annals and in the manner that the SY justifies al-Yāzūrī's correspondence with Tughril.

We should perhaps also understand Khaṭīr al-Mulk's enigmatic journey to Syria through the lens of this anxiety about the Seljuks' expansion. In the annals of 448 and 450, Khaṭīr al-Mulk's journey is depicted as either a frivolous campaign led by a poorly chosen commander, or a ruse for al-Yāzūrī to send his money to Baghdad. The details of the year-448 account are, however, quite clear: Khaṭīr al-Mulk had been sent on campaign to occupy Latakia. The SY does not mention Khaṭīr al-Mulk at all, but it does mention a campaign in Latakia, fought against the Byzantines. Al-Mu'ayyad claims that Tughril had attempted to make an alliance with the Byzantines,¹⁰⁶ and we might read the Latakia campaign as part of a broader strategy to defend Syria from a joint Seljuk-Byzantine threat. It is, therefore, to the Byzantine frontier and its representation in the historiography that the next chapter will turn.

¹⁰⁶ Al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 94; Klemm, *Memoirs*, 79.

Chapter 5. Fatimid exchanges with the Byzantines in the 440s: the divergence of information in the annals and the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī*¹

Introduction

The annals and SY adopt different perspectives on the Baghdad campaign and this is largely a result of their respective agendas. As was argued in chapter 3, all of the Egyptian sources share the same basic information about the Baghdad campaign, but on the whole the Egyptian tradition appears to lack key details for the Baghdad campaign. For this reason, al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* relied heavily upon Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* to narrate parts of the campaign, and there both the annals and SY provide a similar framework of events for the Baghdad campaign. In chapter 4, it was argued that although the annals and SY largely rely on similar information, they narrate and arrange these materials according to their agendas. The annals as they survive in Ibn Muyassar's *Akhhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* appear to tell the narrative of the campaign in at least two phases. The first phase was composed in the 450s and added anti-Yāzūrī elements to the existing annals and wrote about the year 450 with a similar agenda. The second phase was composed after the 460s, influenced by a longer-term criticism of al-Yāzūrī composed by Badr al-Jamālī. The SY appears to have been written in the 450s and engages with the first phase of criticism.

This chapter will present further examples of where the annals can be identified, including one case where an event is narrated by both the SY and the annals. These cases all concern the Fatimids' exchanges and conflicts with the Byzantines during the 440s. As with the Baghdad campaign, these accounts appear to have been written in the 450s, but in this the annals have no anti-Yāzūrī agenda and the pro-Yāzūrī agenda of the SY is more muted. They, therefore, help us understand the broader agenda of the two types of historiography that were written in the 450s. It is well-known that the Fatimids had long and typically cordial relations with the Byzantines, seen in a series of 10-year truces between the two powers. In

¹ Some of the points made in this chapter, including some of the translations (notably those in section 5.3) were first addressed in my chapter: Mathew Barber, 'Reappraising the Arabic Accounts for the Conflict of 446/1054-5: An Egyptian Perspective on Constantine IX and his Immediate Successors', in Mirela Ivanova and Hugh Jeffery (eds), *Transmitting and Circulating the Late Antique and Byzantine Worlds* (Leiden, 2019), 170-198.

437 such a truce had been agreed with the Byzantines and was due to elapse around the middle of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. Unlike with the Baghdad campaign, the Iraqi sources have little record of Fatimid exchange with the Byzantines in this period (and they make limited reference to Seljuk and Abbasid exchanges). Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* provide a uniquely detailed accounts of Fatimid exchanges and conflicts with the Byzantines in the 440s, describing four separate events involving the Byzantines.

There are three events that are only accounted for in the annals (under the years 443, 444 and 447). All of these primarily concern diplomatic exchanges between the Fatimids' and Byzantines. These accounts stress attempts by the Seljuk Sultan Tughril to undermine or sever the truce with the Fatimids. Yet the manner in which these accounts view Tughril appears to overexaggerate his importance and they were probably written after Tughril had seized Baghdad. In addition, these three events frame the truce with the Byzantines in the light of the larger confrontation between the Fatimids and Abbasids and they might be understood as an attempt by Fatimid historians to justify the truce with the Byzantines. The fourth event concerns a major conflict between the Fatimids and Byzantines and is described in the annals and the SY, the conflict of 446-450. Unlike the other three events, these accounts do not mention Tughril or frame the conflict in the terms of the wider confrontation with the Abbasids. They instead focus on the cause of the conflict and detail the campaigns and negotiations that followed. In the fourth event the annals focus on the actions of the Imam-Caliph, omitting al-Yāzūrī entirely. By comparison, the SY account focuses on al-Yāzūrī and on the specifics of the negotiations. In doing so it (much like the case of the Baghdad campaign) provides a pro-secretarial account of the event. When the annals and SY are compared as a whole, we are provided with two different perspectives on who was ruling in Byzantium in the 440s. A study of these different perspectives shows that the SY potentially had used a source that was very close to the negotiations that are being described.

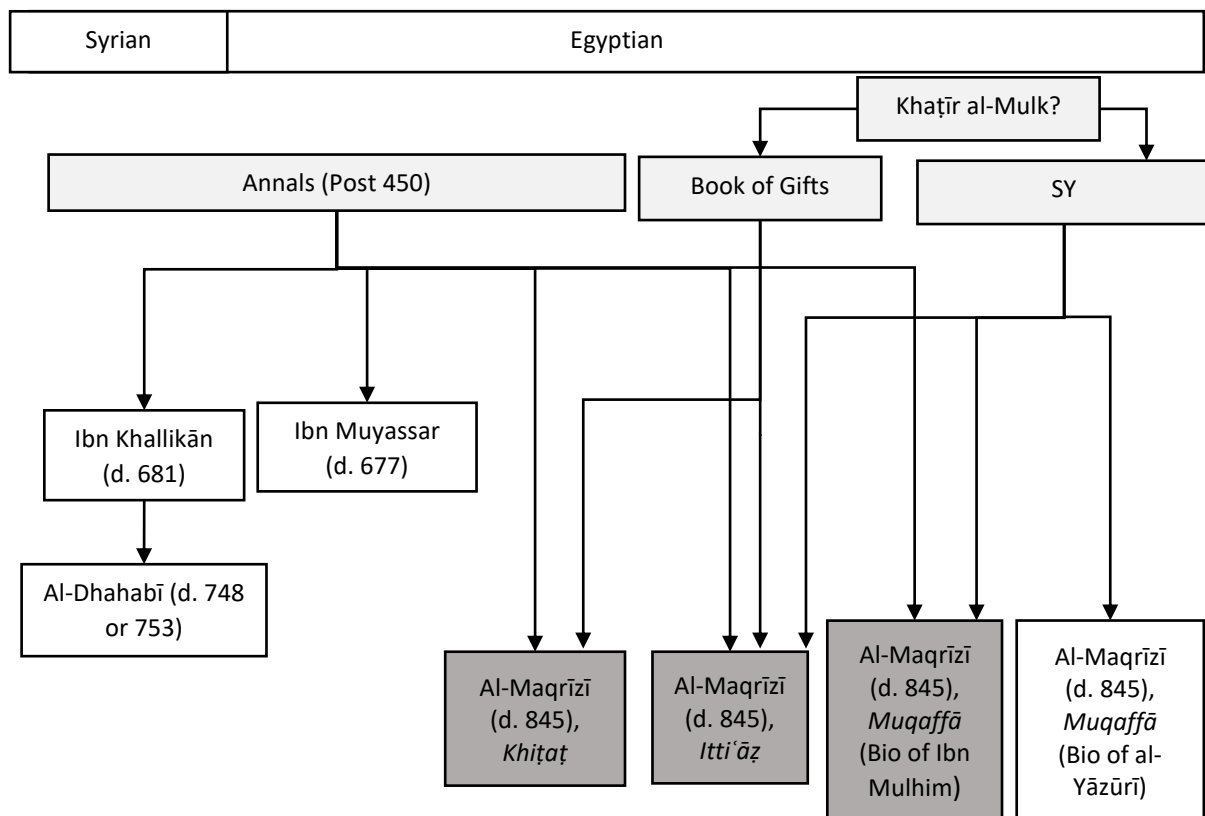
This chapter will present the argument in four parts: Part one will outline the sources in which the accounts appear, and argue that the *Itti'āz* preserves a more complete version of the annals. Part two will examine the accounts for the years 443, 444 and 447, underlining how they present a unified narrative of the exchanges with the Byzantines that focusses on the threat posed by Tughril and the role that the Byzantine truce played in the confrontation

with the Abbasids. Part three will examine the conflict of 446-450 and argue that the record of events presented in the annals represents only a partial account, where the SY suggests that the events lasted until perhaps 450. Part four will then compare the agendas of the annals and SY, the differences in their accounts of Byzantine rulers, and use those differences to identify sources unique to the SY.

5.1. An outline of source relations

For this case study, there is a similar picture of source usage to that seen in the Baghdad campaign. Figure 1 provides a stemma of the relations between the sources.

Figure 1. A stemma of sources that mention exchanges with the Byzantines in the 440s. Light grey boxes indicate sources that are no longer extant. Dark grey indicate texts that have used more than one source text.



Unlike for the Baghdad campaign, there are no Iraqi or Yemeni records of the exchanges with the Byzantines and the events only appear to be recorded in the Egyptian sources. Moreover, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra* does not provide any descriptions of exchanges with the Byzantines. We are, therefore, dependent upon six sources which all appear to quote from the Egyptian tradition. Of these Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* and al-Dhahabī's two histories (the

Ta'rīkh and *Siyar*) appear to quote loosely from the annals. As with the Baghdad campaign, the main sources for the annals are Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz*. Similarly, the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī and the *Itti'āz* provide the best quotations of the SY, which is shared almost verbatim between the two texts. In addition, the *Muqaffā*'s biography of Ibn Mulhim brings together short quotations from the annals and SY into a hybrid account of the 446-450 campaign. This biography does not add much to our understanding of the annals and the SY and it will not be used in detail in the discussion that follows.

In the case of the Baghdad campaign, we saw that Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* typically gave the more complete form of the annalistic account, but that al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* often shared text with the *Akḥbār*, sometimes adding small details. The accounts of the following exchanges suggest that the two authors share a source text and that al-Maqrīzī has not simply copied from Ibn Muyassar. In all of these cases, the *Itti'āz* preserves more material and narrative than the *Akḥbār*, often providing lengthy and unique accounts of the events. However, the significant amount of text shared with the *Akḥbār* in all four years (443, 444, 446, 447) appear to indicate that the two share an annalistically-arranged source-text. Parallel text in the *Khīṭaṭ* for the events of 446 and 447, moreover, adds further weight to the argument that al-Maqrīzī had used a text that is shared with the *Akḥbār*, rather than copied from it directly. Consequently, in most of the cases of the annals discussed below, translations will be provided from the *Itti'āz* with cross-references to shared text (comparisons of the original texts are found in appendix E).

5.2. The annals and Tughril's influence in Constantinople

As was noted section 4.3.2 above, the annals of the year 447 and the SY have an underlying concern for the advance of the Seljuk Turks into Syria. This concern makes a degree of sense. Tughril had arrived in Baghdad in this year, had been received by the Abbasid Caliph, and by this time his followers' destructive campaigns in Iran and Iraq were well-known. However, we also know that the bulk of the accounts of the Baghdad campaign were written in the 450s, reflecting upon the campaign in the light of al-Yāzūrī's arrest and execution. In the case of the exchanges with the Byzantines, the annals for the years 443, 444 and 447 appear to exaggerate Tughril's role in Abbasid diplomatic missions to

Byzantium. This also appears to reflect the situation of the 450s, when Tughril had a more direct influence in Baghdad.

The 450s agenda is seen in how the years 443, 444 and 447 provide a narrative that documents Tughril's interventions in Constantinople. First in 443, Tughril's envoy simply asks for passage to Egypt. Second in 444 his envoy attempts to have the emperor to openly discredit the Fatimids' Ismā'īlī beliefs.² Finally in 447, after the succession of empress Theodora (and at the expiry of the Fatimids' 10-year truce), the envoy successfully petitions to be allowed to pray in the Constantinople mosque, where he gives the *khuṭba* in the name of the Abbasids.³ There appears, therefore, in the annals a narrative of progressive Seljuk interventions to undermine the Byzantines' truce with the Fatimids. In the case of 443 and 444, Tughril's role appears to be exaggerated. It is unlikely that in 443 he had set his sights on Egypt (having only just secured the Iranian plateau), and in 444 we are led to believe that Tughril was coordinating with the Abbasids some three years before he would take control of Baghdad.

However much the 450s annals might exaggerate Tughril's role, behind each account we can see a general Fatimid perspective, which (as we shall see) contrasts with the SY. All of these accounts depict the alliance with the Byzantines that is directed by the Imam-Caliph and serving an ideological purpose. The accounts claim that the Byzantines supported the Fatimids' mission against the Abbasids by intercepting their envoys and refusing to agree to the Abbasids' terms, and this is a relationship that is reciprocal (as is seen when the truce was broken in 447). These elements of the account might represent how Fatimid annalists sought to justify their 10-year truces with the Byzantines. The above argument will be presented in the following two parts: part one will discuss the embassies of 443 and 444,

² These two embassies are discussed less frequently in modern scholarship. For the 443 embassy, see: Sayyid, *al-Dawla al-Fāṭimiyya*, 190; Kirsten Thomson, *Politics and Power in Late Fāṭimid Egypt The Reign of Caliph al-Mustanshir* (London, 2016), 115. For the 444 embassy, see: H. Halm, *Die Kalifen von Kairo: Die Fatimiden in Ägypten 973–1074* (Munich, 2003), 380.

³ This is commonly noted as a turning point in Fatimid-Byzantine relations, but the sources for the event have not been explored in detail. See, for example: Marius Canard, "Les Relations Politiques et Sociales entre Byzance et les Arabes," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18(1964), 39; Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: A Political History, 2nd ed.*, (London, 1997), 41; H. Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 382; Nadia Maria el-Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs* (Cambridge, Mass, 2004), 164; Thomson, *Politics and power*, 116; Nicolas Drocourt, "Passing on Political Information between Major Powers: The Key Role of Ambassadors between Byzantium and some of its neighbours," *al-Masaq*, 24(2012), 103-4; Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 193; A. D. Beihammer, *Byzantium and the Emergence of Muslim-Turkish Anatolia, ca. 1040-1130* (Abingdon, 2017), 94; Sayyid, *al-Dawla Fāṭimiyya*, 190.

noting how they both exaggerate Tughril's role and stress the ideological importance of the truce with Byzantium. Part two will then look at the embassy of 447.

5.2.1. The 443 and 444 embassies to the Byzantines

Under the year 443 and 444 of the *Itti'āz* we are informed of embassies that were sent to Constantinople. For both years the *Akhbār* shares text verbatim with the *Itti'āz*, but in the former large parts of the narrative are missing. These two exchanges occur against the background of the Zirid revolt (discussed briefly in section 2.2 above), but they are ignored in the SY's account of these events.

The account under the year 443 describes the Zirid al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs's defection to the Abbasids and the Byzantines' interception of the Abbasids' envoy to Mu'izz. The account is given in the *Itti'āz*, as follows (underlining indicates text shared with the *Akhbār*):

In this year [443] al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, the master of Ifrīqīya, made his differences with al-Mustanşir apparent. He sent a messenger to Baghdad in order to restore the Abbasid *da'wa* and to call for official robes [khila'] from them [the Abbasids]. They agreed to that and official robes were dispatched with a messenger called Abū Ghālib al-Shayzarī, he had with him the treaty and the black [Abbasid] banners.

He passed through Byzantium [bilād al-rūm] in order to cross from there to Ifrīqīya. [There] he was arrested by the master of Byzantium [al-rūm]. This news reached al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs, so he messaged Constantine, the king of Byzantium [al-rūm], concerning this [fī amrihi], but he did not reply to him, [as was] in keeping with his duty to al-Mustanşir.

It happened that a messenger of Ṭughrilbik had arrived [in Constantinople] asking him [the king] for his permission to pass into Egypt. So he proclaimed the friendship that [existed] between him and al-Mustanşir, and [said] that he would not allow for him to be harmed. It [also] happened that a messenger of al-Mustanşir had arrived with a great gift. So he sent him [back] with al-Qā'im's messenger and the [items] that he had been carrying [from the Abbasids to Mu'izz].⁴

⁴ Ibn Muyassar writes simply: 'He sent him to al-Mustanşir'.

He [the Abbasid messenger] entered Cairo on a camel and the treaty, the banners and the gift were burned in a pit [in the parade ground] between the two palaces [bayn al-qaṣrayn]. Al-Qādir had done similar with the official robes that al-Zāhir, al-Mustanṣir's father, had sent to Maḥmūd b. Sabuktigin⁵ [that is, Maḥmūd of Ghazna]. Then al-Mustanṣir consented to the return of the messenger to the master of Constantinople.⁶

As can be seen from the underlined sections, the *Akḥbār*'s version of the account only describes the dispatch of the Abbasid envoy, his interception by the Byzantines and his public humiliation in Cairo. The *Akḥbār* does not, therefore, note either the presence of Tughril's envoy or the Fatimid envoy in Constantinople. However, the events described in the *Itti'āz* build on the broader narrative and explain how the Abbasid envoy came to be sent to Cairo. This part of the account might be read as a metaphor: the emperor is presented (physically) with three options: Mu'izz's letter, Tughril's envoy, and al-Mustanṣir's envoy. The Byzantines kept to their truce and choose the third.

This account presents the events from the Fatimid perspective. The emperor's decision in of itself illustrates their loyalty to the Fatimids, but 'the duty to al-Mustanṣir' (that is the truce) is given as the reason for why he did not reply to Mu'izz's letter. Throughout the account the main Fatimid actor is al-Mustanṣir (al-Yāzūrī does not feature anywhere). There is, moreover, significant emphasis on the movement of items of symbolic value and their destruction. In this, the source stresses that Fatimids were following Abbasid precedent, for the Abbasid Caliph al-Qādir (al-Qā'im's predecessor) had done similar with official robes sent by al-Zāhir (al-Mustanṣir's predecessor). The account, therefore, presents the events as part of the broader Abbasid-Fatimid confrontation, and underlines the role that the Byzantines played in this.

Tughril is, however, looming over the exchanges described by the *Itti'āz*. It is not clear why his envoy is in Constantinople, but the intention is clear. That is, he is seeking to force the Byzantines to break their truce and allow the Seljuk envoy to enter Egypt. The account again underlines the Byzantines' loyalty (and the importance of the truce as a whole), as they prevent the envoy from coming to Egypt, thus protecting the Fatimid frontier. This aligns

⁵ The *Akḥbār* has 'Maḥmūd b. Maḥmūd b. Subuktakīn'.

⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:214; Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 14. For a comparison of the Arabic, see appendix E, table 1.

with the concerns that we saw in the Baghdad campaign, where under the year 447 it was suggested that Tughril had set his sights on Egypt. However, in this earlier period, such an assumption seems anachronistic. In the year 443, Tughril was still embroiled in the Iranian plateau and Azerbaijan, from where he and his brother Ibrāhīm Īnāl had led raids against Byzantium. Any embassies exchanged with the Seljuks were more likely to concern this frontier rather than Egypt.⁷ As Peacock has argued, even when the sources claim that Tughril had set his sights on Egypt in 447, it was likely a ruse intended to distract Baghdad from the impending invasion.⁸ It seems likely, therefore, that the intentions of Tughril's envoy in this narrative are embellished (if not entirely fabricated), or that the author has relabelled an Abbasid envoy (mistakenly or deliberately) as Tughril's envoy.

The role played by Tughril's envoy is further enhanced in the narrative of the 444 embassy, which (like the above case) is associated with the Byzantines' interception of the Abbasids' envoy to Mu'izz. In what follows, I will outline the account, quoting the most important parts. The start of the account is shared by *Itti'āz* and the *Akhbār* (underlining indicates text shared with the *Akhbār*):

In this year [*fīha*] an official report was written in Baghdad, which contained a censure of the lineage of the Egyptian Caliphs and refuted their descent from 'Alī b. Abū Tālib, may God be pleased with him. A current distinguished group of jurists [*fuqahā*] gathered in Baghdad, they oversaw it, and judged in its favour, and they ascribed to them the [spiritual] lineage of Dayṣānīya from [among] the Magians. The official report was circulated around the lands, and it slandered them terribly.⁹

This is the only event that Ibn Muyassar describes under the year 444. Al-Maqrīzī, however, follows the above with the statement: 'The reason for that was the anger [of the Abbasids] at what had been done with the messenger sent by Mu'izz b. Bādīs.' Al-Maqrīzī then provides a slightly different description of how the Fatimids had treated the envoy in Cairo:

⁷ Ibn al-Athīr describes one such raid in 440. This, according to Ibn al-Athīr, resulted in a truce between Tughril and Byzantines in 441, where the *khuṭba* was given in Constantinople to Tughril. This might represent a later pro-Seljuk re-reading of the 441 Byzantine embassy (note that the Egyptian sources claim the *khuṭba* changed to the Seljuks in 447, see section 5.2.2 below). Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:282, 289. See also: Kaldellis, *Streams of gold, rivers of blood: the rise and fall of Byzantium, 955 A.D. to the First Crusade* (Oxford, 2017), 197-8; Peacock, *Early Seljuq*, 144-8.

⁸ Peacock, *Seljuk Empire*, 49.

⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:223; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 15.

For he had been paraded around Cairo facing backwards on a Camel, with the treaty letter around his neck and the gift in his hand, and then the ceremonial robes [*khila*] and the customary things [*al-taqlīd*] were burned. Then the messenger was then returned to the king of Byzantium.¹⁰

Thus far, the account of the year 444 appears to be a repeat of the events under 443, but in this case it is used to explain why the Abbasids had issued a treatise dismissing the lineage and beliefs of the Fatimids. The treatise itself appears to be well-known and it is mentioned (albeit in entirely different words) by Ibn al-Jawzī and Ibn al-Athīr under the year 444. Both stress that it had (at least partly) involved associating the Fatimids' lineage with the Magians and Dayṣāniyya.¹¹ Neither, however, associate it with the treatment of Mu'izz's envoy. In fact, although Ibn al-Athīr gives a lengthy description of Mu'izz's rebellion in Ifrīqīya he only states that he had given the *khuṭba* to the Abbasids and nowhere does he mention an exchange of envoys.¹² The association between the treatment of the envoy and the dismissal of Fatimid lineage seems, therefore, to be unique to the *Itti'āz* account. This variant is like the 443 account, situating the truce in the context of the broader ideological conflict between the Fatimids and Abbasids.

The *Itti'āz* is, moreover, using this as an explanation for another exchange in Constantinople. He states that the Byzantines had returned the Abbasids' envoy to Baghdad, and then explains why:

The reason for his return was that Mu'izz b. Bādīs sent his messenger Abū al-Qāsim b. 'Abd al-Raḥman to Baghdad [to tell them] about this. So the king Ṭughrilbik sent with him [Mu'izz's envoy], Abū 'Alī b. Kabīr to petition the king of Byzantium to return Abū Ghālib.¹³ He composed a letter [which was taken] with him, it was entitled: 'From the support of the faith [*Rukn al-Dīn*], the aid of the Muslims [*Ghiyāth al-Muslimīn*],

¹⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:223.

¹¹ Ibn al-Jawzī, XV:336; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:310. Both state that the treatise associated their beliefs with that of the 'Dayṣāniyya of the Magians and the Qadāḥiyya of the Jews'. Dayṣāniyya is the name given by Arab authors to a dualist Christian sect, which does not typically appear to be associated with the Magians. A. Abel, 'Dayṣaniyya', *EI2*. On Sunnī polemicists' association of the sect with the Fatimids: Daftary, *Ismā'īlīs*, 109-10. Jiwa has noted the similarities between this treatise and the 402 'Baghdad Manifesto': Jiwa, 'The Baghdad Manifesto (402 AH/1011 CE) A Re-examination of the Fatimid-Abbasid Rivalry', in Daftary and Jiwa, *The Fatimid Caliphate: Diversity of Traditions* (London, 2017), 55-6.

¹² Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:295-298.

¹³ That is the Abbasid messenger mentioned under the year 443.

magnificence of God's faith, Sulṭān of Gods' lands, and helper of God's servants, Abū Ṭālib [Tughril], right hand of the Caliph, the commander of the believers. To the magnificent [king] of the Byzantines.'

And its contents after the bismillah were: 'Praise be to God, overpowering is His authority, dazzling is His proof, high is His sublimity, and abundant is His beneficence'. Then it continued before saying: 'In Egypt for a number of years a group has risen in error who give the call in their name [lit. to themselves]. They deceive those who are lured to their troop, and they believe in a faith that [permits] what no one from the community of scholars in [the time of] the first Imams or in this age would permit, and [they believe that] which is not deemed right by the rational [people] among the community of Islam and unbelievers.' Then it mentioned Abū Ghālib, censured his [the emperor's] actions, and requested that he be sent under escort to Mu'izz b. Bādīs.

So he [the messenger] came to Constantine, the Byzantine pretender [*mutamallik al-rūm*], in Constantinople in Ṣafar of this year. The king received him, and he was allowed to enter. The king asked him about the Sulṭān Ṭughrilbik, so he mentioned the letter to him and requested that he break off [his alliance] with the master of Egypt, release Abū Ghālib and send Mu'izz's messenger [back] to him. So he [the emperor] said: 'The ruler of Egypt is our neighbour, and there is a covenant and truce between us and him. Two years remain of this [truce] and it is not possible to break it. As for Mu'izz's messengers and the messengers [sent] to him, they [belong to] a people that spread evil.' They exchanged words until he released Abū Ghālib and allowed him to [go to] Mu'izz. Abū 'Alī and his escort returned to Baghdad for the rest of the year.¹⁴

This account further emphasises the threat that Tughril poses to the treaty with the Byzantines. His envoy's first demand is that the emperor break his truce with the Fatimids. However, unlike in the account under 443, we are given a clearer pretext for the presence of Tughril's envoy in Constantinople. This envoy has been dispatched by Tughril in response to Mu'izz, who had sent his messenger to Baghdad. Thus the implication in this account is that Tughril is in Baghdad, yet this is some three years prior to his arrival in the city.

¹⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:223-4.

At the very least the author is alluding to an early partnership between the Abbasid Caliph and Tughril, by deliberately listing Tughril's titles (within the excerpted letter). Some of these titles were used prior to Tughril's capture of Baghdad. Ibn al-Athīr states that, in 443, Tughril had sent gifts to the Caliph as thanks for the receipt of titles, but he does not mention what those titles were.¹⁵ Of the titles listed in the *Itti'āz* excerpt, *Rukn al-Dīn* and *Ghiyāth al-Muslimīn* appear on Tughril's coinage from 442.¹⁶ I cannot, however, find any attestation for the final title 'right hand of the Caliph', which clearly articulates Tughril's close relationship to the Caliph.¹⁷ The use of excerpts from the letter should increase our scepticism. If this account was written by an Egyptian historian, then we must ask how they were able to access Tughril's letter in order to excerpt from it. It seems more likely that the narrative has been deliberately composed to emphasise Tughril's closeness to the Abbasids.

Apart from the narrative concerning Tughril's interventions in Byzantium, this account (like that of the year 443) is above all concerned with the Byzantines' role in the ideological conflict between the Abbasids and the Fatimids. This is clear from the introduction of the account, where it is claimed that the Abbasids had publicly condemned the Fatimids' lineage and beliefs in response to their treatment of an Abbasid envoy - which was facilitated by the Byzantines. It is, moreover, seen in the Byzantines' strict adherence to the Fatimid truce. The account claims that Tughril's envoys attempted to convince the Byzantines that the Fatimids' beliefs were heretical, stressing that this is agreed by 'the rational [people] of community of Muslims and unbelievers [*al-kufr*].' That is, the Byzantine emperor, as a rational person, should agree that Fatimid beliefs are wrong. The emperor, however, reiterates that he is bound by treaty, and states that he believes the messengers of Mu'izz and the Abbasids are involved in spreading evil. In other words, he is not just following the rules of the agreement, but he actually believes that the Fatimids are the better of the two parties.

¹⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:303; Peacock, *Early Seljuq*, 117.

¹⁶ Said S. Kucur, 'A study on the coins of Tughril Beg, the Sultan of the Great Seljuqs', in Carmen Alfaor, Carmen Marcos and Paloma Otero (eds), *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática* (Madrid, 2005), 1601.

¹⁷ The closest equivalents are the Ghaznavids' use of *Yamīn al-Dawla* and *Walī amīr al-Mu'minīn*. C. E. Bosworth, 'The Titulature of the Early Ghaznavids', *Oriens*, 15(1962), 217, 218.

5.2.2. The embassy of 447

The account of the year 447 appears to belong to the same narrative, by describing Tughril's further attempts to undermine the truce and giving an ideological frame to the truce with the Byzantines. At the conclusion of the 444 report, the emperor tells Tughril's envoy that the truce was still valid for two years. Sure enough, just over two years later we are told that Tughril's envoy was back in Constantinople making another, and this time more underhand, attempt to sever the truce with the Fatimids. The event is described in most detail by the *Akhbār*, *Itti'āz* and the *Khiṭaṭ*, and mentioned by Ibn Khallikān and al-Dhahabī. As with the accounts above, the *Itti'āz* shares text with the *Akhbār*, but provides more detail. The following account is taken from the *Itti'āz* (text shared with the *Akhbār* is underlined and text shared with the *Khiṭaṭ* is highlighted; differences are described in the notes):

In this year [447] al-Mustansir set in motion [against] the church of the Holy Sepulchre [kanīsat al-qumāma] and took custody of all that was within it. That was [because]: the Qādī Abū 'Abdallah al-Quḍā'ī had headed out from the Caliph [ʿs palace] with a letter for the Byzantine pretender [*mutamallik al-rūm*]. [When] he was at Constantinople, a messenger of Tughril b. Saljūq arrived, asking of the Queen Theodora [*Tuyawdūrā*]¹⁸ if his messenger might pray in the Constantinople mosque. She permitted him to do that. So he entered the mosque, prayed there,¹⁹ and gave the khutba to the Caliph al-Qā'im b-Amr Allah the Abbasid. Al-Quḍā'ī told al-Mustansir of that, and he gathered up what was in the Holy Sepulchre [al-Qumāma] and seized it. He brought out the Patriarch from it [the church] and [sent him] to an isolated house [*dār mufrida*]. He closed the doors of the churches of Egypt and Syria [*al-shām*]. He demanded that the monks pay *jizya* for four years and increased the *jizya* [demanded] of the Christians. This was the beginning of the corruption between Byzantium [al-rūm] and the Egyptians.²⁰

The *Itti'āz*, *Akhbār* and *Khiṭaṭ* all provide an account of these events that use identical words, with very few differences. Of the three, only the *Itti'āz* provides the longer

¹⁸ *Akhbār*: 'its Queen'; *Khiṭaṭ*: 'the Byzantine pretender (masculine)'.

¹⁹ *Khiṭaṭ* adds: 'the Friday prayer'.

²⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:230; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:231-2; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 17. For the Arabic see appendix E, table 3.

description of the policies against Christians in Syria and Egypt. These differences between the three variants suggest that (as with the years 443 and 443) al-Maqrīzī has copied from a text which he shares with Ibn Muyassar, rather than copying directly from Ibn Muyassar. This is further suggested by the difference in their references to Theodora. The *Akḥbār* does not provide a name, stating ‘Queen’ (see note 18), while the *Itti’āz* names the empress. This is similar to the years 443 and 444, where the *Itti’āz* is alone in naming the emperor Constantine. It seems, therefore, that Ibn Muyassar had omitted the names of the Byzantine rulers when copying from the annals, where al-Maqrīzī retained them. If we were to argue instead that Ibn Muyassar’s original text had stated ‘Theodora’, it appears strange that al-Maqrīzī would change this to ‘Queen’ when copying the *Akḥbār* into his notebook (which now forms the only surviving text of the *Akḥbār*) and then return to using ‘Theodora’ in the final text of the *Itti’āz*. It is more likely that the shared text is a result of both the *Akḥbār* and *Itti’āz* quoting from the annals. This annalistic source text might have also been accessed by Ibn Khallikān, who provided a paraphrase of this account, removing the references to the events surrounding the Christians and citing it as an example of ‘one of [Tughril’s] good works’. Text shared between this version and two of al-Dhahabī’s histories suggests that al-Dhahabī had in turn copied the account from Ibn Khallikān (rather than accessing the source text directly).²¹

The account, as it is told by Ibn Muyassar and al-Maqrīzī, continues the narrative about Tughril’s attempts to undermine the truce with the Byzantines. In this case his envoy takes a different approach. Rather than requesting that the empress break the truce, he asks her permission to pray at the mosque and then gives the Abbasid *khutba* there. It is difficult to see from this account if the empress Theodora had deliberately broken the truce with the Fatimids, or if she had been tricked by the envoy. However, under the annals for the year 446 we are told that Theodora had already refused to assist the Fatimids during the famine of that year (for the full account, see section 5.3.1 below). It, therefore, seems that the author had meant the former.

²¹ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt al-‘Ayān wa-Awbā’ Abnā’ al-Zamān*, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, (Beirut, 1968), V:66; Al-Dhahabī, *Ta’rīkh al-Islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-l-a’lām: ḥawādith wa-wafayāt*, ed. ‘Umar Tadmurī (Beirut, 1994), XXX:380; Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, ed. Shu‘ayb Arnā’ūt, (Beirut, 1996), XVIII:109.

This account is clearly framed from a Fatimid perspective. It conceptualises the relationship with the Byzantines as part of their broader ideological conflict with the Abbasids. In the years 443 and 444, the annals presented us with examples of how the Byzantines had treated the Fatimids' enemies as their own and had defended Fatimid beliefs. The year 447 account further focuses on this ideological arrangement, by making clear that the *khuṭba* in Constantinople should be given in the name of the Fatimids. The Byzantine's failure to keep their end of the bargain leads to reciprocal actions: the closing of churches and the imposition of new taxes on Christians. In addition to this, we can see a clear Fatimid perspective in the way the events are presented. All of the accounts begin with the description of churches being closed in Fatimid territories (this is the main event), before describing the events in Constantinople as a justification.

Above all, it therefore appears that these three years of the annals, as they are quoted in the *Itti'āz*, share a similar perspective: they tell a narrative of Tughril's attempts to undermine the truce with the Byzantines; and they emphasise the ideological dimensions of the Byzantine truce. It is possible that the narrative about Tughril had been written in the 450s. As I noted in chapter 4, a large part of the surviving annals appear to have been written in the 450s, after the arrest and execution of al-Yāzūrī. The accounts of 443, 444 and 447, especially those of the year 444, portray Tughril as a powerful defender of the Abbasids and a threat to the Fatimids. By 447, by which time he had entered Baghdad, this would be an accurate description. However, for the years prior to this, this appears to be an overstatement.

5.3. The conflict of 446-450

In the previous section we saw how the annals for the years 443, 444 and 447 present a clear Fatimid perspective on relations with the Byzantines. There are two components to this. First, a narrative that focuses on Tughril and his attempts to disrupt the Fatimids' truce with the Byzantines. This narrative appears to exaggerate Tughril's role, assuming that he had a close alliance with the Abbasids from the early 440s. This suggests that these parts of the annals were written in the 450s, after Tughril had seized Baghdad. Second, there is a general focus on the ideological conflict between the Abbasids and Fatimids, perhaps as a justification for the truce with the Byzantines.

There is, however, one further event in the annals that mentions the Byzantines but it does not adhere to the ideological framework described above: the conflict of 446-450.

Descriptions of this event, unlike those for the embassies of 443, 444 and 447, are also found in the SY. This conflict broke out around the time of the famine of 446. The Byzantine emperor Constantine had allegedly promised the Fatimids' a shipment of grain to help alleviate the famine. However, he died and his successor refused to send the shipment (perhaps demanding additional terms from the Fatimids). In response the Fatimids sent armies to the Byzantine frontier to persuade the empress (or emperor, depending on the account) to come to terms.²²

The annals and SY provide us with two quite conflicting accounts of the events of 446-450. The accounts of the annals continue the general focus of the annals for previous years, by omitting mention of al-Yāzūrī and focussing on the Imam-Caliph. In doing so, their account provides more detail on the military specifics of the campaign. By comparison, the SY account (as with its accounts for the Baghdad campaign) focusses on the exchange of correspondence and negotiation of new terms with the Byzantines. In this section I will draw attention to the larger narrative differences between the two texts, and argue that the conflict with the Byzantines is only partially recorded in the annals, which conclude their account in the year 447, where the SY suggests that conflict lasted until 450. This will be explained in two parts: the first part will examine the account as it appears in the annals, exploring in particular the differences between version found in the *Akhbār*, *Itti'āz* and *Khiṭaṭ*. It will argue that the *Itti'āz* preserves the most detailed quotation from the source text shared between these three works and note that this appears to provide a very partial record of the conflict. The second part will then examine the SY account, as it is told in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*, and note how it extends the narrative until 450.

²² The conflict has been described in fewer studies and the variations between the primary accounts has largely been overlooked. For example: Thierry Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination Fatimide (349 – 468/969 – 1076) Tome premier* (Damascus, 1986), 566-8; Franz Dölger and Peter Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565-1453*, 2, (Munich, 1995), 32; Thomson, *Politics and power*, 116; Brett, *Fatimid empire*, 192-3. Beihammer has, however, noted the inconsistencies in the dates given by the sources: Beihammer, *Emergence*, 100-1. Halm is the only author to cite the *Muqaffā*: Halm, *Die Kalifen*, 381-382.

5.3.1. The annals and the conflict of 446-450

The annalistic account is found in three texts: Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* (under the year 446), the *Khiṭaṭ* (under a section on the famine in Egypt), and the *Itti'āz* (under the year 447, with a brief reference under the year 446). The usage of the annals in the year 446 of the *Itti'āz* is similar to the Baghdad case study, where a small a fragment taken from the annals is mixed with the SY. The annalistic account can be broken into two parts. The first part, dated to the year 446, appears to offer a summary of the whole conflict. It is given in most detail in the *Khiṭaṭ* (underlining indicates text shared with the *Akḥbār*):

As for the 'great calamity', the reason for it was that the prices increased in Egypt in the year four hundred and forty-six, and famine and epidemic followed. So the Caliph al-Mustanṣir bi-Allah Abū Tamīm Ma'add b. al-Zāhir li-l'zāz Dīn Allah Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī asked the Byzantine pretender in Constantinople to send grain to Egypt. So he released four-hundred thousand ardabb [of grain], and determined on sending it to Egypt.

[But] death overtook him and he died before that. A woman rose to rule after him. She wrote to al-Mustanṣir asking that he assist her and support him with Egyptian armies should anyone rebel against her. He refused to support her in her request and she was angry at that. She prevented the grain from passing into Egypt.

Al-Mustanṣir was furious and he dispatched armies, [commanded] by Makīn al-Dawla al-Ḥasan b. Mulhim. They [the armies] went to Latakia and made siege to it, because of the breaking of the truce and the preventing of the grain from arriving in Egypt. He [then] reinforced the army with many armies.²³ [Ibn Mulhim] made a summons in the territories of Syria to raid [Byzantium]. Ibn Mulhim stopped close to Apamea and harassed its people.

He [then] roamed around the provinces of Antioch, he took prisoners and he plundered. So the master of Constantinople²⁴ dispatched eighty ships by sea. Ibn Mulhim fought

²³ This appears to be a summary of the original text. Ibn Muyassar states the clearer: '[al-Mustanṣir] added a second army and a third army.' As will be seen below, the SY echoes this narrative.

²⁴ The *Akḥbār* writes: 'Queen of Constantinople'.

them [the ships] a number of times. They defeated him and captured him and a large group [of men] in the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal²⁵ of this year.²⁶

The *Akḥbār* and *Khiṭaṭ* both agree that the famine of 446 had led the Fatimids to request help from the Byzantine emperor. They moreover agree on many of the events that follow. However, the *Khiṭaṭ* is much more detailed and precise than the *Akḥbār*. This is seen in particular in the first two paragraphs. For example, where the *Khiṭaṭ* is clear that the empress had asked for Byzantine help against potential rebels, the *Akḥbār* writes a more vague: 'She wrote to al-Mustaṣṣir asking for help should anyone rise up against her.' Note in particular that this abbreviated version prefers to write 'rise up against her [*qāma ʿalayha*],' where the *Khiṭaṭ* states: 'rebel against her [*thāra ʿalayha*].' In one case, the *Akḥbār* is more precise, writing that three armies were dispatched against the Byzantines (see note 23). This suggests that the *Akḥbār* and *Khiṭaṭ* are quoting from the same source text, but that the *Khiṭaṭ* retains more detail.

Al-Maqrīzī appears to use the same source text in the year 446 of the *Ittiʿāz*, but only very partially. As is noted below, this year relies heavily on the SY for its account of this exchange with the Byzantines. The part that is most clearly related to the above account is given at the end of the year, and is as follows (underlining indicates text shared with the *Akḥbār*, and highlighting text shared with the *Khiṭaṭ*):

As for Ibn Mulhim, when he penetrated into Byzantium, approached Apamea, and
moved freely in the territories of Antioch, plundering and taking prisoners, ships
arrived²⁷ from Constantinople and they say their number was eighty ships. There were
battles between them and Ibn Mulhim which eventually resulted in his capture and [the
capture of] a group of Arab notables at the end of Rabīʿ al-Ākhar.²⁸

From the amount of shared text, it appears that this report has been adapted from the same source as that used in the *Akḥbār* and the *Khiṭaṭ*. There is one case where text is only

²⁵ Ibn Muyassar claims Rabīʿ al-Ākhar

²⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:231-2; Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 16. To compare the original texts, see appendix E table 2.

²⁷ The use of the passive has potentially enabled al-Maqrīzī to change the account from "she [Theodora] dispatched ships [*qaddamat qaṭāʾi*]" (as it appears in the variant in the *Akḥbār*, see note 24) to "the ships were dispatched [*quddimat qaṭāʾi*]." It might alternatively be read as an active form I: "the ships arrived [*qadimat qaṭāʾi*]."

²⁸ al-Maqrīzī, *Ittiʿāz*, II:229.

shared with the *Khiṭaṭ* (mentioning the capture of the notables), suggesting once again that al-Maqrīzī is copying from a source text that he shares with Ibn Muyassar, rather than copying directly from the *Akḥbār*.

Under the year 447 of the *Itti'āz* we are presented with another version of the events described by the *Akḥbār* and the *Khiṭaṭ*. This describes one part of the campaign in much greater detail:

In this year, Makīn al-Dawla al-Ḥassan b. 'Alī b. Mulhim went out from Cairo with armies. He made a summons to the territories of Syria to raid and fight jihad. Rāshid b. 'Aliyān b. Sinān was called to Cairo. [But] it was decided that he would march with his Kalbid tribesmen with Ibn Mulhim, and [that] he would then be arrested. The Kalbid emirate was tied to the [tribe of the] Nabihān or, it is said, to the Sinān.

Ibn Mulhim stopped at Apamea. Then he came to the fortress of Qusṭūl and he made siege to it for twenty days until he took it by treaty [bi-amān] on the eighth of Rabī' al-Awwal [four-hundred] and forty seven. He returned to Apamea, made siege to it and assaulted it with mangonels. They requested a treaty [*amān*] stipulating that he would leave them. When he left they burned the fortress and fled. So he caught up with them, killed them, and had the fire in the fortress extinguished.

He raided the country, and there was no one in Antioch to defend it. All those who wanted to plunder gathered together under the authority of Ibn Mulhim. Thimāl b. Sāliḥ [the ruler of Aleppo] mediated for peace, but it was not concluded. Queen Theodora [Tuyawdūrā] dispatched a fleet to Antioch, and eighty ships arrived at Latakia. The Duke [Dūqas] of Antioch, its patriarch and a group [of people] left. They caught two warships [*shīnī*] belonging to the Muslims, carrying booty. Ibn Mulhim went towards them [the group that fled Antioch] and the Byzantines [al-rūm] fled to the border of Antioch. He [Ibn Mulhim] rescued the prisoners [of war] from them and killed a great number of them [the enemy]. The fleet turned to Tripoli and fought its people, and people were killed on both sides. The Byzantine fleet [*al-ustūl al-rūmī*] returned to Latakia. Queen

Theodora [Tuyawdūrā] died after seven years, nine months and twelve days of rule, and Michael [Mīkhā'il] ruled after her.²⁹

This account expands significantly on the events described in the central part of the 446 account in the *Akhbār* and the *Khiṭaṭ* (and briefly noted in the *Itti'āz*). The former account described how Ibn Mulhim had been sent to Syria, had summoned locals to join his cause, and briefly added that he had raided Apamea and the region around Antioch before being arrested. For these two battles the *Itti'āz*'s account under the year 447 is much more detailed. It describes how Apamea was attacked and gives the date that it submitted to Ibn Mulhim (incidentally, in the same month that the *Akhbār* gives for Ibn Mulhim's arrest). It, moreover, describes exactly where the Byzantine ships were dispatched, and what happened in the region surrounding Antioch. In short, the description under the year 447 appears to be an elaboration of some of the events described under the year 446 in the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz* and attributed to the year 446 in the *Khiṭaṭ*.

This repetition of information might derive from the annals that the *Akhbār*, *Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz* had all copied. The year 446 marked the beginning of the famine and the dispute with the Byzantines. The annals might have briefly summarised the whole campaign from start to finish under that year. This would explain why al-Maqrīzī confusingly describes the end of the campaign (and Ibn Mulhim's capture) under the year 446 of the *Itti'āz*, before then returning to describe how Ibn Mulhim had left Cairo in 447 to attack Apamea and Antioch.³⁰ The account of the year 447 focusses on the fighting around Apamea and Antioch and notes the dispatch of eighty ships (all briefly noted in the 446 summary), but it does not describe Ibn Mulhim's capture. This gives the impression that the conflict stretched beyond 447. This is further suggested in the hesitance that al-Maqrīzī has about who had captured Ibn Mulhim. Ibn Muyassar states that the 'Queen' (that is, Theodora) had done so. By comparison, the *Khiṭaṭ* states the 'master of Constantinople'. If Ibn Mulhim were captured after 447, then this would be after Theodora's death (which al-Maqrīzī recounts under the year 447) and under the rule of the emperor Michael. This might explain why al-Maqrīzī opted to use the passive for describing the 'arrival' of ships (rather than stating who

²⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:230-1.

³⁰ Brett has instead stated that Ibn Mulhim was arrested around 447 and then released after the empress Theodora's death around 6 months later. Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 192.

dispatched them) under 446 (see note 27), and the emphasis in the *Khiṭaṭ* that Ibn Mulhim fought the ships ‘a number of times’ before being captured. It is difficult to know whether Ibn Muyassar or al-Maqrīzī’s variants are closer to the original Fatimid annals, but it is clear that there was some confusion about when Ibn Mulhim had been captured.

If we accept the conflict continued after 447, this would explain the dispatch of Khaṭīr al-Mulk to Latakia described under the year 448 (which was discussed in section 4.1.1 above). The accounts in the *Akḥbār* and *Khiṭaṭ* make clear that the Fatimids had made siege to Latakia as part of this campaign. Moreover, Ibn Muyassar states ‘[al-Mustanṣir] added a second army and a third army’ (see note 23). Khaṭīr al-Mulk’s campaign might have been one of those reinforcing expeditions. The anti-Yāzūrī bias of the 448 report, however, obscures these objectives and the annalistic account instead dwells on the boxes of herbs that Khaṭīr al-Mulk had carried on the campaign to furnish his table.³¹ The annals for the conflict might, therefore, stretch over at least three years. The year 446 provides an introduction and overview of the campaign; 447 describes the events on the frontier; and 448 notes Khaṭīr al-Mulk’s reinforcement of the armies at Latakia. This longer-term view of the dispute is reflected in the accounts that are provided in the SY.

5.3.2. *The SY account of the 446-450 conflict*

In the SY’s description of the conflict of 446-450, the military activity described in the annals is depicted as a tool used to motivate the Byzantines to redraw their truce with the Fatimids. This revision of the agreement is described through the use of lengthy quoted exchanges between the Fatimids and the Byzantines, which stresses al-Yāzūrī’s personal role in the negotiations. Moreover, the SY states that the negotiations had gone on until al-Yāzūrī’s death, and it therefore implies that the conflict had lasted until 450.

The SY account of the 446-450 conflict is quoted in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti’āz*, and both versions of the account are nearly identical. In chapter 3, I quoted the *Muqaffā*’s account of the Baghdad campaign as it seems to provide the least altered variant. In this case the differences between the two accounts are less stark. There are five passages where the *Muqaffā* adds a few small details (passages 129, 130, 131, 137 and 140). Of these the difference in 140 is greatest, where the *Muqaffā* provides a less-confused account of the

³¹ Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 18; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti’āz*, II:233-4 (passage 158).

arrangement surrounding the Byzantine *jizya* (for details, see the note in table 1 below). The *Itti'āz* slightly rearranges the account, moving two passages from earlier in the biography (129 and 130), which provide the longer-term context for Fatimid relations with the Byzantines. Moreover, the *Itti'āz* adds a few passages of text that are not found in the *Muqaffā*'s version. These details might have been added from other sources, but it is unclear.

As the *Itti'āz* adds these additional details, I will provide a translation from this text, noting differences with the *Muqaffā*. The *Itti'āz* provides the entire SY account under the year 446. The SY (as it is quoted in the *Muqaffā*) claims that this is the year in which the famine began but no other dates are given in the account itself. It seems that this has informed al-Maqrīzī's decision to situate the whole account under the year 446 of the *Itti'āz*. This contrasts with the accounts of the Baghdad campaign, where al-Maqrīzī uses information from other sources (chiefly the *Kāmil*) to better understand the chronology and split the SY between the years 448 and 450 (for a discussion, see chapter 3). This suggests that al-Maqrīzī had no other sources with which to corroborate the account of the Byzantine conflict. Table 1 below gives a translation of the full account as it is given in the *Itti'āz*.

*Table 1. The SY account of the conflict of 446-450, according to the al-Maqrīzī's Itti'āz. Underlining indicates text shared with al-Maqrīzī's Muqaffā, bold indicates material that is unique to the Itti'āz, and differences are noted in a separate column.*³²

Passage no.	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Differences in the <i>Muqaffā</i> and notes about source usage.
129	When a treaty was settled with Constantine king of the Byzantines, during the days of <u>the vizierate of Abū Naṣr al-Falāhī</u> [r. 436-440], <u>two messengers</u> arrived. <u>One of them was the spokesman and translator. He was shrewd, well-bred, a poet, a grammarian, and a</u>	This is found earlier in the <i>Muqaffā</i> 's biography and is used to introduce

³² Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:227-230; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:383-384 (passages 129 and 130), 387-389 (remaining passages).

Passage no.	<i>Ittī'āz</i>	Differences in the <i>Muqaffā</i> and notes about source usage.
	<u>philosopher</u> . <u>He was born in Byzantium, and grew up in Antioch</u> . He entered Iraq and learned the sciences and <i>ādāb</i> ³³ so much that his reputation travelled far. ³⁴ He was <u>known as Ibn Iṣṭafānūs</u> .	the famine and narrative concerning the <i>matjar</i> .
130	The other was the bearer of the gift , and he <u>was a commander [ṣāhib al-harb] known as Mīkhā'il</u> . They saw [in Egypt] <u>the excellent shape of the [Fatimid] state and its beautiful "way of life"</u> . They were amazed at that, <u>especially Mīkhā'il, who was pleased</u> with what he saw and it left a good impression on him. They left, and their hearts were full of love for what they saw. The king of Byzantium [then] died [<i>ittafaqa</i>] ³⁵ and <u>this Mīkhā'il</u> was made king.	This is found earlier in the <i>Muqaffā's</i> biography and is used to introduce the famine and narrative concerning the <i>matjar</i> . There are notable differences, especially in the final lines: 'That filled him with delight, and he was excellent and rational. So when the two returned

³³ That is, he learned sciences in the classical Islamic sense (meaning also subjects such as theology), alongside the literary arts.

³⁴ Although the meaning of the *Ittī'āz* and *Muqaffā* is the same here, the phrasing is entirely different.

³⁵ Al-Maqrīzī's rendition in the *Ittī'āz* here clearly contains a copying error. Al-Maqrīzī's '*ittifaqa malik al-rūm*' should be read '*ittifaqa mawt malik al-Rūm*' (lit. the death of the king of Byzantium happened). This reading is confirmed by the variant in the *Muqaffā*.

Passage no.	<i>Ittī'āz</i>	Differences in the <i>Muqaffā</i> and notes about source usage.
		to their country, the fates decreed that the Byzantine pretender [<i>mutamallik</i>] would die, and this Michael was made king after him. He ruled the kingdom for around five years.'
131	He <u>was informed of the inflation</u> [of grain prices] <u>in Egypt</u> . So <u>he transported 100,000 <i>qafīz</i></u> of grain to there [Egypt]. <u>His letter arrived ahead of it [<i>amāmahā</i>]</u> <u>itemising the grain and the measure [of it] which [would] be received</u> when it arrived. It [the grain] reached Antioch, and <u>he prepared the gift of the truce</u> , as was customary, ³⁶ <u>and a gift of his money</u> . <u>When the Byzantines saw that, they thought he had an inclination towards Islam, so they killed him</u>	adds: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> that Mīkhā'īl transported the grain because of his love for the Fatimid state. that the gift of the truce was also prepared.
132	on the eighth of Shawwāl [446], and the length of his reign was twelve years and seven months. He was 54 years and a month old.	Unknown source
133	<u>They raised a man known as Ibn Saqlārūs, from Antioch [<i>min ahli Antākiyya</i>]</u> . <u>He was unyielding, evil and sharp.</u>	adds:

³⁶ Here the *Muqaffā* appears to abridge the account. *Ittī'āz*: "alā mā jarat bi-hi al-'āda'; *Muqaffā*: "ala al-'āda'

Passage no.	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Differences in the <i>Muqaffā</i> and notes about source usage.
	<p>So he obstructed the [dispatch of] <u>the two gifts</u>, seized them [<i>akhadhahumā</i>], and said: 'I will make use of them, and <u>expend the cost of the two on fighting the Muslims.</u>'</p> <p>The vizier [al-Yāzūrī] had spies in Constantinople, and <u>they wrote to him about that</u>. So he sent Makīn al-Dawla, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Mulhim al-Kutāmī to Latakia <u>with an army</u> to make siege to it, and harass those in it.</p>	'He made the summons to the territories of Syria to raid Byzantium.'
134	<p>So he put it [the city] under siege <u>until matters worsened</u> for those in it. <u>So Ibn Saqlārūs, the Byzantine pretender, wrote to</u> his highness <u>asking him to explain what had necessitated that [attack on Latakia]</u>. He replied <u>that it was necessitated by that which he had done, breaking the treaty that had been agreed with his predecessors, and seizing the gift and the gift that was not of his money.</u></p>	Writes 'al-Mustansir' in the place of 'his highness'
135	<p><u>He replied that he would convey the gift, [but] on the condition that he [al-Mustansir] released Byzantine prisoners in his territory.</u> So [al-Mustansir] replied that if <u>he released those Byzantine prisoners they had in the territory of Islam</u>, he [Ibn Saqlārūs] should release the <u>Muslim prisoners in Byzantine territories.</u></p> <p><u>He [Ibn Saqlārūs] replied that it was not right to ask for that, because prisoners from Byzantium were divided between kingdoms in Iraq, the Fatimid state, the</u></p>	

Passage no.	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Differences in the <i>Muqaffā</i> and notes about source usage.
	<p><u>Maghrib, Yemen, and elsewhere. His highness had no authority over all of these kingdoms, so that he could [not] be asked to return what was in the hands of their people. In Byzantine territory it was otherwise. Muslims that were there were like [people] imprisoned in one 'house' and could not leave without the permission of its community. Between the two situations there was a big difference.</u></p>	
136	<p><u>So he [Ibn Saqlārūs] replied that he would release the prisoners of the Muslims in his country. Then it was given as a condition that he [Ibn Saqlārūs] returned those Muslim fortifications that had come to be in Byzantine hands. [Ibn Saqlārūs] refused that and said: 'When those Byzantine fortifications that have come to be in Muslim hands, are surrendered to us, the Muslims' fortifications in our [lit. their] hands will be surrendered.'</u></p> <p>He [al-Yāzūrī] substituted <u>the army with another army</u>. It left with its <u>commander al-Amīr al-Sa'īd Layth al-Dawla</u>. He fought in <u>Latakia</u> until he captured it, and violence occurred in it [the city].</p>	
137	<p><u>[Meanwhile] the reply was made that it was not correct to surrender to them [the Byzantines] the fortresses in Muslim hands, because they had built inalienable properties³⁷ there and established gardens there.</u></p>	<p>adds:</p> <p>'So it was not proper to surrender [the fortresses] to him,</p>

³⁷ *Muqaffā*: 'properties'; this may be an error for 'aqārāt 'inalienable properties'.

Passage no.	<i>Ittī'āz</i>	Differences in the <i>Muqaffā</i> and notes about source usage.
		for the Muslims there would become <i>dhimīs</i> .'
138	He said: they <u>would be paid</u> for their <u>properties</u> , ³⁸ and for the gardens that they had established and other [things] and for what they had expended there. And they would be transported from there to other [places] <u>in Muslim territory. So they agreed</u> that they would surrender <u>what Muslim fortresses were in their possession.</u>	
139	<u>It was the custom that when a gift arrived from Byzantium to his highness it[s value] would be assessed, and they would convey to them a gift</u> that was two-thirds of the value of [the original gift], so that a third would come to Islam. It was made a condition that <u>the value of the gift that the [Fatimids] sent to them in exchange for the value of their gift, should be half.</u> They also agreed to that.	
140	It was made a condition upon them [the Byzantines] that they returned [the taxes of] ³⁹ <u>all of those gathered by the house of the country [dār al-bilād], which is the abode of the king and his centre. He [Ibn Saqlārūs]</u>	The meaning appears much clearer there: 'The vizier made it a condition that he

³⁸ The variant in the *Muqaffā* confirms that the verb *dafa'a* should be read as 'to pay', rather than 'to force out/ to move' – 'He replied that he would pay to them the price of their properties.'

³⁹ The variant in the *Ittī'āz*, omits the word *jizya*, which is found in the *Muqaffā*, and it is somewhat misleading. It might be read as a return of high-profile Fatimid prisoners in Constantinople, but the following passages in the *Ittī'āz*, which refer openly to the return of money, render this reading impossible. As such I have opted to insert tax into the translation here.

Passage no.	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Differences in the <i>Muqaffā</i> and notes about source usage.
	<u>refused that</u> . So the army was reinforced with a third army.	conveyed to him the <i>jizya</i> of all those gathered by the Praetorium [<i>dār al-balāṭ</i>], which is the abode of the king, the centre of his rule, and his place.' ⁴⁰
140	Over it were two commanders: Muwaffaq al-Dawla Ḥifāz b. Fātik and Abū al-Jaysh 'Askar b. al-Ḥillī. The <i>amīr</i> Makīn al-Dawla commanded the whole army and the holder of the office [lit. its custodian] was Ibn Mulhim.	Unknown source
141	<u>They penetrated deep into Byzantium, they plundered, killed and took prisoners</u> until the damage there increased. Messengers and <u>letters</u> went back and forth [<i>tataraddadu</i>] until it was agreed to <u>arrange the <i>jizya</i></u> , which the princes [lit. <i>amīrs</i>] of the Praetorium had solicited . And the gift was prepared. The aforementioned <i>jizya</i> <u>was estimated at over thirty-thousand <i>dīnārs</i></u> .	States that it was al-Yāzūrī's arrest rather than death that prompted the return of the <i>jizya</i> .

⁴⁰ The passage could be interpreted in two ways: The first, that al-Yāzūrī asked for the Byzantine court to pay a symbolic *jizya*, as a sign of their subjugation to the Fatimids. The second is that al-Yāzūrī wished to receive back-payments of *jizya* tax for the territories that were being returned by the Byzantines to the Fatimids. For another text, Stern translates *jizya* as 'tribute', but here I have kept *jizya* to preserve the connotations of subjugation: Stern, 'An Embassy of the Byzantine Emperor to the Fatimid Caliph Al Mu'izz', *Byzantion*, 20(1950), 258. El-Cheikh asserts that *dār al-balāt* should be read as the praetorium: El-Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed*, 146.

Passage no.	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Differences in the <i>Muqaffā</i> and notes about source usage.
	<p><u>That was conveyed to Antioch</u>, [when] they heard of the death of al-Yāzūrī. <u>So [the gift/jizya] was returned to Constantinople. Byzantium [bilād al-rūm] was decorated for his death</u> and they were very happy to be freed from his roughness towards them, and from his unyieldingness.</p>	
142	[As noted above, the account concludes with a quotation from the annals, which will not be repeated here].	

The SY provides a complex picture of a multi-staged campaign that involved protracted negotiations with a Byzantine named Ibn Saqlārūs. It most clearly differs from the annals in terms of names: it names the first emperor Michael instead of Constantine and refers to the second as Ibn Saqlārūs instead of Theodora. Nonetheless, it is clear that this is describing the same set of events as appears in the annals for the year 446 and 447. The commander Ibn Mulhim features prominently in both accounts, and both state that one of the main targets was Latakia. The *Akhbār* states under the year 446 that armies were sent to the Byzantine frontier in three stages. In the SY we are also told of three separate armies but are informed in this case at which stages of the negotiations that the armies were dispatched. On the whole, the account in the SY confirms the impression that this was a campaign that occurred over a long period of time. The SY, in fact claims that the negotiations had failed because of al-Yāzūrī's death, and this would mean the conflict ended at the start of the year 450.

5.4. The annals and SY compared

In the above sections we have seen how the annals and SY deal differently with the Fatimids' exchanges with the Byzantines in the 440s. There are accounts under the years

443, 444 and 447 that clearly provide a narrative of Tughril's interventions in Constantinople and his attempt to sever the Fatimids' truce with the Byzantines. Above all, however these accounts stress the role that the Byzantines played in the Fatimids' ideological conflict with the Abbasids and in doing so underline the importance of the truce. The emphasis on Tughril suggests that these accounts were composed in the 450s. By contrast, the account of the conflict of 446-450 in the annals does not mention either Tughril or the confrontation with the Abbasids. It is instead concerned with the conflict on the Byzantine frontier. This is mirrored by a much more detailed account in the SY, which stresses how the fight against the Byzantines was used to renegotiate the truce between the two parties. Although the annals are less detailed, they seem to provide evidence that the conflict on the frontier stretched beyond 448 (when Khaṭīr al-Mulk was sent to Latakia). This is confirmed by the SY, which claims that the negotiations came to an abrupt halt with the death of al-Yāzūrī in 450.

The dating of this final conflict with the Byzantines matters because it has profound implications for how we read the differences between the annals and SY, especially their differing perspectives on Byzantine rulers in the period. Although the annals' accounts of the 446-450 conflict do not focus on the same ideological conflict as the accounts found under the years 443, 444 and 447, all of the annals accounts share a similar agenda and provide the same perspective, particularly on the names of Byzantine rulers in the 440s. This contrasts with the agenda and perspective of the SY, and this section will closely compare the two accounts and discuss their access to sources. There are number of key differences between the SY and annals accounts. Table 2 provides an outline of these differences.

Table 2. Features of the SY and annals accounts compared.

Area	SY	Annals
Shared protagonists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al-Mustaṣṣir • Ibn Mulhim • Michael 	
Unique protagonists (non-Byzantine)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al-Yāzūrī • Layth al-Dawla (commander) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mu'izz b. Bādīs • Abū Ghālib al-Shayzarī (Abbasid envoy)

Area	SY	Annals
Unique protagonists (non-Byzantine) – continued	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ḥifāz. b. Fātik (commander) • Abū al-Jaysh ‘Askar b. al-Ḥillī (commander) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abū al-Qāsim b. ‘Abd al-Raḥman (Mu‘izz’s envoy) • Tughril • Abū ‘Alī b. Kabīr (Tughril’s envoy) • Qāḍī Abū ‘Abdallah al-Quḍā’ī (Fatimids’ envoy) • Rāshid b. ‘Aliyān b. Sinān • Thimāl b. Šāliḥ
Unique protagonists (Byzantine)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ibn Iṣṭafānūs • Ibn Saqlārūs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Constantine • Theodora • ‘Duke of Antioch’
Events shared between accounts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dispute with a ruler of Byzantium over failure to provide aid • The attack on Latakia 	
Unique events to each account	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Correspondence with emperor and negotiations. • Raid ‘Deep into Byzantium’ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tughril’s embassy of 443 • Tughril’s embassy of 444 • Incident in the mosque at Constantinople • Siege of Qusṭūl • Attack on Apamea • Attack in region of Antioch

Area	SY	Annals
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Byzantine use of navy
Dates covered	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 446 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 443, 444, 446, 447
Agenda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pro-Yāzūrī Pro-secretarial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anti-Tughril Military-focussed

As can be seen from table 2, each source type focuses on entirely different protagonists. This is in part indicative of the agenda of the source. Crucially, the annals entirely exclude al-Yāzūrī from their accounts, instead naming the Imam-Caliph al-Mustanṣir. This reflects how the annals were written primarily from the perspective of the court, where the SY was written to praise al-Yāzūrī. However, it is particularly noticeable how the annals and SY name different Byzantine rulers for the 440s. This section will argue that this is evidence that the authors of the annals and SY had used different sources. I will compare the annals with the SY in three parts: Part one will focus on the differences in agenda. It will note how the annals and SY have a similar agenda to that seen for the Baghdad campaign, but they focus less on al-Yāzūrī's legacy. Part two will then explain how the accounts differ in their identification of Byzantine rulers. This part will argue that each source type presents a close representation of Byzantine politics (as it is told in Greek sources) and that the differences between the source types shows that the SY was describing the coup of Isaac I Komnenos, where the annals were not. Part three will then examine the one clear error in the SY's perspective on Byzantine rulers. That is, the claim that Michael VI Bringas was ruling in the early 440s rather than Constantine. This error is found in another Fatimid source, *The Book of Gifts and Rarities*, and can provide insight into either the author of the SY or the sources that the author was using.

5.4.1. Differences in the agenda of the annals and SY

In the study of the Baghdad campaign, it was argued that the annals were written in at least two stages: first in the 450s and second around the 460s. Both stages criticised al-Yāzūrī for his role in the Baghdad campaign, but the first represents criticisms that were made immediately after his death, and the second longer-term criticisms spread by Badr al-Jamālī.

It was also suggested that we should consider another earlier stage: annals written in the 440s but modified, where necessary, to suit the 450s agenda. The annalistic accounts of exchanges with the Byzantines appear to belong to this latter category. They present no overt anti-Yāzūrī agenda, simply omitting him from the narrative, but they do add an anti-Tughril perspective. The annals above all provide well-informed accounts centred on al-Mustanşir. In the previous chapters, we emphasised that the SY presented not only a pro-Yāzūrī, but also a pro-secretarial account of the Baghdad campaign. Similar is seen in the accounts of the 446-450 conflict, but the pro-Yāzūrī elements are less emphatic.

As was argued above, the years 443, 444 and 447 of the annals provide accounts that place significant stress on Tughril's attempts to sever the Fatimids' truce with the Byzantines, and that this perspective was probably written in 450s, after Tughril had seized Baghdad. This is further reflected in the accounts of the 446-450 conflict with the Byzantines. It was noted above that the account under the year 446 appeared to summarise a much longer campaign that stretched until 448 and might have concluded in 450. It is likely, therefore, that the summary under the year 446 was written in the 450s. However, unlike the accounts of the Baghdad campaign, there is no clear anti-Yāzūrī agenda, instead a greater focus on Tughril and his influence in Byzantium.

Aside from this anti-Tughril agenda, the annals focus on the importance of the Byzantine truce for the Fatimids' ideological confrontation with the Abbasids. This agenda is not, however, seen in the annalistic account of the conflict of 446-450. Overall the accounts taken from the annals all share an Imam-Caliph oriented perspective on events. As was noted in section 4.3.2, the year 447 of the *Akhbār* describes the beginning of the Baghdad campaign giving al-Mustanşir as the main protagonist, omitting al-Yāzūrī. Similar is seen across the annals' accounts of exchanges and conflicts with the Byzantines. Although al-Yāzūrī was the vizier during the period of all of these exchanges, he does not feature in any of these accounts and we are instead told that al-Mustanşir was directing affairs.

By contrast, the SY tells the narrative of the 446-450 conflict from a pro-Yāzūrī and pro-Secretarial perspective. In the case of the Baghdad campaign we saw how the SY version of events was chronologically arranged to give additional credit to al-Yāzūrī and describe al-Yāzūrī as the pivot for the campaign. That is, with al-Yāzūrī the campaign succeeded and without him it failed. He was portrayed as being directly responsible for the victory at Sinjār,

and at the conclusion of the account it was stated that his death prevented him from bringing the Abbasid Caliph to Cairo to submit to Fatimid rule. Similar is seen in the account of the conflict with Byzantium. In the account it is stated that it was the 'vizier's' decision to dispatch armies to Latakia (passage 133), and in the *Muqaffā*'s version of the account it is stated that al-Yāzūrī had sent the reinforcements (passage 136).

It is not made clear who is responsible for corresponding with the Byzantine emperor. This contrasts with the Baghdad campaign, where it is claimed al-Yāzūrī was directly corresponding with Tughril. In the latter case the SY was responding to the accusations made against al-Yāzūrī and claims of his disloyalty. To absolve al-Yāzūrī, the correspondence had to be written by him, stressing his personal commitment to the Fatimid cause in his own words. By comparison, the SY account of the 446-450 conflict simply emphasises that al-Yāzūrī had been pivotal in the negotiations. At the end of the account we are told that the Byzantines reneged on their truce because of al-Yāzūrī's death (or dismissal, according to the *Muqaffā* variant). The variant in the *Itti'āz* makes clear the Byzantines were happy to hear of the vizier's death because they had found al-Yāzūrī 'unyielding' – presumably in his negotiating strategy (passage 141). The overall impression is that al-Yāzūrī had been leading the campaign, which had forced the Byzantines to agree to terms that were very favourable to the Fatimids. It is further implied that without al-Yāzūrī those terms could not be enforced.

In chapter 4, it was also noted how the SY account of the Baghdad campaign placed significant emphasis on the role played by correspondence and the organisation of spies, as opposed to the specifics of military activity. The same is seen in the SY account of the conflict with the Byzantines. While this account certainly mentions military campaigns, it situates these expeditions as a part of a broader negotiating strategy. According to the SY, when al-Yāzūrī's spies told him that the Byzantines had intercepted the grain shipment, he sent an army to Latakia (passage 133). The siege of Latakia forced the Byzantines to open negotiations. When those negotiations reached an impasse, reinforcements were sent and Latakia captured (passage 136). The negotiations then continued until the emperor refused a certain condition, and a third army was sent (passage 140). The SY, therefore, provides a narrative of how the armies on the frontier were used strategically to force the negotiations with the Byzantines.

The details of these expeditions are relatively short (in complete contrast to the descriptions of the expeditions around Apamea and Antioch found under the year 447 of the *Itti'āz*). Considerably greater detail is found in the SY's outline of correspondence between the Fatimids and the Byzantines, which treats the minutia of the negotiations. On one hand, these details serve a pro-Yāzūrī agenda, as they reveal how the terms that were negotiated were favourable to the Fatimids. On the other hand, this is not like the correspondence written to Tughril during the Baghdad campaign, where the primary goal was to absolve al-Yāzūrī from blame. In this case, we should view the authors' decision to include lengthy correspondence as part of a strategy to underline the importance of secretarial work for negotiating a favourable truce with the Byzantines. That the author of the SY is able to provide such detail, however, suggests that they had privileged access to sources relating to the negotiations.

5.4.2. *Factual disagreements between the annals and SY*

There is one major area in which the factual parts of the sources clearly disagree: their identification of Byzantine emperors during the 440s. The politics of Byzantium in this period would not have been simple for Egyptian authors to understand, especially if they were writing from a chronological distance, or from a limited set of sources. From the start of the decade, the Byzantine emperor was Constantine IX Monomachus, who had become emperor in 433, ruling jointly through his wife Zoe and sister-in-law Theodora.⁴¹ When he died in 446, he was succeeded by Theodora, who ruled until her death in 448. Theodora was then succeeded by Michael VI, who was overthrown in a coup by Isaac I Komnenus in 449.⁴² As Jonathan Shepard has remarked, owing to these rapid political changes, this is a period of Byzantine politics for which the Greek sources are already quite poor – there are, for example, significant gaps in our knowledge about Isaac I's rebellion.⁴³ The 446-450 conflict occurred amidst this rapid political change in Byzantium and this had impacted how our sources name their rulers.

The annals appear to provide a uniform understanding of Byzantine rulers until 447 that corresponds to the Greek record. Under the years 443 and 444 the annals, as they are

⁴¹ Kaldellis, *Streams*, 201.

⁴² Kaldellis, *Streams*, 213-9.

⁴³ Jonathan Shepard, "Isaac Comnenus' Coronation Day," *Byzantinoslavica*, 38(1977), 22-31.

quoted in the *Itti'āz*, it is stated that the emperor who received the envoys was Constantine [*Qusṭanṭīn*]. In the year 447, the *Itti'āz* states that empress Theodora [*Tuyawdūrā*] had allowed Tughril's envoy to pray in the Constantinople mosque (the *Akhbār* writes 'Queen [*Malika*]'). In addition, the *Itti'āz* concludes the year 447 by stating:

Queen Tuyawdūrā [Theodora] died after seven years, nine months and twelve days of rule, and Mīkhā'il ruled after her.⁴⁴

The length of the reign might not be read as a complete error. Constantine had ruled jointly with his wife Zoe and her sister Theodora from 433 and then after Zoe's death in 442, Constantine continued his rule jointly with Theodora. Neither of these regnal lengths (either 14 or 5 years) would match the 7 years, 9 months given by the *Itti'āz*, but the longer reign indicates that al-Maqrīzī's source text was aware of that Theodora had ruled jointly with Constantine (this is reflected in other Arabic texts, as is noted below). Regardless of these small differences, the *Itti'āz* is also clearly aware that Theodora was succeeded by an emperor Michael.

Of the texts that quote from the annals, the *Itti'āz* is the only source that provides the names Theodora (Tuyawdūra) and Michael (Mīkhā'il) and we are therefore presented with two conclusions. Either al-Maqrīzī added these details from another source, or he copied them directly from the annals. Al-Qalqashandī provides us with an idea as to the state of knowledge in al-Maqrīzī's time. In a Byzantine king list in his *Ṣubḥ*, he claims the following:

[The Byzantines] had Constantine rule over them and they married him to Theodora [Nadūra] in the year four hundred and thirty-four. Then the aforementioned Constantine died in the year four-hundred and forty-six. Armānūs [Romanos] was made king over the Byzantines [*al-rūm*], and that was the beginning of the Seljuk state, and he left for the countries of Islam. Alp Arslān marched out towards him from Azerbaijan and defeated him, resulting in his capture.⁴⁵

Firstly, it is worth noting that al-Qalqashandī believes Constantine had ruled through marriage to Theodora. As noted above, Constantine had actually become emperor through his marriage to Theodora's sister, Zoe, and the three had ruled jointly. This misconception is

⁴⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:231.

⁴⁵ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, 5:401.

also shared by Ibn al-Athīr,⁴⁶ and it is possible that this represents a broader confusion in the Arabic texts. Al-Qalqashandī also provides the correct dates for Constantine's rule (from 434 until he died in 446). However, this is where the similarities with the *Itti'āz* end. Al-Qalqashandī provides a different spelling for Theodora (*Nadūra*, rather than *Tuyawdūra*), and he does not describe her succession. Instead, he moves immediately to the rule of Romanos, and his famous defeat by Alp Arslān at the battle of Manzikert in 463. For al-Qalqashandī, the succession to Constantine and the emperors that followed are a blank. Al-Maqrīzī, therefore, seems to have a unique knowledge of names of the Byzantine emperors and it is likely that he has adopted this information from the annals with which he was working. If this is the case, then the annals were aware of Constantine, Theodora and Michael and of these they associate Theodora with the conflict of 446-450.

The SY provides a very different view to the annals. It is a perspective that at first glance would appear to contradict the Greek record, but I will argue that it represents a record of the revolt of Issac I, as viewed from the frontier. The SY states that during the vizierate of al-Falāhī (r. 436-440) two Byzantine envoys had come to Cairo, one called Ibn Iṣṭafānūs and another called Michael [Mīkhā'il]. The latter is described by the SY as a *ṣāhib al-ḥarb* (*commander/master of war*). We are told Michael was made emperor and it is he who agreed to send grain to the Fatimids in 446. He was, however, killed by his people (allegedly because of his affection for Islam). The people then elevated a man named Ibn Saqlārūs, from among the people of Antioch, and it is he who was engaged in the subsequent negotiations with the Fatimids. The SY account seems to be viewing a slightly later period, after Theodora's death. It states that Michael was a *ṣāhib al-ḥarb* and that he was usurped by the populace who put Ibn Saqlārūs in his place. One of the titles of Michael VI Bringas (Theodora's successor) was *stratitikos*, for which a close equivalent in Arabic might be *ṣāhib al-ḥarb*.⁴⁷ It is, moreover, true that Michael was overthrown, but by Isaac I rather than Ibn Saqlārūs.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:319.

⁴⁷ Kaldellis, *Streams*, 215; Charles Brand, 'Michael VI Stratitikos,' In *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (Oxford 1991), <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780195046526.001.0001/acref-9780195046526-e-3533>, (accessed 20 December 2020).

⁴⁸ Beihammer has argued for reading Michael in these accounts as Michael VI. Beihammer, *Emergence*, 101.

It then remains to explain why the SY believes that Michael was overthrown by an Ibn Saqlārūs. There is one Saqlārūs known to the Arabic tradition, and that is Bardās Saqlārūs (Greek, Bardas Skleros), who had led a revolt against the Byzantines and fled to Baghdad in the late fourth century.⁴⁹ Bardas' grandson, Romanos Skleros, is known to have been a key collaborator in Isaac I's coup against Michael.⁵⁰ Moreover, according to the sigillography, Romanos had been Duke of Antioch until around 446, at which point he disappears from the Greek record.⁵¹ It is possible, therefore, that the SY is describing a localised component of Isaac I's coup and that the Fatimids were in fact negotiating with one of Isaac's collaborators on the frontier. The SY, therefore, provides an alternative perspective to the annals that suggests it had utilised different sources.

5.4.3. The authorship of the SY

The two different perspectives in the annals and the SY appear to provide snapshots of different periods in Byzantine history. The *Itti'āz* covers the period up to the reign of Michael VI and is aware of the reigns of both of his predecessors Constantine and Theodora. It seems likely that the *Itti'āz* has adopted this information directly from the annalistic source that it shares with Ibn Muyassar's *Akhhbār*, and that this potentially represents the view of the Fatimid annals written around the 450s. The SY, by comparison, describes the coup that had deposed Michael VI, attributing it to the frontier governor Romanos Skleros (Ibn Saqlārūs), a collaborator in the revolt of Isaac I. This view, moreover, agrees with the SY's broader narrative that would have the conflict stretch from the 446 until around 450 (Isaac's coup concluded in Jumāda al-Ākhira, 449).⁵²

⁴⁹ Kaldellis, *Streams*, 96-7; Yahya al-Antākī, *Ta'rikh al-Antākī, al-Ma'rūf b-Ṣala Ta'rikh Awtikhā*, ed. 'Amr 'Abd al-Salām Tadmurī (Trabulus, 1990), 141 (first reference to Bardās Saqlārūs).

⁵⁰ Kaldellis, *Streams*, 217.

⁵¹ V. Laurent, "La Chronologie des Gouverneur D'Antioche sous la Seconde Domination Byzantine," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph*, 38(1962), 242-3; Blaum simply claims Skleros was replaced sometime around Constantine IX's death, P. A. Blaum, 'Diplomacy Gone to Seed: A history of Byzantine Foreign Relations A.D. 1047-57', *The International Journal of Kurdish Studies*, 18(2004), 37. Felix stresses that Romanos was duke of Antioch just prior to the dispute with the Fatimids, but strangely he does not associate him with Ibn Saqlārūs of the Arabic sources: W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1981), 120, n. 224. For more on Romanos's career: Werner Seibt, *Die Skleroi: eine prosopographisch-sigillographische Studie* (Wien, 1976), 76-85.

⁵² The difficulty with this reading is Ibn Mulhim's capture of Aleppo at the end of Dhū al-Qa'da 449. There are two explanations: One, Ibn Mulhim, seized Aleppo as part of the conflict on the Byzantine frontier and then returned to the region of Antioch and was captured in early 450. Two, Ibn Mulhim was taken earlier in the conflict and the dispute on the frontier continued. Neither the *Akhhbār* or *Khiṭaṭ* variants state that Ibn

There is, however, one remaining error in the account of the SY. It claims that Michael was made emperor sometime after an embassy to the vizier al-Falāhī, and it does not mention Constantine IX. In addition, the *Itti'āz* version of the SY claims Michael had reigned for twelve years and seven months and was aged 54 and a month when he died. This is almost identical to the Greek reckoning for the reign of Constantine IX.⁵³ This information is unique to the *Itti'āz* and it is entirely possible that al-Maqrīzī had copied it from elsewhere. However, the notion that Michael had been in power in the early 440s is shared with another source, whose Fatimid origin is well-established, the *Book of Gifts and Rarities*. The *Book of Gifts* is a unique record of embassies exchanged with the Fatimids, and items found in the Fatimid treasuries, often resulting from these exchanges. Although the surviving version of this work is a ninth-century copy, it is derived from a contemporary Fatimid work, compiled during the mid-fifth century by an individual close to the Fatimid state. This is seen most clearly in the oral reports contained in the work attributed to prominent contacts in the Fatimid court.⁵⁴

The *Book of Gifts* only mentions the Byzantines when the author was aware of embassies or the exchange of gifts. There are two references to Byzantine emperors that date to the relevant period. The first mentions gifts sent by an emperor Constantine:

In the year 437, Constantine, the Byzantine emperor [*malik*], sent a gift to al-Mustanşir bi-Allah, as he corresponded with him regarding the renewal of the armistice for ten years, which would end in the year 447. At that time the vizier was Abū Naşr Şadaqa b. Yūsuf al-Falāhī, and the administrator of the state was Abū Sa'd Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Tustarī the Jew.⁵⁵

Although the SY does not name the emperor Constantine at any point, this anecdote appears to refer to the first embassy noted in that account (passages 129 and 130). There it

Mulhim's capture had brought the conflict to a close. Ibn Mulhim might then have been released around the time of Isaac's assumption of power. In either case, we must be cautious of the SY's manipulation of chronology (see in particular its dating of the battle of Sinjār to 450, noted in section 3.3.2 above). On the capture of Aleppo: Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 194; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:235. Aleppo was often a keystone in Byzantine-Fatimid relations, see: Wesam Farag, 'The Aleppo question: a Byzantine-Fatimid conflict of interests in northern Syria in the later 10th century', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 14(1990), 44-59. On the date of Isaac's coup: Kaldellis, *Streams*, 219.

⁵³ Michael Attaleiates, *The History*, trans. Anthony Kaldellis and Dimitris Krallis (Cambridge, Mass, 2012), 91.

⁵⁴ Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts*, 13.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 108–9

is stated that envoys were sent during the vizierate of al-Falāḥī. The dating of this anecdote agrees with the Greek tradition. The second refers to an emperor Michael, and in this case the text diverges from the Greek tradition and the annals:

In the year 444, when al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yāzūrī was vizier, Michael, the Byzantine emperor, sent magnificent gifts to al-Mustanṣir bi-Allāh, along with an envoy of his who proceeded by sea to Tinnīs, where I saw them all.⁵⁶

This agrees with the SY that emperor Michael was in fact on the throne before 446, rather than Constantine. The two texts thus appear to share the same confused narrative that misdates the reign of Michael VI. In the anecdote, it is unclear if the first person ‘I’ should be attributed here to the compiler of the text, or one of his informants. However, either would imply that this perspective had emerged close to the court, among an official who had been involved in the exchange itself.

From these similarities, it might be suggested that the *Book of Gifts* and the SY share the same author. This is unlikely. As has been noted in both this and the previous chapter, the SY is explicitly pro-Yāzūrī, responding to criticisms of his rule. The compiler of the *Book of Gifts* appears less willing to ignore the negative facets of al-Yāzūrī’s reign. In two different places, he refers to a case where al-Yāzūrī had allegedly stolen ‘a pomade container [*madhan*] of ruby’ from a daughter of the Caliph al-Mu‘izz, following her death. In the first case, the compiler states that the item was found when al-Yāzūrī was arrested.⁵⁷ In the second, he simply notes: ‘It was said that al-Yāzūrī had stolen it.’⁵⁸ This anecdote was evidently an integral part of the original compilation, as the first case is also copied into al-Maqrīzī’s *Khiṭaṭ*, which quotes extensively from the original *Book of Gifts*.⁵⁹ These claims appear very similar to those found in the 450 annals concerning the Baghdad campaign and seem to represent the broader attempts at court to discredit al-Yāzūrī.

It is more likely, therefore, that the SY and *Book of Gifts* share a source text, or that the author of the SY was also an informant for the *Book of Gifts*. Although the compiler of the *Book of Gifts* does not give an informant for either anecdotes about Constantine or

⁵⁶ Ibid, 110

⁵⁷ Ibid, 224.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 240.

⁵⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:374.

Michael's embassies, elsewhere he states: '[Khaṭīr al-Mulk] had told me at an earlier date that the Byzantine Emperor Michael had offered the Lady, mother of al-Imām al-Mustaṣir bi-Allāh, jewellery.'⁶⁰ It seems, therefore, that some anecdotes about an emperor Michael had been transmitted by a Khaṭīr al-Mulk.

As was noted in section 4.1.1, Khaṭīr al-Mulk was the title given to a son of al-Yāzūrī, and the annals make clear that Khaṭīr al-Mulk had assisted al-Yāzūrī in his roles at state. It is possible then that in the earlier anecdote it is Khaṭīr al-Mulk who is stating in first-person that he had been sent to Tinnīs to act as an intermediary and receive the gift sent by Michael. Khaṭīr al-Mulk is certainly a good fit for the author of the SY. According to the annals he had been dispatched to Latakia in the year 448. It is possible that he might have been involved in the negotiations that the SY describes in such detail. Moreover, as I noted in chapter 4, he was caught up in the criticism against his father and probably had good reason to defend him in the 450s. However, if this were the case, it is perhaps odd that Khaṭīr al-Mulk is himself entirely absent from the account. The SY does not defend him, only mentioning a son of al-Yāzūrī as Ṣafī al-Mulk, and it is unclear whether this is the same son.⁶¹ It is, therefore, equally possible that the SY had relied on Khaṭīr al-Mulk as one of its sources and adopted the misattribution of Michael from there. Whichever way, it seems that the perspective of the SY is taken from an individual who was closely involved in exchanges with the Byzantines.

Conclusions: a detailed and well-informed perspective

This study of the Fatimids' exchanges with the Byzantines in the 440s confirms and builds upon my findings for the historiography of the Baghdad campaign discussed in chapters 3 and 4. In chapter 4 I argued that there were two different records of the Baghdad campaign. There are the annals (preserved in Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*), which could be broken into a least two phases: annals written in the 450s and those written in the 460s, where both phases have a clear anti-Yāzūrī agenda. The second source is the SY (preserved in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*, and al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*), which provides a pro-Yāzūrī account that focuses on the role of secretaries and spies in events.

⁶⁰ Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts*, 114–5

⁶¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:238–9; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:399–400 (passages 190, 191 and 198).

In the annals for the Byzantine exchanges of the 440s there is no clear anti-Yāzūrī agenda, but there is a concern with Tughril and his attempts to undermine the Fatimids' truce with the Byzantines. This is clearly seen in the annals for the years 443, 444 and 447, and it suggests that there is a unified narrative between these years as they appear in al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. For the Baghdad campaign, I found that the annals and SY share a concern for the expansion of the Seljuks into Syria. However, in the case of exchanges with the Byzantines the role attributed to the Tughril appears to be exaggerated, suggesting that he was representing Abbasid interests in Constantinople as early as 444. This suggests that the annals were at the very least revised in the 450s to align with the concerns of that period (in the same way that we saw the annals for 448 modified to reflect negatively on al-Yāzūrī's role in the Baghdad campaign). Apart from this focus on Tughril, the accounts under the years 443, 444 and 447 are most concerned with how the Byzantines played a role in the Fatimids' confrontation with the Abbasids, perhaps in order to justify the truce.

The SY provides no account of the exchanges of 443, 444 and 447, and it instead focusses on one conflict with the Byzantines, which began around the year 446. In the annals this conflict with the Byzantines is summarised under year 446 (as it is quoted in Ibn Muyassar's *Akhhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*), and an episode from the campaign is described under the year 447 of al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. The annals focus on the fight on the Byzantine frontier and in particular the report under the year 447 describes particular details of the campaign. By comparison, the SY describes in detail the negotiations with the Byzantine emperor that accompanied the fighting at the frontier. Above all, comparison between the SY and annals suggests that conflict lasted well beyond 446, perhaps as late as 450.

The annals and SY differ significantly in their accounts, and both adopt different agendas. The account of the 446-450 conflict provided by the annals does not mention the confrontation with the Abbasids, but like the accounts of the exchanges of 443, 444 and 447, it ignores al-Yāzūrī and treats al-Mustaṣṣir as the main actor in each event. This is similar to the account of the Baghdad campaign under the year 447, which also ignores al-Yāzūrī's role in inviting al-Basāsirī to ally with the Fatimids. As with the Baghdad campaign, the SY adopts a pro-Yāzūrī stance, stressing his pivotal role in forcing the Byzantines to submit. In this case, however, the pro-secretarial stance is also very strong, and the author

appears to describe the negotiations with the Byzantines to underline the importance of the negotiations themselves, rather than al-Yāzūrī's role within them.

Most crucially the annals and SY provide apparently conflicting information on Byzantine rulers in this period. This is largely because the annals focuss on the period up to Theodora's death, where the SY concentrates on the coup of Isaac I, which it attributes to a collaborator named Ibn Saqlūrūs. However, the SY also suggests a much longer reign for Michael VI than the annals, and this error suggests that the SY had access to a very particular source. The *Book of Gifts* is the only other text to repeat this error, and this text relied upon the testimonies of al-Yāzūrī's son Khaṭīr al-Mulk. This suggests that the SY had either been written by Khaṭīr al-Mulk or had relied upon him as a source. This is a compelling thesis because the annals claim that Khaṭīr al-Mulk had been sent to Latakia in 448 and might have had a first-hand perspective on the events and negotiations described in the SY. Whether Khaṭīr al-Mulk is the author or simply a source for the SY, this underlines how the SY uses unique information to form its accounts and suggests that it can be read as more than just a pro-Yāzūrī text.

The most striking feature of the accounts referenced in this chapter is their level of detail. This contrasts significantly with the Baghdad campaign, where I argued that authors had a very limited understanding of the events of the campaign. By contrast, the annals and SY detail specific embassies, campaigns and terms of negotiation for exchanges with the Byzantines. On one hand, this possibly speaks to the continued importance of the Byzantines in the 440s, the Fatimids' closest neighbour. On the other, it highlights how the Baghdad campaign and al-Yāzūrī's perceived role within it had dominated the historiography in the 450s, leaving very little material that was not openly pro or anti-Yāzūrī. The next chapter will examine a case where both the annals and SY provide limited information on events: the Ṣulayḥid expansion in Yemen. In this case it is not surprising that authors might have had poor access to material. Consequently, the small amount that is written in the SY can provide significant insight into the historiography of the period and the role of the *da'wa* within it.

Chapter 6. ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s Yemeni rebellion: the absence of the Fatimid annals and the unique perspective of the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī*

Introduction

During al-Yāzūrī’s vizierate the Fatimids began to establish a permanent outpost in Yemen under ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī. The Ṣulayḥid dynasty that ‘Alī founded in this period would come to have a crucial importance for Fatimid relations with Yemen and the Indian Ocean long after al-Yāzūrī’s death, most crucially during the vizierate of Badr al-Jamālī (r. 467/1074-487/1094). This is evidenced most clearly in the collection of surviving *sijillāt* that exclusively concern correspondence sent between Cairo and members of the Sulayḥid dynasty.¹ These letters underline the importance of the *da‘wa* in Yemen during the mid-to-late-fifth and early-sixth centuries. Yet, there appears to be no clear annalistic record of the emergence of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty under ‘Alī in the 440s and 450s. By comparison, the SY appears to contain one of the few contemporaneous records of the beginning of ‘Alī’s conquests and this chapter will argue that this informs us about the sources used by the author of the SY.

As has been argued above, the SY was written around the mid-450s, while the annals were written in at least two phases (in the 450s and 460s). In the case discussed in chapters 3 and 4 the annals could be found as they were written in the 450s (in the form of an anti-Yāzūrī critique) and an additional layer of critique that developed in the 460s could also be identified. In the case discussed in chapter 5, it was noted that the surviving parts of the annals are much more detailed, and evidence could be found in this case for annals written in the 450s. Unlike the annals for the Baghdad campaign, these accounts did not contain an anti-Yāzūrī bias. The case study discussed in this chapter is an example of where the annals either do not provide a record or have been lost. This will provide some insight into the priorities of the author of the annals in the 450s as compared to the author of the SY.

This does not mean that we have no record for ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s expansion. On the contrary, there is a detailed account by the Yemeni author ‘Umāra al-Yamanī. This account focusses on mainly the expansion of the 450s, which does not appear to be taken from the Fatimid

¹ For the full collection see: *Al-Sijillāt al-Mustaṣhiriyya*; their contents are outlined in Hamdani, ‘Letters’.

annals. I will argue here that the bulk of Egyptian authors depend on this one account of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s conquests. Alongside this account, some Egyptian authors provide a fragmentary record of events in Yemen in the 450s that does not appear to have been taken from the annals. The *Muqaffā*, *Itti’āz* and *Khiṭaṭ* provide one sole report of ‘Alī, dating to the 440s. This short account is derived from the SY and this is seen in its focus on al-Yāzūrī and on secretarial work. The content and language found in the SY’s account, however, suggests that it is (like the SY’s accounts of the conflict with the Byzantines) derived from a source close to the court.

This chapter will be given in four parts. Part one will introduce the modern historiography of ‘Alī’s career, identify the problems with the sources, and outline the basic relationship between the extant histories. Part two will examine the lack of annalistic accounts for ‘Alī’s career, through a comparison of Ibn Muyassar’s *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī’s *Itti’āz*, before then looking to the pivotal role played by a Yemeni history, ‘Umāra al-Yamanī’s *Mufīd fī Akhbār Zabīd*. Part three will then identify the few cases where it appears that medieval historians have not used the *Mufīd*, underlining the importance of the years 452 and 455 in these fragmented accounts. Part four will bring the discussion back to the historiography of al-Yāzūrī’s vizierate, by examining the account of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī in the SY. The specific details of this account when compared to the other fragmented Egyptian accounts of ‘Alī’s career further suggests that the author of the SY was well-connected to the Fatimid court.

6.1. ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s conquests and the Egyptian historiography

The expansion of the Ṣulayḥid dynasty in Yemen is noted across the historiography, including by Ibn al-Athīr, but it is described at most length in the Egyptian and Yemeni sources. It is from a combination of these sources that the conventional narrative is derived. The first part of this section will outline ‘Alī’s career as it is described in the modern historiography and introduce the problems with the surviving accounts. The second part will then outline the stemmatic relationship between the sources, underlining the importance of the *Mufīd* for most narratives of ‘Alī’s life.

6.1.1 ‘Alī’s career and the historiography

‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī is a significant individual in any history of the Fatimids or the Ismā‘īlīs. Although the Ismā‘īlīs had established a base in Yemen from an early period, little is heard of

their presence in the region until the beginning of the al-Ṣulayḥid dynasty.² ‘Alī managed to expand the influence of Ismā‘īlism from the hills of central Yemen to the coast until he controlled much of the region and pronounced the *khuṭba* on behalf of the Fatimids in Mecca. The dynasty that ‘Alī founded would come to be a major ally of the Fatimids in their attempts to control the Red Sea and expand the *da‘wa* into Oman and India. It would, moreover, become the basis of the Ṭayyibī Ismā‘īlī community that continued to occupy Yemen for centuries after the Fatimid Imamate had fallen. ‘Alī’s career is, therefore, described as a key moment in all major histories of the Ismā‘īlīs and the Fatimids.

Modern historians typically describe ‘Alī’s career as follows: ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī began his career in the region of Ḥarāz, influenced at an early age by a Fatimid *dā‘ī* named Sulaymān b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Zawāḥī. In 429 ‘Alī built a fortress for his supporters on Jabal Masār and began to expand his power to Sanaa and then the coastal region of Tihāma. In Tihāma he confronted the Najāḥid dynasty, whose ruler he had poisoned in 452, allowing him to conquer the region until he had control of all Yemen by the year 455. However, in the year 459, ‘Alī was attacked and killed by the Najāḥid heir Sa‘īd al-Aḥwal as he was making pilgrimage to Mecca.³ In this narrative, there are two key points of disagreement. Some sources date the beginning of ‘Alī’s rebellion to 439, rather than 429.⁴ Moreover, the date of his death is also given (in this case quite widely) as 473.⁵ Logic dictates that the earlier date of 459 should probably be accepted, as his son Aḥmad al-Mukarram appears in accounts of events in the 460s, probably as ‘Alī’s successor. In addition, the last *sijill* addressed to ‘Alī is dated to 456, after which they are addressed to al-Mukarram.⁶

Apart from these disagreements it is clear that the main part of ‘Alī’s expansion occurred in the 450s. It is for this reason that these events are rarely discussed in the context of al-

² Daftary, *Ismā‘īlīs*, 208.

³ Daftary, *Ismā‘īlīs*, 208-9; Daftary, ‘Da‘wa’, 79-80; Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 197-8, 201.

⁴ See the editor’s note in: ‘Umāra al-Yamanī, *Ta’rīkh al-Yaman al-Musamma al-Mufīd fī Akhbār Ṣan‘ā’ wa-Zabīd wa-Shu‘rā’ wa-Mulūkuha wa-a’yānuha wa-udabā’uha*, ed. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Akwā’ al-Ḥawālī, second edition (Cairo, 1976), 101, n. 2, who corrects the manuscript to 439. Compare Henry Cassels Kay (ed. and trans.), *Yaman its Early Medieval History by Najm al-Dīn ‘Umāra al-Ḥakamī also the abridged history of its dynasties by Ibn Khaldūn and an account of the Karmathians of Yaman by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Baha ad-Dīn al-Janādī* (London, 1892), 17. All further references to ‘Umāra will use the 1976 edition and ‘trans.’ will be used to indicate Kay’s translation of the text. As Sayyid notes, Idrīs gives both dates, but claims that 439 was correct: Idrīs, ‘*Uyūn*’, 18. See also note 64 below.

⁵ This is noted in: G. R. Smith, ‘Sulayḥids’, *EI2*. For attestation in the primary sources see: table 2, passage 24 below.

⁶ Hamdani, ‘Letters’, 310-311 (a full list of the *Sijillāt*, their dates and addressees).

Yāzūrī's vizierate. This narrative, however, leaves more than a ten-year gap between the revolt on Jabal Masār and the first dated record of conquest of 452 (the beginning of expansion into the Tihāma). There are no clear dates for 'Alī's conquests inland that preceded these events, including the capture of Sanaa, the city that would become his capital. The *sijillāt* confirm that the Fatimids were corresponding with 'Alī during this period and secretaries in Cairo were probably receiving updates on his expansion. However, the surviving historiography does not describe this earlier period of his career.

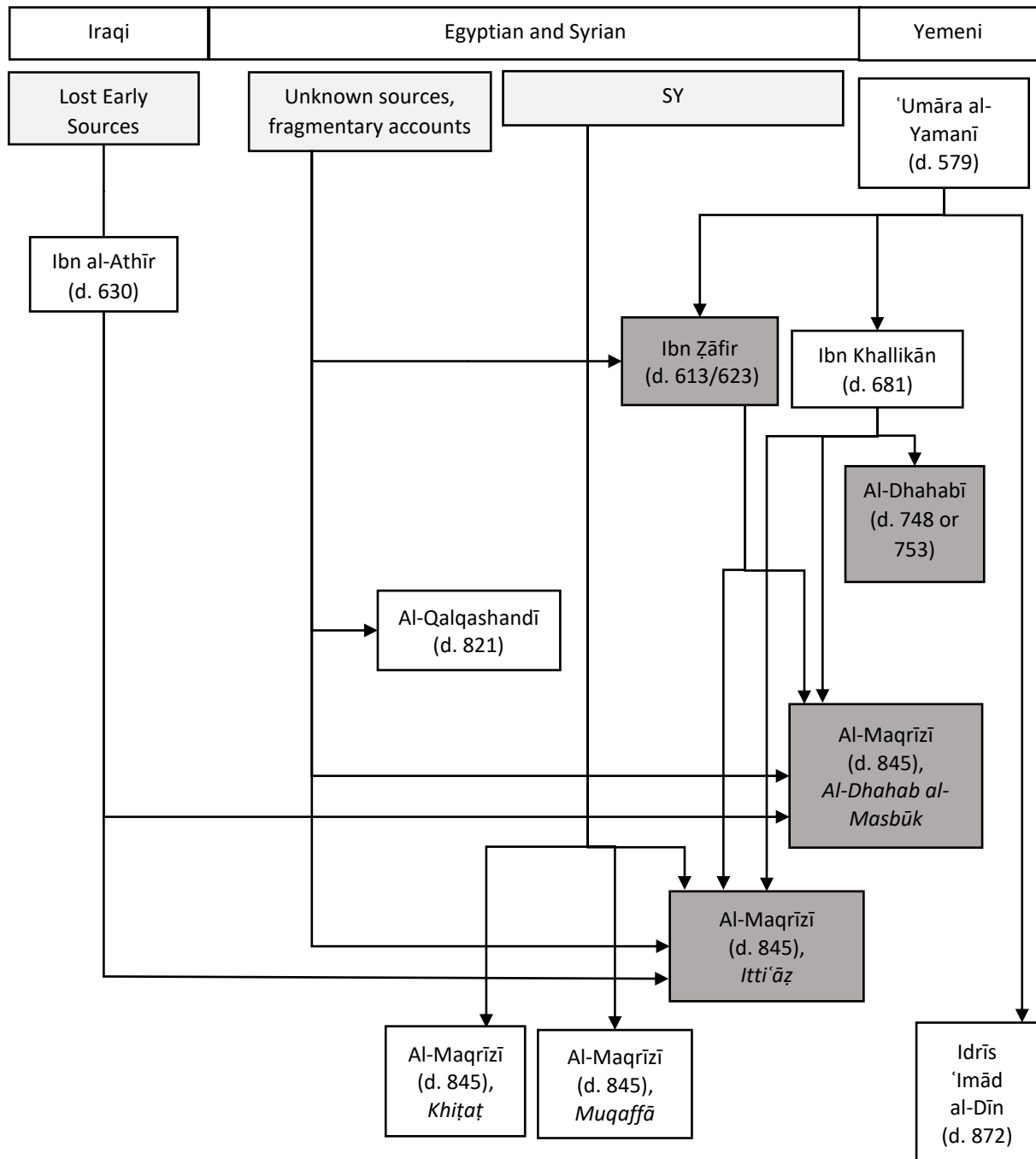
6.1.2 A stemma of the surviving historiography

It was argued in the previous chapters that the bulk of the accounts of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate were written in the 450s, and they largely reflect contemporary concerns. The campaign to capture Baghdad was remembered in the Egyptian sources to either praise or condemn al-Yāzūrī's role in the campaign. The exchanges with the Byzantines were remembered to either praise al-Yāzūrī and the secretarial class or to describe the Fatimid-Abbasid confrontation in the context of recent Seljuk expansion. Concerns about the Seljuk expansion would continue to animate the historiography for the next two decades, but beyond this period there was no clear impulse to continue re-writing the history of the Baghdad campaign or the 440s exchanges with the Byzantines. By contrast, the case of 'Alī and the Ṣulayḥids concerns the foundation of a community and it is remembered in detail in the longer term, especially in the Ismā'īlī Ṭayyibī community in Yemen. This is seen in the lengthy account of Ṣulayḥid history in Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn's *Uyūn al-Akḥbār*.

However, even the *Uyūn al-Akḥbār* relies heavily upon one Sunnī text (in addition to other Ismā'īlī sources, such as *Sijillāt*). That text is 'Umāra al-Yamanī's *Mufīd fī Akḥbār Zabīd*, a text written by a Yemeni but composed in sixth-century Egypt. The *Mufīd* is the main source used by Egyptian, Syrian and Yemeni authors and it, therefore, informs all modern narratives of 'Alī's career.⁷ The dominance of this source is seen in the stemma below (figure 1).

⁷ Idrīs, *Uyūn*, 16-17 (Sayyid's introduction).

Figure 1. A stemma of the relationship between sources for ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s career. Light grey indicates lost texts and dark grey texts with multiple sources.



As can be seen from figure 1, the *Mufīd* is the main source used across the corpus. It is quoted directly in Ibn Zāfir’s *Akhbār al-Duwal*, Ibn Khallikān’s *Wafayāt* and Idrīs ‘Imād al-Dīn’s *Uyūn*. As will be explained below, al-Dhahabī’s *Siyar*, al-Maqrīzī’s *Itti‘āz* and his *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk* copy from the *Mufīd* through an intermediary text (the former author

using the *Wafayāt* and the latter the *Akhbār al-Duwal* and *Wafayāt*). In the above two case studies, the *Itti'āz* combined different sources into one account. Similar is found in this case. 'Alī's career is described under six years of the *Itti'āz* (429, 443, 452, 455, 459 and 493) and of these the years 443 and 455 appear to use a composite of sources. For the year 443 he used the *Akhbār al-Duwal*, *Wafayāt* and SY; for 455, he used the *Kāmil* and an unknown early source. Under the year 459 of the *Itti'āz*, although there is no text shared with the *Kāmil*, both texts provide a similar perspective on events.

Attention should finally be drawn to the broader silence of the Egyptian tradition on 'Alī's career in Yemen. Where in the previous two case studies, Ibn Muḡassar's *Akhbār* and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* provided important evidence of the annalistic tradition, they do not in this case. The *Akhbār* only discusses the Ṣulayḥids in the context of the sixth century and the *Nihāya* does not refer to the Ṣulayḥids. There are five further texts that provide narratives entirely uninfluenced by the narrative provided in the *Mufīd*. Al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ* focuses more heavily on 'Alī's enemy, the Najāḥids, and the *Akhbār al-Duwal* and *Itti'āz* give small fragments that appear to be derived from an Egyptian tradition. Meanwhile, al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ* and *Muqaffā* use only the SY, which describes an event surrounding 'Alī in the 440s. Above all, any account that is not related in some way to the *Mufīd* is short and lacking in detail. It will be argued that this fragmented Egyptian tradition suggests that there was no mention of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī in the annals.

6.2. The annals, Umārā al-Yamanī's *Mufīd* and the Egyptian historiography

The standard narrative of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī's career appears to be based largely upon one source, the *Mufīd*. This narrative contains significant disagreements and entirely ignores events within the 440s. Moreover, those Egyptian sources that do not rely upon the *Mufīd* are few and provide short and fragmented accounts of 'Alī's career. It is, therefore, essential that we understand in detail 'Umārā's own use of sources and exactly how his account is reused in the Egyptian historiography. This section will examine the state of the annalistic tradition for 'Alī's career, before then looking at 'Umārā's source usage and his importance for the broader Egyptian historiography. This will be discussed in three parts: part one will examine the annals through a comparison of the *Akhbār* and the *Itti'āz* and argue that the annals expressed no interest in Yemen in the 450s, preferring to account the pivotal changes that were occurring in Cairo at the time. This led al-Maqrīzī to rely on other texts that used

‘Umāra’s *Mufīd* as their source. Part two will present ‘Umāra’s account and argue that while he presented the account as one based on Yemeni sources, it is possible that he had also used Egyptian texts. Part three will then look at the significance of ‘Umāra’s *Mufīd* for the later historiography of ‘Alī’s career.

6.2.1 *Ibn Muyassar’s Akhbār and the annalistic accounts*

In the previous two case studies I have argued that Ibn Muyassar’s *Akhbār* primarily relies upon the Fatimid annals for his accounts. These parts of the *Akhbār* share text with the *Nihāya* and *Itti’āz*. This section will compare the *Akhbār* with the *Itti’āz* and argue that the author of the annals for the 440s and 450s had little interest in documenting ‘Alī’s career. As was noted in the previous chapters, for the years of al-Yāzūrī’s vizierate and those years that follow, the *Akhbār* and *Itti’āz* share an annalistic source text, from which the *Itti’āz* typically quotes in more detail. The *Itti’āz* sometimes mixes this source text with other sources (for example, under the year 450 it was mixed with Ibn al-Athīr’s *Kāmil* and the SY).⁸ In the *Itti’āz*, material related to ‘Alī appears to be appended to text copied from the annals. This is seen when one compares the *Itti’āz* and *Akhbār*.

The *Itti’āz* refers to ‘Alī under the years 429, 443, 455, 459 and 493. The year 429 is not found in the surviving copy of the *Akhbār*, and so in this case it is not possible to compare use.⁹ For the remaining years there is a significant amount of text shared between the *Akhbār* and the *Itti’āz*, which suggests a shared source text, but in most of these cases the material on ‘Alī in the *Itti’āz* is appended after this shared material. Table 1 provides a summary of the events that appear under each year and whether these events are shared with the *Akhbār*.

⁸ See section 3.2 above.

⁹ For al-Maqrīzī’s account see, al-Maqrīzī, *Itti’āz*, II:187.

Table 1. A comparison of the years 443, 452, 455, 459 and 493 in the *Akḥbār* and *Itti'āz*. Bold indicates that words are shared with the text. Shaded rows indicate events concerning 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī. (for a full comparison, see tables 1, 10, 11, 12 and 13 in appendix E).

Year	Brief summary of event (shading identifies events related to 'Alī and Yemen)	Parallel in <i>Akḥbār</i> (number indicates order)	Text shared with other sources ¹⁰
443 ¹¹	1. The Byzantines' interception of an Abbasid envoy (passage 79)	1	
	2. The reasons for Mu'izz's rebellion and the Fatimid response (passages 75-77, and passages 81-85)	2 (using only annals)	<i>Muqaffā</i>
	3. The fight against and defeat of the Banū Qurra (passages 87-101)	3 (using annals instead of SY)	<i>Muqaffā</i>
	4. Events in Sicily (passages 102-106)		<i>Muqaffā</i>
	5. Summary of 'Alī's career up to 450 (passages 107-109)		<i>Muqaffā</i> <i>Akḥbār al-Duwal</i> <i>Wafayāt</i>
452 ¹²	1. Campaigning in Syria in response to events in Aleppo.	1 (less detailed)	
	2. Dismissal of Abū Faraj al-Maghribī as vizier	2	
	3. Dismissal of 'Abd al-Ḥākim as chief qāḍī	3	
	4. Arrival of a gift from Mu'izz b. Bādīs		

¹⁰ Ibn Zāfir, *Akḥbār al-Duwal*, 71-73; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:411-413; al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:376-383; Ibn al-Athīr, VIII:380; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XVIII:361. Appendix F, tables 2 and 3, compares with the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and *Wafayāt*, and appendix A with the *Muqaffā* (passages 75-109).

¹¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:214-222; Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 14-15.

¹² Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:259-261; Ibn Muyassar, *Akḥbār*, 26-27.

Year	Brief summary of event (shading identifies events related to ‘Alī and Yemen)	Parallel in <i>Akhbār</i> (number indicates order)	Text shared with other sources ¹⁰
	5. A letter arrives from ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī asking permission to conquer the Tihāma		<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>
	6. Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ b. Mirdās comes to Aleppo (somewhat repeating matters described in 1 above)		
	7. A chandelier fell in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem		
455 ¹³	1. Appointment and dismissal of Abū ‘Alī b. ‘Abd al-Karīm as vizier and chief qāḍī.	1	
	2. Death of the vizier Abū al-Mufaḍḍal.	2	
	3. Return of Abū Aḥmad al-Ḥassan as vizier and chief qāḍī, his dismissal and replacement by Abū al-Ḥassan ‘Alī.	3	
	4. Appointment of Badr al-Jamālī as <i>walī</i> of Damascus.	4	
	5. ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī concludes his conquest of Yemen and makes pilgrimage to Mecca.		Small similarities in the <i>Siyar</i> and <i>Kāmil</i> (year 459).
459 ¹⁴	1. Detailed account of some of the events of the <i>fitna</i>	1 (much less detailed)	
	2. Two men are released from their imprisonment		

¹³ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz*, II:268-269; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 33-34.

¹⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz*, II:273-274; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 28-29.

Year	Brief summary of event (shading identifies events related to 'Alī and Yemen)	Parallel in <i>Akhbār</i> (number indicates order)	Text shared with other sources ¹⁰
	3. The call to al-Mustanşir in Yemen is brought to an end with the murder of 'Alī al-Şulayḥī.		
	4. Account of the different men who became vizier in this year.	2	
	5. One of the commanders of the slaves (who are in revolt) in Cairo is murdered		
493 ¹⁵	1. Refugees arrive in Egypt, fleeing the Franks in Syria.	1	
	2. Famine in Egypt leads to a large number of deaths.	2	
	3. The chief qāḍī Abū al-Ṭāhir dies and is replaced by Abū al-Faraj.	3	
	4. 'Alī al-Şulayḥī and his brother are murdered by Sa'd b. Najāḥ in Mecca		<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>
	5. Changes to office of chief qāḍī		

As can be seen in table 1 (and in appendix E), the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz* share significant amounts of text, and in some cases the *Itti'āz* provides the more detailed account. This is seen, for example, with event 1 under the year 452 and event 1 under the year 459. In the latter, shared text and phrasing indicates that both use the same source text, from which the *Akhbār* gives a more abbreviated quotation.¹⁶ As was suggested in chapters 4 and 5, the accounts of the 440s and early 450s were derived from an annalistic source that was shared between the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz*, written at the latest in the sixth century copying from an earlier annalistic tradition. The same appears to be the case for the years listed in table 1. In

¹⁵ This dating has evidently resulted from al-Maqrīzī misreading his notes. No source dates 'Alī's death to 493, and this is a mistake for 473. Neither the *Akhbār* or *Itti'āz* contain the year 473, both leaving a gap between 472 and 477. For the gap: Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 56-57; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:320-321. For the year 493: al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, III:25; Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 85.

¹⁶ See appendix E table 10 for greater detail.

particular for the 450s, the shared material focusses less on events outside of Cairo (as was the case for the 440s) and instead examines the appointment and dismissal of those in key offices in the capital. This reflects the situation of the 450s, where Cairo witnessed frequent changes in offices of state and the beginning of the *fitna*.¹⁷ This internal turmoil might in part explain why the annals do not document events in Yemen. The two main events outside Cairo are concerned with Syria (452, passage 1 and 455, passage 4), and this might reflect Badr al-Jamālī's later influence on the annals.¹⁸

Where al-Maqrīzī mentions 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī he does so after detailing the events that are shared with the *Akḥbār*. The only exception is event 3 under the year 459, which is inserted between two accounts taken from the annals. In this case it seems unlikely that the *Itti'āz* has copied this from the annals. This report claims that 'Alī's death brought about the end of the Fatimid *da'wa* and the return of the Abbasid *da'wa* to Yemen. It is doubtful that a contemporary Fatimid annalist would make such claims. The *sijillāt* provide evidence of correspondence with the Ṣulayḥids (and thus the continued existence of the Fatimid *da'wa*) until 489,¹⁹ and later Fatimid annalists were aware of this correspondence.²⁰ 'Umāra makes no claims about the return of the Abbasid *da'wa* to Yemen, even where he notes that the Najāḥids had regained some of their territory from the Ṣulayḥids.²¹ Under the year 459, Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* provides a report of 'Alī's death and indicates that this marked the return of the Abbasid *da'wa*.²² Thus, it is likely that the *Itti'āz* has derived this information from the *Kāmil*, which had misrepresented the scale of 'Alī's defeat. As can be further seen from table 1, where the *Itti'āz* mentions 'Alī, it typically shares text with the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and the *Wafayāt*. It seems, therefore, that in the *Itti'āz* al-Maqrīzī has supplemented the annals with material from other sources in order to provide a narrative of 'Alī's career (similar to his use of the SY and *Kāmil* in the *Itti'āz*'s narrative of the Baghdad campaign).

If the text shared between the *Akḥbār* and *Itti'āz* represents the lost Fatimid annals, this account had no interest in documenting the career of 'Alī. This is, however, a bias particular

¹⁷ Brett, 'Execution', 91-2; Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 198-201.

¹⁸ See section 4.1.2 above.

¹⁹ Hamadani, 'Letters', 310-311.

²⁰ For examples, see note 23 below.

²¹ 'Umāra, *Mufīd*, 126-7, trans. 30-1.

²² Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:380.

to the author of the annals for this period. Later in the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz* there are references to Yemen and the Ṣulayḥids, under the years 517, 521 and 539.²³ All of the accounts are shared verbatim with the *Itti'āz*, which provides a more detailed account for each (especially in the case of the 517²⁴). In all of these cases, it is clear that the focus is on the arrival and dispatch of messengers to Yemen, including a reference to a *sijill* (year 539). As has been noted in previous chapters, the annals for al-Yāzūrī's vizierate appear to have little interest in such matters and this suggests that there is a different source shared between the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz* for these later accounts.²⁵ In summary, Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* provides accounts of the Ṣulayḥids, but only for later years. For the years during and just after al-Yāzūrī's vizierate the *Akhbār* is silent on the Ṣulayḥids, while the *Itti'āz* appears to rely on sources other than the annals. The annals written close to the time of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate appear to have no interest in (or knowledge of) events in Yemen in this period.

6.2.2 *The Mufīd and its sources: between Yemen and Egypt*

As can be seen in table 1, for most of its accounts of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī the *Itti'āz* shares text with the *Akhbār al-Duwal* and the *Wafayāt*. Both works appear to have relied upon 'Umāra al-Yamanī's *Mufīd fī Akhbār Zabīd*. This work is ostensibly a history of Yemen, and a large portion of it deals with the career of 'Alī and his successors. In the *Mufīd*, 'Umāra seems at pains to note his use of Yemeni sources, stressing his credentials as a historian of the region. Apart from this, there is no clear agenda for his writing of a history in which the Ṣulayḥids feature so prominently.

In the *Mufīd*, 'Alī's career is discussed in most detail under the title *akhbār of the dā'ī 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī*, but events relating to 'Alī are also covered incidentally under the title: *akhbār of the family of Najāḥ, the Ethiopian kings of Zabīd*, which deals with the Ṣulayḥids' major adversary, the Najāḥids. The latter refers to two events: 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī's murder of Najāḥ, and 'Alī's own murder at the hands of Najāḥ's son Sa'īd (in revenge for the murder of his father). When Ibn Khallikān copied from the *Mufīd* for his biography of 'Alī, he

²³ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 117, 132, 168; Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, III:103, 119, 179.

²⁴ Such is the importance of the *Itti'āz*'s version that Sayyid adds it into his edition of the *Akhbār*, supposing that the *Itti'āz* had copied it from the *Akhbār*.

²⁵ For 521 and 539, this cannot have been the history of Ibn al-Ma'mūn, as it is thought that this text concluded in 519. Bauden, 'Maqriziana XII', 42-3.

took material from both sections of ‘Umāra’s work,²⁶ while Ibn Zāfir only uses the section on Ṣulayḥid history. The *Mufīd* does not openly cite Egyptian sources, but ‘Umāra was proximate to the late-Fatimid court. ‘Umāra had begun his career as a qāḍī in Zabīd (a town previously occupied by the Sulayḥid dynasty), but fled to Cairo in 552. There, he was commissioned in 563 by the then head of Fatimid *dīwān al-inshā’* al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil to write a history of Yemen.²⁷ The text was, therefore, written at the Fatimid court under the patronage of an important secretary, and this might have allowed him access to Fatimid histories.

‘Umāra worked as a Shāfi‘ī qāḍī in Najāḥid-controlled Zabīd, but in Cairo he praised his Ismā‘īlī patrons.²⁸ The Ṣulayḥids had by this time lost their power and the local Ismā‘īlī community had split from Cairo.²⁹ There seems to be little motive for ‘Umāra, or his patron, to speak in favour or against the Yemeni dynasty, and the *Mufīd* does not betray any clear sympathies. In the short introduction to the work, ‘Umāra simply states that his patron had asked him to ‘gather all that is preserved in my memory’, concerning the history of Yemen.³⁰ Above all, the work appears to have been commissioned owing to ‘Umāra’s presumed first-hand knowledge of Yemeni history. This implies that he had relied on Yemeni sources, but it is not clear how far.

‘Umāra cites Yemeni sources throughout the *Mufīd*. One of ‘Umāra’s key sources was the *al-Mufīd li-Akḥbār Zabīd*,³¹ written by the eyewitness Jayyāsh b. Najāḥ (and written from his first-person perspective). ‘Umāra’s section on Najāḥid history is clearly dependent on this text, because the story of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s death is told primarily from the first-person perspective of Jayyāsh, whose brother had committed the murder.³² However, in his section on the Ṣulayḥids, ‘Umāra does not appear to use Jayyāsh’s history, occasionally using *isnāds* but often leaving material uncited. It is possible that this uncited material is derived from Egyptian rather than Yemeni sources. The cited material primarily deals with additional, anecdotal material used to supplement the overall narrative. Table 2 provides an outline of

²⁶ See appendix F, table 1.

²⁷ P. Smoor, ‘‘Umāra al-Yamanī’, *EI*2.

²⁸ *Ibid*.

²⁹ For the end of the dynasty: Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 265-6.

³⁰ ‘Umāra, *Mufīd*, 36-7, trans. 1.

³¹ ‘Umāra first cites this work and its author at the start of his history. *Ibid*, 38, trans. 2.

³² *Ibid*, 191-203, trans. 82-87.

the parts of the *Mufīd* that deal with the ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī, noting its use of citations and sources that share text with the work.

*Table 2. The Mufīd’s narrative of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s career, its use of citations and the texts that quote from it. Reports with citations are shaded grey.*³³

Passage no.	Brief description	Citation	Shared text	Page (Arabic/ translation)
1	‘Alī’s father was a man of great influence in the region of Ḥarāz. He was a Sunnī.	None	<i>Akḥbār al-Duwal</i> <i>Wafayāt</i> <i>Siyar</i> <i>Itti‘āz</i> (year 443)	95/19
2	A <i>dā‘ī</i> called al-Zawāḥī exercised influence over ‘Alī and told him he was destined for greatness.	None	<i>Akḥbār al-Duwal</i> (a few words) <i>Wafayāt</i> <i>Siyar</i> <i>Itti‘āz</i> (year 443, a few words)	95-6/19
3	Al-Zawāḥī died and bequeathed his writings to ‘Alī. While he was alive, he had taught ‘Alī <i>ta‘wīl</i> .	None	<i>Wafayāt</i> <i>Siyar</i> <i>Itti‘āz</i> (year 443)	96-7/19-20
4	‘Alī led the pilgrimage by the road of al-Sarā and al-Ṭā‘if.	None	<i>Wafayāt</i> <i>Siyar</i> <i>Itti‘āz</i> (year 443)	97/20
5	He led the pilgrimage alone and his position	Abu al-Ḥusayn ‘Alī b. Sulaymān		97/20

³³ For the editions used for ‘Umāra, see note 4 above. Ibn Zāfir, *Akḥbār al-Duwal*, 71-73; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:411-413; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XVIII:359-362; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz*, II:222 (year 443), 261 (year 452), III:25 (year 493). See the tables in appendix F.

Passage no.	Brief description	Citation	Shared text	Page (Arabic/ translation)
	improved during this period.	Al-Zibrikān b. al-Fuwaykar		
6	‘Alī was unable to raise a dowry to marry Asmā. An Ethiopian called Faraj al-Saḥratī came to his aid.	‘Umar b. al-Murajjal, related by Abu al-Ḥusayn ‘Alī b. Sulaymān and al-Zibrikān b. al-Fuwaykar		98-9/20-2
7	‘Alī married Asma, and praise is directed towards her, including an excerpt from a poem in praise of her.	[continuation of 6, with same transmitters]	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal Itti‘āz</i> (year 443, excludes the poem).	100/22
8	When ‘Alī conquered Zabīd, he was made aware of a deposition that he made during his youth and he insisted upon fulfilling it.	Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-Amawī, transmitted from his father, who had transmitted it from his father.		99-100/22
9	‘Alī had led the pilgrimage route in Sarawā for 15 years. People used to tell him that he was destined for greatness, and this was claimed widely across the land.	Sultān Nāṣir b. Maṣṣūr al-Wa’ilīm from his grandfather ‘Isā b. Yazīd.	<i>Wafayāt Siyar Itti‘āz</i> (year 443, just repeats ‘15 years’, omits the rest)	100-1/23

Passage no.	Brief description	Citation	Shared text	Page (Arabic/ translation)
10	‘Alī rebelled in the year 439	None	<i>Wafayāt</i> <i>Siyar</i> <i>Itti‘āz</i> (year 443)	101/23
11	He rebelled at the summit of Masār, at the head of 60 men, from whom he had taken an oath during the 428 pilgrimage. 20,000 men attempted to get ‘Alī to surrender, but he persuaded them to leave. He then fortified the place and remained there gradually gaining adherents to his cause.	None	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i> (a small part of the narrative) <i>Wafayāt</i> <i>Siyar</i> <i>Itti‘āz</i> (year 439, a few shared words)	117/23-4 ³⁴
12	‘Alī feared Najāḥ, ruler of Tihāma, so he sent a slave girl to poison him. Najāḥ died at al-Kadrā in 452.	None	<i>Wafayāt</i> <i>Siyar</i>	117-8/24
13	‘Alī asked al-Mustanṣir to be allowed to bring the <i>da‘wa</i> into the	None	<i>Wafayāt</i> Contrast <i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i> and	118-9/24

³⁴ The large gap in the page numbers is the result of a several-page footnote where the editor describes the sources for ‘Alī’s career and how this should influence our dating of events.

Passage no.	Brief description	Citation	Shared text	Page (Arabic/ translation)
	open. He overran the country, taking mountain fortresses and the low country		<i>Itti'āz</i> (year 443 and 452), who claim that 'Alī had asked permission to occupy Tihāma.	
14	By 455 he had occupied the whole of Yemen.	None	<i>Wafayāt Siyar Akhbār al-Duwal and Itti'āz</i> (443) claim year 450.	119/24-5
15	An affair like this had not been seen before in the Jāhiliyya or under Islam	None	<i>Wafayāt</i>	119/25
16	'Alī proclaimed during the <i>khuṭba</i> that on a corresponding day he would conquer Aden. A man disagreed and he was arrested. When Aden was conquered on the specified day, the man joined 'Alī's cause and converted to Ismā'īlism.	None	<i>Wafayāt Siyar</i>	119/25
17	'Alī had the princes brought to him in	None	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal Wafayāt</i>	119/25

Passage no.	Brief description	Citation	Shared text	Page (Arabic/ translation)
	Sanaa and appointed governors of the regions that had governed. He built several palaces in the city.		<i>Siyar</i>	
18	In 535 when all of 'Alī's palaces were in ruins, all those in Sanaa built their houses from the spolia.	Muḥammad b. Bishāra (a resident of Tihāma)		119-20/25
19	'Alī had originally sworn that Tihāma would only be governed by someone who would pay him 100,000 <i>dīnārs</i> , but in the end As'ad b. Shihāb, the brother of his wife Asmā, was appointed. When the money was counted, 'Alī realised it was taken from his own treasury but he was persuaded to allow the appointment.	None	<i>Akḥbār al-Duwal</i> <i>Wafayāt</i>	120/25-6

Passage no.	Brief description	Citation	Shared text	Page (Arabic/ translation)
20	Praise-filled account of As'ad's rule in Zabīd and affairs that happened there.	None		121-3/26-8
21	In 460 'Alī sent out troops to fight an army sent by the Kings of Ethiopia. The latter's force was depleted to 1000, who were sheltered by 'Umāra's grandfather in 'Ukwa. 'Umāra notes that this is near al-Zarā'ib, a city where Arabic is most pure because its people do not intermarry or leave.	Partially 'Umāra's grandfather.		124-5/28-29
22	'Umāra takes this opportunity to note that when he had arrived in Zabīd in 530 the scholars had remarked upon the quality of his grammar. When his father and others from his hometown visited him,	'Umāra's experience		125-6/29

Passage no.	Brief description	Citation	Shared text	Page (Arabic/ translation)
	the scholars were equally impressed by their Arabic.			
23	‘Alī remained in Sanaa for 12 years without leaving.	None		126/30
24	In Dhū al-Qa‘da of 473, or 459 (the latter of which is correct), ‘Alī resolved to go to Mecca. He left his son al-Mukarram as governor of Sanaa and left with 2000 horsemen. When he stopped at al-Mahjam, news began to spread in the camp that ‘Alī and his brother had been killed. Sa‘īd b. Najāh al-Aḥwal took control and killed ‘Alī’s followers.	None	<i>Akḥbār al-Duwal Siyar Itti‘āz</i> (493, claims that ‘Alī was killed in Mecca)	126-8/30-1

‘Umāra’s account is detailed and chronological, it covers the key events of ‘Alī’s career, and provides some anecdotes concerning him and his legacy. For many of the more anecdotal parts of the account, he cites sources. Whenever ‘Umāra cites a source in the *Mufīd*, it appears to be a source of Yemeni origin. In his history of ‘Alī’s career, there are 5 reports

that are cited, each with an *isnād* (passages 5, 6, 8, 9 and 18 in table 2). All are cited with short *isnāds* that suggest 'Umāra had gathered the reports from his contemporaries. 'Umāra was writing about two generations from the events he describes, and this is seen in passage 21, where he states that his own grandfather had sheltered some the remnants of an Ethiopian army that had fought 'Alī. Two other reports belong to informants who were transmitting information from their grandfathers (passages 8 and 9). Moreover, there is a report clearly dated to the year 535 (passage 18), which 'Umāra uses to describe the state of Sanaa in his own time (and in doing so praise the quality of building materials used in the Ṣulayḥid palaces there). The overall impression is, therefore, that 'Umāra had gathered his material from contemporaries in Yemen.

'Umāra also stresses his personal connection to Yemen and its history. This personal link is seen most clearly in passage 21 where he stresses that his grandfather had sheltered in his castle the remains of an Ethiopian army that had fought 'Alī in 460. This underlines how his family were present during the events that he describes. It is also seen when 'Umāra ventures onto a tangent about the purity of his and his family's Arabic grammar in the following passage (passage 22). As a poet at the Fatimid court, the purity of his Arabic mattered and this is probably a reason for such an anecdote. However, it also serves as an opportunity to connect himself with the scholarly community at Zabīd, by remarking how they saw him as superior to them in his Arabic (a quality also considered important for Islamic jurisprudence). It is perhaps in this light that we might read his *isnāds*, as an attempt by 'Umāra to remind his Egyptian readers (and crucially his patron) that he belonged to a Yemeni scholarly community and was a trustworthy informant for Yemeni history.

Through his use of *isnāds* and personal connections, 'Umāra is stressing his credibility as a historian of Yemen. We might, therefore, assume that his sources were largely Yemeni. Unfortunately, as can be seen in table 2, a large part of his history is uncited. This uncited material largely concerns the key events of 'Alī's campaign in Yemen, where citations are provided for the more anecdotal accounts. It is possible, therefore, that this material was common knowledge and 'Umāra did not feel the need to cite it (or did not have a citation). These uncited parts of the narrative might just have been picked up through the Cairo court and libraries. Perhaps his patron had given him access to works of Fatimid history or even archival materials. If such material or historiography existed, there is very little evidence of

it in other surviving texts. Nearly all subsequent narratives of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s career rely upon the *Mufīd*. Those texts that do not, provide short and fragmented accounts.

6.2.3 The *Mufīd*’s Egyptian transmitters

A large part of ‘Umāra’s narrative of ‘Alī’s career is copied into later Egyptian sources. Of these sources, Ibn Ṣāfir’s *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and Ibn Khallikān’s *Wafayāt* have copied directly from ‘Umāra’s *Mufīd*, while al-Dhahabī and al-Maqrīzī appear to have relied upon these earlier two texts as intermediaries. As can be seen in table 2 above, the *Wafayāt* has copied a larger proportion of the *Mufīd* than the *Akḥbār al-Duwal*. Passages 3, 9, 10, 12, 15 and 16 are only copied into the *Wafayāt*. By comparison, passage 7 is the only case of a passage copied exclusively into the *Akḥbār al-Duwal*. In some cases, Ibn Khallikān retains more detail, but it is clear from the shared phrasing that both rely on the *Mufīd* as their direct source. This is seen for example in passage 17, which is compared in table 3.

Table 3. A comparison of ‘Umāra’s *Mufīd* with Ibn Ṣāfir’s *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and Ibn Khallikān’s *Wafayāt* on ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s move of local princes to Sanaa (passage 17 in table 2). Underlining indicates text shared between the *Mufīd* and the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and highlighting text shared between the *Mufīd* and *Wafayāt*.³⁵

<i>Mufīd</i>	<i>Akḥbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>
ومن سنة خمس وخمسين استقر قرار الصليحي بصنعاء، فأخذ معه ملوك اليمن التي أزال ملكها، فأسكنهم معه وولى في الحصون غيرهم، واختط بصنعاء عدة قصور،	واختط بصنعاء عدة قصور واستصحب معه أولاد ملوك اليمن وأسكنهم معه في الحصون.	ومن سنة خمس وخمسين استقر حاله في صنعاء، وأخذ معه ملوك اليمن الذين أزال ملكهم، وأسكنهم معه وولى في الحصون غيرهم، واختط بمدينة صنعاء عدة قصور،

As can be seen from table 3, where the *Wafayāt* copies material from the *Mufīd*, it does so with very little abridgement. In fact, all of the differences seen in table 3 (such as changing the *Mufīd*’s *allatī* for *alladīn*) represent only very small differences. Ibn Ṣāfir retains some of

³⁵ ‘Umāra, *Mufīd*, 119, trans. 25; Ibn Ṣāfir, *Akḥbār al-Duwal*, 72; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:412-3.

the *Mufīd*'s phrasing, crucially for describing the construction of palaces in Sanaa, but his summary confuses the meaning of the passage. The *Mufīd* states clearly that the princes were brought to live with 'Alī in Sanaa and other governors sent out to the fortresses. By comparison, Ibn Zāfir states that the 'children' of the princes were sent to live with 'Alī 'in the fortresses', implying misleadingly that these fortresses were in Sanaa.

Ibn Khallikān appears to be the last author to copy directly from the *Mufīd*. There are three later works that share text with the *Mufīd* – al-Dhahabī's *Siyar*, al-Maqrīzī's *Ittī'āz*, and al-Maqrīzī's *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk*. However, these texts appear to have relied on quotations of the text from either the *Akhhbār al-Duwal* or the *Wafayāt*. This is most evident in the *Siyar*, which provides a biography of 'Alī al-Ṣulayhī copied almost entirely from Ibn Khallikān's biography. The two texts are compared in full in appendix F, table 1. Throughout al-Dhahabī provides an account that summarises from the *Wafayāt*, sometimes copying phrases unique to Ibn Khallikān. An example is given in table 4 below.

Table 4. A comparison of 'Umāra's *Mufīd*, Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt* and al-Dhahabī's *Siyar* on 'Alī al-Ṣulayhī's conversion to *Ismā'īlism* (passage 2). Underlining indicates text shared between the *Wafayāt* and *Siyar* and highlighting indicates text that is shared with the *Mufīd*.³⁶

<i>Mufīd</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	<i>Siyar</i>
وقيل كانت عند عامر حلية الصليحي من كتاب "الصور" وهو من الذخائر الاثمة عليهم السلام، فأوقفه منه على تنقل حاله وشرف ما له، واستماله سرّاً من أبيه وقومه.	وقيل كانت عنده حلية علي الصليحي في كتاب "الصور" وهو من الذخائر القديمة، فأوقفه منه على تنقل حاله وشرف ما له، وأطلعته على ذلك سرّاً من أبيه وأهله.	وقيل: ظفر بحليته في كتاب "الصور"، فأطلعته على ذلك، وشوّقه، وأسر إليه أموراً،

Table 4 shows how al-Dhahabī has retained the main part of the narrative that Ibn Khallikān had taken from the *Mufīd*, detailing how 'Alī was made aware of his fate through a description in a book presented to him by the *dā'ī*. Yet, the *Siyar* removes much of the detail (such as where the book originated). Where the *Mufīd* states that the *dā'ī* 'influenced

³⁶ 'Umāra, *Mufīd*, 96, trans. 19; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:411; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XVIII:359.

[*istamālahu*] him [‘Alī] in secret from his father’, Ibn Khallikān writes ‘he informed him [*aṭla’ahu*] of that [his destiny] in secret from his father’. This is the version used in al-Dhahabī’s *Siyar*, shortened to ‘he informed him of that’.

By comparison, al-Maqrīzī appears to rely on both the *Wafayāt* and the *Akhhbār al-Duwal*. In his *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk*, a work providing biographies of those who made Hajj, he gives a biography of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayhī. This appears to be based on a combination of the accounts in the *Wafayāt* and the *Akhhbār al-Duwal* (they are compared in appendix F, table 3). As was noted in table 1 above, in the *Itti’āz*, the years 452 and 493 copy from the *Akhhbār al-Duwal*. In addition, under the year 429, al-Maqrīzī also relies upon the *Akhhbār al-Duwal* to describe the start of ‘Alī’s invasion.³⁷ Finally, under the year 443 (as with the account in *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk*), al-Maqrīzī combines the accounts of the *Wafayāt* and the *Akhhbār al-Duwal* with a short excerpt from the SY (for a full comparison, see appendix F table 2 and table 5 below). Unlike with the *Siyar*, there are no instances where al-Maqrīzī copied language unique to either the *Wafayāt* or the *Akhhbār al-Duwal*. However, in all cases where al-Maqrīzī’s accounts share text with the *Mufīd*, the text is also shared verbatim with either the *Wafayāt* or *Akhhbār al-Duwal*. There is, therefore, no evidence that al-Maqrīzī had copied directly from *Mufīd*.

Unlike al-Dhahabī and al-Maqrīzī, Ibn Zāfir and Ibn Khallikān cite the history of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayhī, which further indicates that they had used the text directly. Ibn Khallikān admits that the *Mufīd* was his main source for his biography of ‘Alī: ‘I took most of this biography [*tarjima*] from the *Akhhbār al-Yaman* by the jurist ‘Umāra al-Yamanī.’³⁸ The extent to which Ibn Zāfir used the *Mufīd* is less clear. At the end of his narrative of the Ṣulayhids, he states:

Asma’ [‘Alī’s wife] was captured [after the murder of her husband] and she remained captive in Zabīd for a whole year. Her son Aḥmad broke her out after that [which is] in a long tale told in the *Ta’rīkh al-Yaman*.³⁹

Although Ibn Zāfir does not name ‘Umāra as the author of the *Ta’rīkh al-Yaman*, the story of the prison breakout to which he refers is indeed found in ‘Umāra’s history.⁴⁰ It is not clear,

³⁷ Ibn Zāfir, *Akhhbār al-Duwal*, 71; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti’āz*, II:187

³⁸ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:415

³⁹ Ibn Zāfir, *Akhhbār al-Duwal*, 73.

⁴⁰ ‘Umāra, *Mufīd*, 128-134, trans. 31-36.

however, if he depended upon the text throughout his history. Cases like that given in table 3 show that Ibn Ẓāfir had quoted quite extensively from the *Mufīd* in other places. There are, however, a few instances where Ibn Ẓāfir provides text that is not shared with the *Mufīd*, and these passages are often copied into al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. These small details hint at an earlier Fatimid tradition, and this will be discussed in the following section.

6.3. Accounts that do not use the *Mufīd* and the evidence for a fragmented Egyptian tradition

The above section underlined how 'Umāra's *Mufīd* provides the main account for 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī's career. Unlike in the previous two case studies, there is no material on 'Alī or on Yemen shared between Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*, and this suggests that the annalistic source shared between these texts contained few, if any, references to 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī. Instead the annals of the 450s focus on the volatile situation in Cairo and make two references to events in Syria. By comparison 'Umāra's *Mufīd* provides a detailed account of 'Alī's career. In the *Mufīd*, 'Umāra gives a significant place to his Yemeni informants and stresses his membership of the Yemeni scholarly community. However, there are large and important sections of the *Mufīd* that are given with no citation. The *Mufīd* is the main source text for Ibn Ẓāfir's *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*, and it appears that al-Dhahabī and al-Maqrīzī relied upon the accounts of Ibn Ẓāfir and Ibn Khallikān for their accounts of 'Alī's career.

Having established the dominance of the narrative in the *Mufīd*, it is possible to identify texts that are uninfluenced by this source. This section will argue that those accounts that are not influenced by the *Mufīd* are short and fragmentary. Nonetheless, these fragments reveal something of the Fatimid perspective on early Ṣulayḥid activity in Yemen, probably taken from *sijillāt* that described major events. In this regard two dates are prominent in the sources: 452 and 455. This will be argued in three parts: part one will deal with examples from al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ*, which appears to have not used the *Mufīd*. Al-Qalqashandī's accounts primarily focus on the Najāḥids and appear to be unaware of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī. Part two will examine the material shared by the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and the *Itti'āz* that contrasts with 'Umāra's *Mufīd* and note how the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and *Itti'āz* place a greater emphasis on correspondence with the Ṣulayḥids for the year 452. Part three will then discuss the 455

pilgrimage to Mecca, an event that is completely absent from the *Mufīd* and suggest that Egyptian authors had relied upon *sijillāt* for their accounts of this event.

6.3.1 Accounts that do not use the *Mufīd*

There are small fragments describing Yemeni events elsewhere in the Egyptian historiography, most notably in al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ*. His accounts, like the *Mufīd*, situate the key events in the 450s, but appear to be poorly informed, lacking in detail and focussed primarily on 'Alī's adversary, the Najāḥids. It seems likely that his fragmentary accounts are derived from another, perhaps Egyptian, source. Al-Qalqashandī dedicates two chapters to the dynasties of Yemen. The first chapter deals with the coastal region (the Tihāma) and the second the inland region. In the first he gave a king list in which there is only one brief reference to the Ṣulayḥids:

Najāḥ 'Abd Marjān ruled after [Qays] as well, and his affairs strengthened. He rode with the [royal] parasol and struck coins [*al-sikka*] in his name. That continued until he passed away in the year four hundred and fifty-two. His son Sa'īd al-Aḥwal b. Najāḥ ruled after him. Then al-Malik al-Mukarram Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī seized the kingdom [*al-mulk*] in the year four hundred and eighty-one, [or] it is said [four hundred and] eighty, and he remained in Zabīd.⁴¹

The king list is striking in that it ignores the career of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī. It places greater emphasis on the affairs of the Najāḥids, naming Najāḥ and Sa'īd, and suggests that Sa'īd continued to rule Zabīd for some time after his father's death. It does not claim that 'Alī poisoned Najāḥ, stating simply that he 'passed away'. It, moreover, states that Zabīd was conquered by the Ṣulayḥids in 481 (or 480), rather than first half of the 450s. These claims make it unlikely that al-Qalqashandī relied upon the *Mufīd* (or a text that copied from it) to write this account.

Al-Qalqashandī provides three further references to the Ṣulayḥids. Two are in his chapter on the Tihāma. The first concerns the capture of Zabīd: '[Zabīd] was the capital [*muqām*] of the Banū Ziyād, the kings of Yemen, it was them who built it. Then the Banū al-Ṣulayḥī seized

⁴¹ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, V:28.

it.⁴² The second is a reference to Aḥmad b. al-Mukarram (‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s grandson), who is said to have taken Aden from the Banū Ziyād (for which he does not provide a date).⁴³ Finally, there is one reference in his chapter on inland Yemen. There they are mentioned in connection with a place named Kaḥlān, near Sanaa, which ‘did not have fame with [regard to] kingship until the Banū al-Ṣulayḥī took residence there.’⁴⁴

In al-Qalqashandī’s king list for inland Yemen (the region which includes the Ṣulayḥid capital Sanaa), the Ṣulayḥid dynasty is entirely overlooked. There are two short paragraphs on Muslim rulers of the region, where the last named dynasty is the Banū Ya‘fur (undated by al-Qalqashandī, but modern scholars believe they occupied Yemen around 256/870).⁴⁵ Al-Qalqashandī then states: ‘the Zaydī Imamate was established there until now,’⁴⁶ and provides a lengthy narrative of the Imamate into the Mamluk period. This shows that al-Qalqashandī was not averse to documenting Shī‘ī dynasties, but that he still excluded the Ṣulayḥids. The sources used by al-Qalqashandī, therefore, likely contained only small fragments relating to the Ṣulayḥids and the Najāḥids. In these fragments there was no reference to ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī, only a reference to his son and his grandson, and a more significant emphasis on the Najāḥids. This lack of knowledge about ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī aligns with the impression given by the surviving annals, which only describe ‘Alī’s successors in the early sixth century.⁴⁷

6.3.2 Focus on the Imam-Caliph in the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and *Itti‘āz*

There is also a small amount of material uniquely shared between the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and the *Itti‘āz*, under the years 443 and 452 of the *Itti‘āz*. For the year 443, it is possible that al-Maqrīzī had copied the material directly from the *Akḥbār al-Duwal*. However, for the year 452, the differences between the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and the *Itti‘āz* suggest that both share an earlier source text, which focussed on the receipt of letters by the Fatimids, suggesting that the report originates in Fatimid source (perhaps a *sijill*). Table 5 outlines the account under the year 443 of the *Itti‘āz*, (al-Maqrīzī’s most detailed account of ‘Alī). It appears to rely

⁴² Ibid, V:9.

⁴³ Ibid, V:11.

⁴⁴ Ibid, V:40

⁴⁵ R. Strothmann, ‘Banu Ya‘fur’, *EI2*

⁴⁶ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, V:46.

⁴⁷ See the discussion in section 6.2.1 above.

heavily on the *Akhbār al-Duwal* and *Wafayāt* and it quotes from the *Mufīd* through these texts.

Table 5. The *Itti'āz* account of 'Alī's career under the year 443 and its sources. Underlining indicates text shared with the work indicated in the column 'Source text'. Highlighting indicates text shared with 'Umāra's *Mufīd*, with page numbers indicated in a separate column.⁴⁸

Passage no.	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Source text	Relevant page in <i>Mufīd</i> (Arabic/translation)
108	A man known as 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī began to convert to Shi'ism. The [Fatimid] missionaries [<i>du'ā</i>] encouraged him [lit. presented it favourably for him] to support the Caliphs of Egypt. So he proclaimed his [allegiance] to them and the people of Yemen made the call to them.	unclear	
109	He sent their traders to al-Mustanṣir with a <u>gift of great value</u> , worth around <u>ten thousand dīnārs</u> .	SY	
110.1	His ['Alī's] father was a <u>qādī</u> in Yemen of the <u>Sunnī madhab</u> .	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i> and <i>Wafayāt</i> (underlined text shared with both)	95-6/19
110.2	His wife was <u>Asmā'</u> , daughter of his uncle <u>Shihāb</u> . She was the most beautiful of God's	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	99/23

⁴⁸ Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal*, 71-73; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:411-413; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:222. For a comparison of the Arabic see appendix F, table 2.

<i>Passage no.</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Source text	Relevant page in <i>Mufīd</i> (Arabic/translation)
	<p><u>creations and the mother of the [Fatimid] missionaries [du'ā] in Yemen, known as 'al-Hurra'. She was powerful and noble and her descendants gloried in her and she was eulogized.</u></p>		
110.3	<p>There was in Yemen the <u>missionary [dā'ī], 'Amr b. 'Abd allah al-Zuwāhī, and he set out to gain the favour</u> of Abū al-Ḥassan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī, <u>who was young</u>, until he ['Alī] took a liking to him.</p>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	96/19
110.4	<p>When 'Amr <u>died, he entrusted to him ['Alī] the depository of his books and his knowledge.</u> He studied these <u>until he became well versed in their contents</u>, and he became one of the Shi'i <u>jurists.</u></p>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	96-7/19-20
110.5	<u>He [then] guided the people on Hajj</u>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	97/20
110.6	<u>for fifteen years</u>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	100-1/23
110.7	Then <u>he rose up in the year four-hundred and twenty nine.</u>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	101-2/24
110.8	<p>His <u>position</u> strengthened and he made the call to [the <i>da'wa</i> of] al-Mustanṣir. So <u>he wrote to him [telling] of his affairs, and asking his permission to expand into Tihāma.</u> He was <u>permitted.</u></p>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	117-8/24

<i>Passage no.</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Source text	Relevant page in <i>Mufīd</i> (Arabic/translation)
110.9	By the year four hundred and fifty, he possessed the plains and rugged mountains of the region of Yemen.	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	119/25

Although the account of the year 443 relies heavily on material taken from the *Mufīd*, there are two passages that deviate from 'Umāra's text. Both are shared with the *Akhbār al-Duwal* and they suggest that Ibn Zāfir might have used a second source. The first case is passage 110.2. This account only loosely follows the *Mufīd*, copying its claims that Asmā' was 'noble' and that 'her descendants gloried in her', and following this description with an excerpt from a poem that is also quoted by 'Umāra (which is omitted in the *Itti'āz*).⁴⁹ Unlike 'Umāra, Ibn Zāfir claims that Asmā' was known as Ḥurra and that she was the 'mother of the *du'ā* (missionaries, sg. *dā'ī*)' in Yemen. Al-Sayyida al-Ḥurra ('the noble lady') is the title typically given to Arwā, the wife of 'Alī's son al-Mukarram.⁵⁰

The extended description in the *Akhbār al-Duwal*, which is copied into the *Itti'āz*, therefore, appears to be adopted from a different source to the *Mufīd*. The description of al-Ḥurra as a 'mother of the *du'ā*' suggests this source dates from after the Ṭayyibī schism (post 526), when she had become head of a network of *du'ā*.⁵¹ Given that some of the words are shared with the *Mufīd* (see the highlighting in table 5 above and appendix F, table 2), there are two possible explanations. The first is that Ibn Zāfir had taken the text of the *Mufīd* and built upon it using other Egyptian sources. The second is that the *Mufīd* and *Akhbār al-*

⁴⁹ Compare passage 110.2 in appendix F, table 2.

⁵⁰ This confusion has been noted by the editor of the *Akhbār al-Duwal*. Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal*, 82, n. 355. See how Arwā is addressed al-Ḥurra in the *sijillāt*: Hamdani, 'Letters', 310-311; for example: *al-Sijillāt al-Mustanṣiriyya*, 180 (no. 55, written in 461). She is also called al-Ḥurra in the later historiography, see: Ibn Muṣṣar, *Akhbār*, 117; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, III:103.

⁵¹ Brett, *Fatimid Empire*, 225.

Duwal share a source text, which ‘Umāra had corrected in his text. There is too little evidence here to decide which is the case.

In passage 101.8, we can see a focus on correspondence with Cairo, which contrasts with the *Mufīd*. Ibn Ḍāfir and al-Maqrīzī claim that ‘Alī had asked al-Mustanṣir’s permission before beginning his conquest of the Tihāma. By contrast, ‘Umāra first states that ‘Alī had conspired to have Najāḥ (the ruler of the Tihāma) poisoned (passage 12 in table 2 above), before then asking al-Mustanṣir’s permission to bring the *da‘wa* into the open. After this, he proceeded to overrun the rest of the country (passage 13). The small amount of shared text in passage 101.8 corresponds to this second passage of ‘Umāra’s text.

The amount of shared text in passage 101.8 is so slight that it is very likely a coincidence, and Ibn Ḍāfir has probably used a different source. This is seen in the phrasing of Ibn Ḍāfir’s text (underlining indicates text shared with the year 443 of the *Itti‘āz* and highlighting text shared with the *Mufīd*):

Al-Ṣulayḥī’s position strengthened in Yemen. When his followers grew and his funding increased – [at this time] he was in the mountains – he wrote a letter to al-Mustanṣir, informing him of his efforts to make the word [Ismā‘īlism] apparent [*zuhūr al-kalima*] and establish the *da‘wa*. He asked him permission to lead his armies into Tihāma and fight its people. He permitted him to do that. He sent out money, gathered men and he was victorious.⁵²

The order of events provided by Ibn Ḍāfir is opposite to ‘Umāra’s. He first notes that ‘Alī had established the Ismā‘īlī *da‘wa* in the regions he had controlled, and then states that ‘Alī asked permission to seize the Tihāma. By contrast, ‘Umāra states that the Tihāma was seized and then the *da‘wa* made public.⁵³ In addition, Ibn Ḍāfir provides details unique to his account, noting that money was sent out (it is not clear if this was by ‘Alī or al-Mustanṣir) and that he gathered men together. These small but significant differences suggest that Ibn Ḍāfir had used a different source to the *Mufīd*.

The *Itti‘āz* also repeats the same account under the year 452. There, al-Maqrīzī shares different material with Ibn Ḍāfir compared to the variant under 443, potentially adopted

⁵² Ibn Ḍāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal*, 72.

⁵³ ‘Umāra, *Mufīd*, 117-9, trans. 25.

from a source shared with Ibn Zāfir. The *Itti'āz*'s account is as follows (underlining indicates text shared with the *Akḥbār al-Duwal*):

In this year [*fīha*] Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Ṣulayhī's letter arrived informing him of his strength and of his establishment of the *da'wa* and asking his permission to go to the Tihāma and seize it. He agreed to that, so he went there and seized it.⁵⁴

The situation of the second variant under the year 452 suggests that this was not copied from the *Akḥbār al-Duwal*. Ibn Zāfir does not date the conquest of the Tihāma, but he states that the conquest of Yemen had concluded by the year 450. Al-Maqrīzī might have taken 452 from Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*, which copies the date from the *Mufīd* (both use it as the date of Najāḥ's murder, not the conquest of the Tihāma).⁵⁵ However, as was noted above, one of the only dates in 'Alī's career identified by al-Qalqashandī is 452, which he claims is the date that Najāḥ 'passed away'. Thus, it seems that there is a broader Egyptian consensus about the importance of the year 452 in 'Alī's conquests, and it is possible that the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and *Itti'āz* have used a shared Egyptian source for their accounts of the conquest of Tihāma in 452.

Certainly, the content of this anecdote appears to be written from the perspective of Cairo, as it focusses on the arrival of letters and presumes there was a centralised control of the *da'wa*. The central assumption in passage 101.8 and its variants is that 'Alī had to ask permission from Cairo before he embarked on his conquests. This arrangement is not indicated anywhere in the *Mufīd*. In reality it is likely that 'Alī had engaged in his conquests and received Fatimid approval after the fact (as the account in the *Mufīd* claims). Perhaps this short Cairo-centred anecdote has its origins in a *sijill* that was issued following news of the capture of the Tihāma. Given the complete silence of the Ibn Muyassar's *Akḥbār* (see 6.2.1 above), it seems unlikely that this is quoted from the annals.

6.3.3 The 455 'pilgrimage' to Mecca

A number of sources claim that 'Alī al-Ṣulayhī made a pilgrimage to Mecca in the year 455, but this event is entirely ignored by 'Umāra. The account is found in five places. It is

⁵⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:261.

⁵⁵ 'Umāra, *Mufīd*, 118, trans. 24; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:412.

described under two years of Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* - in short form under the year 455 and in a longer description under the year 459. It is also given in al-Dhahabī's *Siyar*, in his biography of 'Alī - the only part of the biography that does not share text with Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*. Finally, it is found in al-Maqrīzī's *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk* and *Itti'āz* (under the year 455). These accounts share very few words and it seems that they may have benefitted from a shared narrative but not a shared source.

There is a key difference in focus between each of the accounts. Where Ibn al-Athīr stresses that Mecca was occupied by 'Alī, the *Itti'āz* emphasises its importance for the spread of the Fatimid *da'wa*. Under the year 459, Ibn al-Athīr describes the pilgrimage after his account of 'Alī's death:

['Alī] ruled Mecca, as we have mentioned, in the year [four-hundred and] fifty-five. He protected the pilgrims in his day and they commended him highly. The house [*ka'ba*] was draped in white⁵⁶ Chinese silk, and he returned the decorations of the house to it. The Banū Ḥassan had took them and carried them to Yemen, and al-Ṣulayḥī had bought them [the decorations] from them [the Banū Ḥassan].⁵⁷

This account was repeated in its basic elements by both al-Dhahabī and al-Maqrīzī. Al-Dhahabī's account appears to be independent of the *Kāmil*, where al-Maqrīzī may have supplemented his with material from Ibn al-Athīr. Al-Dhahabī writes one sentence on the pilgrimage: 'Then he ['Alī] made Hajj and he treated the people of Mecca well,' and follows with a series of descriptions of 'Alī and his wife, in which he notes: 'He draped the *Ka'ba* in white'.⁵⁸ Thus al-Dhahabī shares the basics of Ibn al-Athīr's account: that 'Alī made Hajj (although he does not give a date), that he was good to the people and that he draped white silk on the *Ka'ba*.

⁵⁶ The colour is clearly symbolic and intended to emphasise 'Alī's Fatimid allegiance. Egyptian and non-Egyptian sources use this black (Abbasid) versus white (Fatimid) symbolism, typically in clothing. For example, when Jawhar entered Cairo he allegedly forbid its inhabitants from wearing black (Jiwa, *Towards*, 19). Conversely, in Baghdad, Tughril was purported to have forced the hand of the Abbasid Caliph by threatening to wear white robes (Peacock, *Early Seljuq*, 121).

⁵⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:380; for the shorter description under the year 455: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:363.

⁵⁸ Al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XVIII:361.

Al-Maqrīzī describes the pilgrimage under the year 455 of his *Itti'āz*, where he appears to use material from the *Kāmil*, supplemented with other sources (underlining indicates words shared with the *Kāmil*):

In this year al-Ṣulayhī arrived in Mecca after he had occupied all of Yemen, its plains, its mountains, its inland [regions] and its sea. He established there and in Mecca the call to al-Mustanṣir [*da'wat al-Mustanṣiri*]. He draped the Ka'ba with white silk and returned the decorations of the house to it. The Banū Ḥassan had took them and carried them to Yemen, so he ['Alī] bought them [the decorations] from them, and he returned them [the decorations] in this year. He left Muḥammad b. Abū Hāshim as his deputy in Mecca and returned to Yemen.⁵⁹

The beginning of this description is clearly a rephrasing of the common formula used to describe the conquest of Yemen in the *Mufīd*, which was copied into the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and *Wafayāt* and is repeated elsewhere in the *Itti'āz* (see passage 101.9 in table 5 above). Al-Maqrīzī then describes 'Alī's actions in Mecca (concerning the return of decorations previously seized by the Banū Ḥassan), which shares a significant number of words with the *Kāmil*. There are, however, two features here not adopted from the *Mufīd* or the *Kāmil*. First, the account notes that the call (*da'wa*) switched to al-Mustanṣir in Mecca - al-Maqrīzī is the only author to mention this. Second, the account states that a deputy was appointed in Mecca. This is supported by a report given by al-Qalqashandī, which states that in 454, Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. Abī Hashim took control of Mecca and gave the *khuṭba* for al-Mustanṣir.⁶⁰ Although al-Qalqashandī does not mention 'Alī al-Ṣulayhī, it is notable that he also emphasises the call to al-Mustanṣir.

There appears therefore to be a number of narratives about 'Alī's pilgrimage to Mecca in the year 455. The pilgrimage is reported in Iraqi and Egyptian source traditions, but only in the latter is the call to al-Mustanṣir mentioned. What is most striking is that this event is entirely overlooked in 'Umāra's *Mufīd*, suggesting that his sources were unaware of the event. It seems likely that this pilgrimage did occur. Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn describes 'Alī al-Ṣulayhī's

⁵⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:268-269; for the version in the *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk*: al-Maqrīzī, *Caliphate and Kingship in a Fifteenth-Century Literary History of Muslim Leadership and Pilgrimage*. *al-Dahab al-Masbūk fī dīkr man ḥaġġa min ḥulafā' wa-l-mulūk*, ed. and trans. Jo Van Steenberg (Leiden, 2016), 304, trans. 305.

⁶⁰ Al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ*, IV: 270.

journey to Mecca to help calm local disputes that al-Mustanşir had feared would benefit Fatimid rivals.⁶¹ Moreover, two *sijillāt* sent to Yemen in the year 455 also concern Ṣulayḥid policies in Mecca.⁶² This indicates that it was an event of significance to the Fatimid Caliph.

As has been stressed by Brett, al-Yāzūrī's defeat of Mu'izz's revolt in Ifrīqīya was treated in a *sijill* and the contents of that *sijill* are mirrored in the annals for the 440s (he has, moreover, suggested that the annals for other events in that campaign are based on lost *sijillāt*).⁶³ In the case of the pilgrimage to Mecca, we evidently have a momentous event that was celebrated in *sijillāt* and in the Ismā'īlī tradition, but ignored by the annals (as least as far as they are quoted in later texts). The accounts of al-Maqrīzī and al-Qalqashandī show that through the *sijillāt*, this material had survived and circulated but in a partial and fragmented form. It is in this light that we might also understand the reports about the arrival of correspondence in the year 452, which are unique to the *Akhbār al-Duwal* and *Itti'āz*. A *sijill* might have recorded the Fatimid response to the letter, or celebrated the conquest of Tihāma, and this *sijill* had in turn informed the source used by Ibn Zāfir and al-Maqrīzī. With such partial evidence we can only speculate. What is, however, clear is that outside of those sources that depend upon the *Mufīd*, Egyptian accounts of 'Alī's career are short and fragmented.

6.4. The SY and al-Yāzūrī's role in 'Alī's rebellion

Thus far this chapter has dealt with the period just after al-Yāzūrī's death. The narrative of 'Alī's career as it is told in 'Umāra's *Mufīd* is situated mostly in the 450s. 'Alī's revolt is stated to have begun in 439 (or 429, according to most later accounts),⁶⁴ but the occupation of the Tihāma occurred around 452 and all of Yemen is said to have been taken by 455. The *Mufīd* does not mention any dates in the 440s, but the events it describes prior to the conquest of the Tihāma must have occurred in this decade. For example, the *Mufīd* hints at the conquest of Sanaa when it describes how 'Alī had built palaces there (passage 17), but it provides no

⁶¹ Idrīs, *Uyūn*, 26–7.

⁶² Hamdani, 'Letters', *sijill* 4 and 7.

⁶³ Brett, 'Zirids', 53–55.

⁶⁴ Ibn Khallikān, al-Dhahabī and al-Maqrīzī all claim 429. The manuscript of 'Umāra's *Mufīd* agrees with 429, but the editor has corrected it using later Yemeni histories. Idrīs provides both dates and finally settles on 439. Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:411–2; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XVIII:360; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:187; 'Umāra, *Mufīd*, 101 (see n. 2); Idrīs, *Uyūn*, 10.

account of the capture of the city, which is likely to have occurred in the 440s.⁶⁵ The fragments of Egyptian tradition outlined above all concern events that happened in the 450s. From the surviving *sijillāt*, it is evident that the Fatimids had been corresponding with the ‘Alī during the 440s, but there is only one reference to this correspondence, and this is in the SY.

Thus the SY is an invaluable witness to this otherwise dark period of Ṣulayḥid history. This section will argue that the SY’s unique account provides further evidence of the kinds of material upon which its author depended. As we found in the previous two case studies, the SY account contrasted most with the annals in its focus on correspondence and diplomacy. In the case of the Baghdad campaign, it provided lengthy quoted correspondence between Tughril and al-Yāzūrī, which in part served to show the importance of secretarial work in the campaign. In the case of the Byzantine conflict of 446-450, the SY gave a detailed description of the negotiations between the Fatimids and the Byzantines which had helped produce a truce favourable to the former. In the latter case, I argued that the very specific details of negotiations found in the SY, suggested that its author had access to sources that were involved in the negotiations (or that the author himself might have even been involved).

This secretarial perspective is seen in the SY’s account of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī. The SY does not provide a detailed description of ‘Alī’s career (because the bulk of the events occurred after al-Yāzūrī’s death), but it does provide a very specific perspective on how the allegiance with ‘Alī began and how it was maintained. This might be read as an attempt to insert al-Yāzūrī into the narrative, but there is good evidence from *The Book of Gifts* that we should take the claims of SY seriously. The author of the SY evidently had access to material written by contemporaries at the Fatimid court that was not available or interesting to later historians like ‘Umāra. This will be discussed in three parts: part one will outline the SY account and note a potential pro-Yāzūrī reading; part two will examine the evidence for exchanges with ‘Alī in the 440s; part three will look then more closely at a particular term used in the SY’s version of events and its importance for understanding the source.

⁶⁵ ‘Umāra, *Mufīd*, 119, trans, 25.

6.4.1 The SY: a pro-Yāzūrī account?

In the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī there is one short description of the beginning of 'Alī's career. The account bears no resemblance to that of 'Umāra's *Mufīd* and thus it provides a unique Fatimid perspective on the early stages of 'Alī's campaign. It is repeated in two al-Maqrīzī's texts – the *Khiṭaṭ*, and *Itti'āz* (under the year 443), but not used in the biography of 'Alī in the *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk*. Only the *Itti'āz* provides a date (by situating it under 443), which al-Maqrīzī appears to have guessed from the context of the anecdote. In the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī, the report is preceded by a description of events in Sicily, which is in turn preceded by an account of the revolt of the Banū Qurra. The Fatimid annals date the latter event to the year 443, and al-Maqrīzī has copied all of these reports from the SY under that year.⁶⁶ In the *Khiṭaṭ* he has done similar, adding it into his summary of Fatimid history, after a description of the revolt of the Banū Qurra (which the *Khiṭaṭ* dates to 442).⁶⁷ Therefore, it is not clear when the events described in the SY occurred, but if we assume that the biography is arranged chronologically, they occurred early in al-Yāzūrī's vizierate after the revolt of the Banū Qurra and before the conflict with the Byzantines (which is dated in the SY to 446).⁶⁸

The *Muqaffā* provides the most detailed variant of the account, of which only small parts are given in the *Itti'āz* and the *Khiṭaṭ*. The following is a translation from the *Muqaffā* (underlining indicates text shared with the *Itti'āz* and highlighting text shared with the *Khiṭaṭ*):

The vizier sent his messengers to Yemen, where 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayḥī had rebelled. They did not let up on him until he entered the allegiance of the *dawla*. He sent the *najāwā*⁶⁹ to Cairo and with it [he conveyed] great gifts worth ten thousand *dīnārs*. The outcome of that [lit. came from that] was not as supposed. The likes of it had not been seen before.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:215-22 (passages 80-106).

⁶⁷ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:195.

⁶⁸ As was noted in section 5.3.2 above, the famine that caused the dispute is dated in the annals to 446.

⁶⁹ It appears that in the *Itti'āz* al-Maqrīzī has attempt to 'correct' this word to '*tijāratahum* (their traders)'. The *Khiṭaṭ* uses the singular '*najwā*'.

⁷⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:383; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:222 (passages 107-109); al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:195.

At first glance the account in the *Muqaffā* is a pro-Yāzūrī narrative of ‘Alī’s rebellion. It assumes that ‘Alī’s rebellion had already occurred, but that al-Yāzūrī’s messengers were needed to convince ‘Alī to join the Fatimids. The account then concludes by stressing how unprecedented this event was, achieving more than had been expected (perhaps an allusion to ‘Alī’s later conquest of Yemen).

This account places stress on the pivotal role that al-Yāzūrī played, similar to that found in other parts of the SY. This should be little surprise if we believe that the author of the SY was writing in the middle of the 450s. By this time, ‘Alī had succeeded in seizing all of Yemen and facilitated the spread of the *da‘wa* to Mecca. The author is clearly attempting to associate al-Yāzūrī with this success. As with the previous two case studies, it also seems that the author of SY is subtly altering the narrative to serve his purpose. This SY account supposes, contrary to the claims in the *Mufīd*, that ‘Alī was converted to the Fatimid cause after his rebellion rather than before. It seems that even al-Maqrīzī found this claim untenable, as when he copied the report into his *Itti‘āz*, he cut these opening lines from the account and instead stating that ‘Alī was convinced by Fatimid *du‘ā* to convert to Ismā‘īlism and join the Fatimid *da‘wa*. The implication is that these *du‘ā* were already in Yemen, not sent by al-Yāzūrī (see passage 108, table 5 above and appendix A). This summary better accords with ‘Umāra’s claim that the *dā‘ī* al-Zuwayḥī had convinced ‘Alī to convert to Ismā‘īlism, which al-Maqrīzī also notes in the *Itti‘āz* (copying from Ibn Ḍāfir’s *Akhbār al-Duwal*, passage 110.3 in table 5).

6.4.2 Fatimid exchanges with the Ṣulayḥids in the 440s

The SY’s claim that al-Yāzūrī’s messengers had converted ‘Alī to the Fatimid cause might be an exaggeration, but exchanges did occur during this period. This is seen in the three surviving *sijillāt* that can be dated to the 440s (the first is dated to 445, and there are three further undated *sijillāt* that might date to the 440s).⁷¹ In addition to this, the *Book of Gifts* supplies evidence for the exchange of gifts in the 440s. This work provides detailed descriptions of the contexts in which gifts were sent suggesting that there was a system in place in Cairo for the recording of gifts and the contexts that had led them to be exchanged.

⁷¹ See the list in: Hamdani, ‘Letters’, 310-311. Brett has redated *sijill* 5 to 445. Brett, ‘Zirids’, 50.

It is possible that the SY has relied on similar gift receipts or another court source to describe the dispatch of messengers to ‘Alī and the arrival of a gift in return.

It is important to reiterate at this point (noted in chapters 2 and 5) that the surviving *Book of Gifts* is not contemporary but a ninth-century copy of a contemporary work. The work was also used by al-Maqrīzī and copied into his *Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti‘āz*. In some cases, al-Maqrīzī quotes parts of the work that have not survived in the extant ninth-century copy of the *Book of Gifts*. Therefore, in the discussion that follows I will compare these three available variants of the work.

There are three separate anecdotes in the *Book of Gifts* concerning the receipt of gifts from ‘Alī al-Ṣulayhī. In the first case is related to the sale of items during the *fitna*, and the *Khiṭaṭ* provides the most detailed variant (underlining indicates text shared with the *Itti‘āz* and highlighting text shared with the extant *Book of Gifts*):

[Ibn Abū Kudayna] took the marvellous, precious, magnificent large pearls, from those that had been sent by al-Ṣulayhī, and whose measure, as has been mentioned, was seven waybas.⁷²

This second is only quoted in the *Itti‘āz*, but passages surrounding the anecdote are shared with the extant *Book of Gifts* and so it seems likely that the *Book of Gifts* is the source text.⁷³ It again describes the sale of items during the *fitna*:

Many bags were found containing cord (for tying camels or kufiya) from Yemen that had been gifted by al-Ṣulayhī.⁷⁴

In both cases we have examples of objects that were sent by ‘Alī, but it is not clear when they were sent. The descriptions themselves are, however, valuable because they indicate how gifts were recorded at the Fatimid court. The *fitna* occurred sometime after the gifts were sent and yet the author of the *Book of Gifts* was able to record how certain items that were sold during this period were sent by ‘Alī al-Ṣulayhī. This suggests that there was a formal record of gifts that the author could use.

⁷² Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz*, II:281; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:371; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā‘ir*, 253; Qaddumi, *Book of Gifts*, 232 (translation).

⁷³ Compare: Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā‘ir*, 256.

⁷⁴ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti‘āz*, II:286

The final example further suggests that the author of the *Book of Gifts* had used such a record. This more detailed instance is only found in the extant *Book of Gifts*:

In the year 449, Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad... known as ‘al-Ṣulayḥī’, acquired, in Yemen, many precious stones, among which were pieces of turquoise, each weighing five *dirhams*, and corundum [stones], each weighing two, three, four or five dirhams. When [Abū al-Ḥasan] conquered Sanaa, he found in Ghumdān in the palace of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan the Ḥimyarite two large green porcelain storage jars with conical bases, the largest in size ever known, and he found twenty-four priceless Tubba’ite swords together with gold ore. He also chanced on three large green porcelain storage jars with conical bases with their stands and lids made of the same material. They were the largest jars that ever existed and the most beautiful in colour and quality. [He found], as well, a hundred and sixty ancient swords, which had belonged to the kings of Ḥimyar; on each one of them was [engraved] the name of the king who had owned it. They were kept in gold sheaths. Some of them had one cutting edge; others had two. As part of his gift he bore to al-Mustaṣfir bi-Allāh a hundred of these swords, which were priceless in terms of splendour and value.⁷⁵

This lengthy passage is instructive in two ways. One, it is dated to 449, indicating that gifts had been sent during the 440s and indicating that Sanaa was occupied during al-Yāzūrī’s vizierate. Second, it reveals something about the recording of gift exchanges. A lengthy anecdote is given to contextualise the gifts that were sent by ‘Alī to Cairo. No other source describes the capture of Sanaa in these very specific terms – that is the seizure of precious items. Given that the author of the *Book of Gifts* is known to quote from sources close to the court (as was noted with Khaṭīr al-Mulk in chapter 5), it is likely that this anecdote originated in the records of the Fatimid court itself. This narrative was possibly part of the correspondence attached to the gifts in question, and it was archived, or recorded in the gift receipt, after the gift had been received (allowing the compiler of the *Book of Gifts* to later insert it into his work).

The SY (as it is quoted in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti’āz*) gives a clear value to the gifts (10,000 *dīnārs*) that ‘Alī had sent when he submitted to the Fatimid *dawla*. It is possible that the

⁷⁵ Following Quddumi’s translation: Quddumi, *Book of Gifts*, 194; Ibn al-Zubayr, *Dhakhā’ir*, 194-5.

author of the SY had invented this figure for emphasis. However, we know from the *Book of Gifts* that the court kept a record of gifts, their value and the reason that they were sent. In chapter 5, I hypothesised that Khaṭīr al-Mulk (who is named as an informant in the *Book of Gifts*) had been a source for (if not the author of) the SY. The SY's account might, therefore, have been derived from a report written at the Fatimid court. This is further suggested by the SY's use of *da'wa*-specific terminology.

6.4.3 The terminology of the SY account

Thus far I have stressed that the SY account of events in Yemen likely exaggerates the role played by al-Yāzūrī. However, the *Book of Gifts* confirms that gifts were sent by 'Alī in the 440s and that they were recorded in gift receipts. Although the account in the SY is short, its use of language provides insight into its authorship. In both the *Khiṭaṭ* and *Muqaffā* versions of the account it is stated that the '*najwā*' was sent by 'Alī to Cairo. This is an obscure term with a specific Ismā'īlī meaning. Its obscurity is seen in the *Itti'āz*, where it appears that al-Maqrīzī has miscorrected the plural of the word (*najwā*) to '*tijāra*', stating instead that al-Ṣulayhī 'sent their traders'.⁷⁶ *Najwā* refers to the payments made by all adherents of the *da'wa* to the Imam-Caliph in Cairo, as a requirement of the Ismā'īlī faith.⁷⁷ This might be read as an attempt to reinforce the pro-Yāzūrī agenda of the SY. As was noted above, the SY appears to be stating that 'Alī had not joined the Fatimid cause until he was convinced to do so by al-Yāzūrī's messengers. The dispatch of the *najwā* to Cairo, therefore, underlined the symbolic submission of the community in Yemen to the Imam-Caliph and it thus reinforces the importance of al-Yāzūrī's actions.

Whether or not the *najwā* was being mentioned to satisfy the agenda of the SY, the use of the term in of itself tells us something about the author of the text. The use of the term *najwā* is not unique to this source. The term is found elsewhere in al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*, but it is used rarely, and the few references appear to derive from sources close to

⁷⁶ This adheres to a pattern seen across al-Maqrīzī's texts. Bauden has observed another case where al-Maqrīzī copies from Ibn al-Ma'mūn's history. There the variant *Muqaffā* retained a Fatimid-specific term precisely (keeping the diacritical marks), where in the *Khiṭaṭ* he was more hesitant (leaving off the diacritical marks). Bauden, 'Maqriziana XII', 60-1.

⁷⁷ See: Stern, 'Cairo at the centre', 242; Daftary, *Ismā'īlīs*, 226; Walker, 'Ismā'īlī *da'wa*', 174.

the Fatimid court.⁷⁸ By comparison, Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil*, which I have argued had poor access to Fatimid texts, does not use the term *najwā* with its *Ismā'īlī* meaning.⁷⁹ In the *Itti'āz*, al-Maqrīzī appears to primarily mention the *najwā* in the context of *Ismā'īlīsm* in Cairo. In his chapter on the organisation of the Fatimid Imamate he describes the office of the chief *dā'ī* and his responsibilities: 'To him [is the responsibility] to take the *najwā* from the believers in all of the provinces [*a'māl*], its amount is three *darāhim* and a third, and he conveys it to the Caliph.'⁸⁰

The term is used in three other places in the *Itti'āz*, and in all of these cases it appears to be used to refer to the collection of the *najwā* from Egyptian adherents.⁸¹ In the *Muqaffā* there is one reference to the *najwā* that can clearly be associated with Yemen. In that case it is stated that during the days of al-Afdal (r. 487-515, al-Ma'mūn's predecessor) when the *najwā* arrived from Yemen it would be sent to the *iwān*, where it would be spent by the vizier.⁸² In this case the *najwā* from Yemen is referenced as if it were a common and expected income in Cairo in the early sixth century. This lends additional credence to the SY's claim. Above all, the references in the *Itti'āz* indicate that the term was used rarely and mentioned by authors who were close to and familiar with the Fatimid court (such as al-Musabbihī, for the first reference in the *Itti'āz*, and Ibn al-Ma'mūn for the account in the *Muqaffā*). Whoever wrote the SY must have been familiar with the practices of the *da'wa* and the terms used within its organisation (or at the very least he used sources that were).

Conclusions: the annals post al-Yāzūrī and the unique perspective of the SY

In the previous two cases studies it was argued that there were two distinct perspectives on al-Yāzūrī's vizierate, the SY and the annals. The SY was written around the middle of 450s and the annals written in the 450s and 460s (perhaps adapting annals written in the 440s). As a whole, while the narrative of the SY provides a pro-Yāzūrī and pro-secretarial account

⁷⁸ In the outline of references to *najwā* and footnotes that follow I will cite the printed editions of the *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā*. However, these references were found through searches of digital versions of the texts, searching for the terms '*najwā*' and '*najāwa*'. The digital texts are part of the OpenITI corpus. See: Maxim Romanov, and Masoumeh Seydi. "OpenITI: A Machine-Readable Corpus of Islamicate Texts". *Zenodo* (2020) <https://zenodo.org/record/4075046#.X4iDg2j0IPY> (version 2020.2.3 of the corpus, accessed 15 October 2020).

⁷⁹ In a poem, used with its more common meaning of 'confidential talk/correspondence'. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VII:449.

⁸⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, III:337.

⁸¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:50, 82, III:85.

⁸² Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, VI:484.

of events, the annals focus on the Imam-Caliph and issues related to the broader Imamate. This chapter has built upon these observations. For ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s career, there is no evidence of an annalistic account and it seems that the annals for the 450s are interested primarily in domestic issues. This aligns with our understanding of the annals as focussed on the Imam-Caliph and on campaigns directed from Cairo. Through the 440s and 450s, Cairo’s interaction with Yemen was primarily through correspondence, which - as has been seen in the previous case studies - is poorly documented in the annals. By comparison, the SY, which focuses on secretaries and correspondence, provides an anecdote relating to an embassy and gift exchange with ‘Alī.

As has been made clear in modern studies of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s career, there are significant disagreements in the historiography of the period and there is no clear record of ‘Alī’s actions in the 440s. This historiography is derived almost entirely from one source, the *Mufīd* of ‘Umāra al-Yamanī. Comparison of Ibn Muyassar’s *Akḥbār* and al-Maqrīzī’s *Itti’āz* shows that the annalistic source shared between these two works does not discuss events relating to ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī. It is only when these authors rely on a different annalistic source, which documents events in the early sixth century, that we begin to see references to Yemen, all of which focus on the exchange of messengers with the Ṣulayḥids. For the 440s and 450s, where the *Itti’āz* refers to the Ṣulayḥids he uses the SY, Ibn Ṣāfir’s *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and Ibn Khallikān’s *Wafayāt* as sources. The latter of these two copy their accounts from ‘Umāra’s *Mufīd*. ‘Umāra frames his *Mufīd* as a history of Yemen written from a Yemeni perspective, but his use of sources is often far from clear, and it is possible that he had used Egyptian sources. It is from these uncited sections that the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and *Wafayāt* most frequently quote.

Aside from those sources that quote directly from the *Mufīd* there is very little surviving material about ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī. There are short accounts in al-Qalqashandī’s *Ṣubḥ*, but these are fragmentary and focus mostly on ‘Alī’s adversary, the Najāḥids. Meanwhile, there are small amounts of material that is shared by the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and the *Itti’āz*, but not clearly taken from the *Mufīd*. This material provides a Fatimid perspective and in particular notes how ‘Alī had asked the Imam-Caliph’s permission before undertaking 452 conquest of the Tihāma. Finally, there is a series of accounts surrounding ‘Alī’s pilgrimage to Mecca in 455. In that case the *Itti’āz*’s account appears to be in part derived from an Egyptian source.

In all of these cases these Egyptian accounts of 'Alī's campaigns are short and cannot be clearly associated with an annalistic account. It is possible instead that they are based on *sijillāt* that were issued to celebrate or recognise important moments in 'Alī's campaign.

While there is no clear annalistic account of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī's career, the SY does provide one short anecdote, which reveals much about the SY and its author. The account focuses on al-Yāzūrī's dispatch of messengers to Yemen and the receipt of 'Alī's allegiance, the *najwā* and a gift in return. Although this account is clearly written to praise al-Yāzūrī (as I have found in the previous cases) it is also based on fact. The *Book of Gifts* clearly establishes the reality of gift exchange with the Ṣulayḥids in the 440s and the thoroughness with which gift exchange was recorded. It is possible that the author of the SY had utilised such records in its account. The reference to *najwā* in particular reveals that the author of the SY was familiar with the inner workings of the Ismā'īlī *da'wa*.

The mention of *najwā* is fundamental for our understanding of the SY as a source.

Throughout this study I have argued that the SY as it is found copied into the *Khiṭaṭ*, *Itti'āz* and *Muqaffā* is a contemporary or near-contemporary Fatimid biography. I have, moreover, argued that the *Muqaffā* quotes from that source most completely, potentially copying from the original source with very little editing. The use of the term *najāwā* (plural of *najwā*) in the *Muqaffā* version and al-Maqrīzī's alteration of this term to *tijāra* in the *Itti'āz*, reinforces these observations. This is a term with which al-Maqrīzī was evidently unfamiliar and it is likely that it originated in the Fatimid source from which al-Maqrīzī was copying. This source has evidently been copied into the *Muqaffā* with little thought about the obscure term or attempt to change it. The *najwā* was a term familiar only to those closely involved in the Fatimid state and *da'wa* and its presence in the *Muqaffā* suggests that this text is quoting from a contemporary Fatimid source. The *Muqaffā*'s reference to 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī may, therefore, be short, but it is pivotal for understanding the survival of Fatimid historiography.

Conclusions

This study has sought to understand Fatimid historiography in the period of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate. It has identified two separate source traditions that survive in quotations in later sources, particularly in the works of Ibn Muyassar and al-Maqrīzī. By way of conclusion, I will summarise the argument made through the preceding chapters for the annals and the SY, treating each source in turn. I will then make some brief remarks about the importance of this study for understanding the period and in particular Fatimid perceptions of the Seljuks.

In chapter 1, I suggested that some *sijillāt* might be read as official histories. The annalistic text that is shared between the *Akhhbār* and *Itti'āz* (and sometimes quoted in al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*) appears to provide an official account of events that was written in at least two phases (in the 450s and 460s). However, the version of the annals used by these authors was perhaps written as late as the sixth century. For the Baghdad campaign, the official perspective of the annals is somewhat obscured by an anti-Yāzūrī agenda. It is clear from the surviving Egyptian accounts that there was very little recorded about the campaign itself. Al-Maqrīzī and al-Nuwayrī rely heavily on Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* for details about the campaign in Iraq. By contrast, Ibn Muyassar provides very little detail on the main events of the campaign. He does not mention the capture of Mosul and his description of Baghdad's eventual capture is short.

The two phases of the anti-Yāzūrī narrative of the Baghdad campaign represent the evolution of the annalistic narrative. There are, firstly, accounts that direct their criticism directly towards al-Yāzūrī and his son, claiming that he had overspent on the campaign and had intended to betray the Fatimids to the Seljuks. This probably represents accusations made against al-Yāzūrī at the time of his arrest, and I argued that this part of the annals was written in the 450s. The second phase of the annals blames the failure at Baghdad for the collapse of the Fatimid state and the Seljuk occupation of Syria, which did not occur until the 460s. However, both of these phases of the annals are likely revisions (at least in part) of an earlier set of annals originally written in the 440s. This is seen in the account of the year 447, which does not mention al-Yāzūrī at all, instead positioning the Imam-Caliph as the main Fatimid protagonist.

It is also possible to see a remnant of the 440s annals in 448 the account of al-Yāzūrī's son, Khaṭīr al-Mulk. As part of al-Yāzūrī's obituary, we are told that he sent Khaṭīr al-Mulk with his money to Jerusalem (potentially as a step towards joining the Seljuks in Baghdad). By comparison, the 448 account claims that Khaṭīr al-Mulk's destination was Latakia and that he had been sent there on an expedition. In the 450s revision of the annals, it would appear that the purpose of that expedition had been scratched from the record, but we find clues in the annals for previous years. As I argued in chapter 5, the annals for the years 443-447 do not exhibit any anti-Yāzūrī rhetoric, and this is seen in the accounts of exchange and conflict with the Byzantines. They do, however, seem to have been modified in the 450s. The accounts for exchanges in the years 443 and 444 appear to lend an exaggerated role to Tughril and his relationship with the Abbasid Caliph. This represents an understanding of Tughril written after his capture of Baghdad in 447. Yet, beneath this agenda, one finds a narrative that centres on the Imam-Caliph and justifies the truce with the Byzantines as part of their confrontation with the Abbasids. This perspective probably originates in the annals written in the 440s.

The annalistic account of the 446-450 conflict with the Byzantines appears to be least affected by later agendas. It does not mention Tughril and the Abbasids, nor does it mention al-Yāzūrī. It instead offers a military-oriented account of the conflict where the Imam-Caliph is the central Fatimid protagonist. The annals summarise the whole campaign under year 446, before providing a more detailed narrative of a part of the campaign under the year 447. The specifics provided in the Byzantine accounts (but particularly under the year 447) are remarkable, giving the names of individuals involved in events and describing the manner in which certain towns were captured on the frontier. These details provide some indication of how detailed the 440s annals might have been.

The annalistic account of the conflict with the Byzantines is cut off after the year 447, although Khaṭīr al-Mulk's 448 expedition was likely a part of it. As this study has shown, such silences can also provide insight into the Fatimid annals and their authorship. The silence on the later part of the conflict on the Byzantines is probably a result of the anti-Yāzūrī agenda imposed in the 450s, which has entirely transformed Khaṭīr al-Mulk's role. However, in the case of the Ṣulayḥids, it appears that the annals are entirely blank. This is not just the case for the 440s and 450s; it is only with Ibn al-Ma'mūn's history (documenting events from c.

500) that the Ṣulayḥids appear in an annalistic source. This is seen in both Ibn Muyassar's failure to provide any account of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī, and in al-Maqrīzī's reliance on non-Fatimid accounts (Ibn Ṣāfir and Ibn Khallikān). In spite of this there are *sijillāt* that represent exchanges between the Fatimids and the Ṣulayḥids in the 440s and 450s, and these *sijillāt* have clearly shaped some later accounts (seen most clearly in the anecdotes surrounding the Mecca pilgrimage). The case of the Ṣulayḥids, therefore, potentially reveals something of our annalist's priorities. The annals are evidently very interested in matters near the centre (such as the Byzantine frontier), but less interested in the *da'wa*. This might also explain why the annals ignore al-Basāsīrī's capture of Mosul, despite it being clearly described by the Fatimid *dā'ī* al-Mu'ayyad.

The silence from 448 until 450, however, suggests that something larger is at work. As I noted in chapter 6, the *Book of Gifts* clearly records a gift sent from Yemen in the year 449, following 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī's capture of Sanaa. This was evidently a momentous event of which the Fatimid court was aware, but there appears to be no record of it in the annals.

Additionally, the accounts under the year 446 of the annals and in the SY suggest that the conflict of the Byzantines had lasted until perhaps 449 or later. However, the final reference to campaigning against the Byzantines is found under the year 447 and there is only a vague reference to Khaṭīr al-Mulk going off to campaign in Latakia in 448. The annals for the years 448 and 449 appear to be very brief. It is possible that whoever had recorded the annals of the 440s had stopped writing, or ran out of material, after 448.

The SY appears to describe events that occurred after 447, but the author is very flexible in their dating of events. It claims the battle of Sinjār happened in 450 (where other Egyptian sources are unaware of a date) and suggests that the conflict with the Byzantines had ended on al-Yāzūrī's death (again, early 450). The audacious redating of the battle of Sinjār, an event that had allegedly become 'famous' and that was celebrated in poetry, further implies that there was no substantive record of events between around 447 and 450. In other words, the author of the SY could date the battle to 450 because there was no contemporary able to effectively challenge the claim. The SY's dating and broader organisation of events reflects a pro-Yāzūrī agenda that is constant throughout the source. In the cases of the Baghdad campaign and the conflict with the Byzantines, the SY claims that al-Yāzūrī played a pivotal role in events. This is even seen in its brief account of the

Şulayḥids, where it claims that al-Yāzūrī's messengers were responsible for converting 'Alī al-Şulayḥī to the Fatimid cause.

The SY, therefore, situates al-Yāzūrī at the centre of the events of the period and praises his governance. This is largely written from the perspective of hindsight. At the time of al-Yāzūrī's arrest, the campaign in Baghdad had looked set to fail and the victory at Sinjār only a temporary success. After Baghdad's capture in late 450, an author could claim that al-Yāzūrī had played a pivotal role in the campaign. Similar is seen in the way the source frames other events in the Baghdad campaign. The description of the inability to support al-Basāsīrī's *'iqta'* appears to include a deliberate comment on the *fitna* instigated by the rivalry between the Black and Turkish regiments in 454. Moreover, the descriptions of al-Yāzūrī's instigation of defections among the Seljuks appears to compete with al-Mu'ayyad's claims about his involvement in the Baghdad campaign.

There is, however, more than just a pro-Yāzūrī agenda in the SY's accounts. Throughout the SY we are treated to lengthy descriptions of correspondence between the main characters. The heroes of the source are the secretaries. This is seen in the Baghdad campaign, where al-Yāzūrī uses carefully phrased correspondence to convince Tughril to send his Turkmān back to Khurasān. It is, however, most clear in the case of the conflict with Byzantium. Although the campaigning on the frontier is a major driver in the negotiations, it is the exchanges with the Byzantine emperor that allow al-Yāzūrī to draw up terms that are favourable to the Fatimids. In other words, the secretaries redeem the long-term benefits brought by the military successes on the frontier.

The detail in the Byzantine case, however, tells us something more about the SY and its use of sources. The description of the negotiations with the Byzantines is uniquely precise, noting the arrangements over prisoner exchanges, the switching of frontier towns and specifics about the Byzantines' payment of some kind of *jizya*. This suggests that its author was exceptionally well informed about the negotiations, perhaps even involved in them. This is further reflected in the short account of the Şulayḥids, which refers to the *najwā* - a payment specific to the Ismā'īlī *da'wa*. The pro-secretarial agenda suggests that the SY's author is probably a secretary, and we might even be able to identify its author. The SY's misdating of emperor Michael's reign aligns with a second source, the *Book of Gifts*. Al-Yāzūrī's son, Khaṭīr al-Mulk is named as an informant for the *Book of Gifts*, and associated

with key exchanges with the Byzantines. When this is read in conjunction with Khaṭīr al-Mulk's expedition to Latakia in 448, it seems possible that al-Yāzūrī's son had led the negotiations. Above all, it is possible that Khaṭīr al-Mulk is the author of the SY. At the very least, the author of the SY has used Khaṭīr al-Mulk as one of its main informants.

Therefore, in the annals and SY we have two very different sources. As I have stressed throughout this piece, it seems very likely that the *Muqaffā'*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī uses one source, the SY. The biography has a clear agenda throughout that is both pro-Yāzūrī and pro-secretarial and that is probably adopted from one source. That source, originally completed around the middle of the 450s and probably written by a Fatimid secretary, had likely sat on al-Maqrīzī's desk, a source that he used throughout his writings on the period. By contrast, the annals are much more difficult to grasp. As I have argued, they are multifaceted, subject to different agendas that were relevant at particular points of time. We cannot know when the form of annalistic text that was used by Ibn Muyassar and al-Maqrīzī was fixed, but it seems likely that this happened around the middle of the sixth-century.

The multiple agendas of the annals, layered one on top of the other, suggest a style of writing very particular to the Fatimids, where one official text was revised continually over time. This might align with their practice of issuing *sijillāt*. Secretaries could have kept a continuous record of important events, in preparation for writing an official *sijill* that summarised the main events when the time called. At present, one cannot establish whether this was a phenomenon unique to al-Mustanṣir's Imamate (or even just the period c. 440-470). This is something that will require further investigation through comparison with known Fatimid chronicles (like those of al-Musabbiḥī and Ibn al-Ma'mūn). At the moment it is sufficient to state that this is clearly distinct from the SY. Although the annals have agendas specific to moments in time, the Imam-Caliph and the Imamate is always at the centre of this official account. This is seen most clearly in the case of the Byzantine exchanges, where the truce is positioned within the Fatimids' broader ideological confrontation with the Abbasids. This could not contrast more with the SY. The Imam-Caliph is certainly present in that account, but he is secondary to al-Yāzūrī and the secretarial class. The SY takes a form that is much more familiar to students of Islamic historiography; it is written at a certain point in time, with a specific agenda in mind. What is perhaps more

unique is that the work takes the form of a biography (although, as I have briefly noted, this kind of biographical writing became much more prevalent under the following Ayyubids and Mamluks).

I will now conclude by making some brief statements about what these observations might mean for Fatimid perspectives on the 440s more generally. This study has focussed on excavating and understanding the historiography of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate and in doing so it has made much of the differences between the annals and the SY. However, as has been briefly noted throughout the previous chapters, there is a lot that the annals and the SY share. It seems that both sources were written close to the court by individuals who were well-informed about Fatimid foreign policy (albeit not so well-informed about the *da'wa* in Yemen). The sources, therefore, promise to provide insight into the beginnings of a tumultuous period of Fatimid history.

In 432 the Seljuks had defeated the Ghaznavids at the battle of Dandanqan, and they quickly swept across Iran to seize Baghdad temporarily in 447 and permanently in 451. The Seljuks were, therefore, an emerging spectre throughout the 440s. I have argued that the Seljuks' role in the 440s was probably overemphasised in our Fatimid sources, which were likely written after the Seljuks had taken Baghdad and replaced the Buyids as the Abbasid Caliphs' new protector. The later sources make the Seljuks' conquest of Syria appear inevitable and portray them as a genuine threat to Egypt from the early 440s.¹ However, a question remains of how far the Fatimids had perceived the Seljuks as a problem in this earlier period. Certainly by 447 the immediate danger was noticeable for the Fatimids. Under that year, the annals stated that the Turks had attacked the regions around Aleppo (although they refer vaguely to 'Turkmān', not to Tughril).² According to both the annals and the SY, the Fatimids allied with al-Basāsīrī because they feared that Tughril and his followers would move west to conquer Syria and Egypt. This observation was probably made by our historians with hindsight, as both sources were written in the 450s when the threat of Tughril was well-known.

¹ Even Ibn al-Athīr frames them as a threat, claiming that Tughril wished to depose al-Mustansir: Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:322.

² Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 17; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:230.

It is more likely that the Fatimids had seen Tughril's disruption in Iraq as an opportunity. It is in this light that we might understand the extensive campaigns against Byzantium and towards Iraq. The Seljuks' followers had created a disturbance that the Fatimids' could exploit to better assert control in Syria and Iraq. As Peacock has shown, Tughril's faith adherence to Sunnism was far from clear. He, for example, had threatened to wear white robes (the Fatimid colours) to coerce the Abbasid Caliph into permitting the marriage of his daughter.³ Only much later was a myth crafted that showed that Tughril was destined to be a Sunnī ruler allied with the Abbasids. It seems more likely that the Fatimids would try to convert Tughril, and this is potentially what the histories are telling us. Up to now, I have hesitantly treated the SY's correspondence with Tughril as a probable fabrication. However, the substance of the correspondence might have its basis in truth. We should remember that the annals also refer to correspondence with Tughril, framing it as al-Yāzūrī's betrayal of the Fatimids to the Seljuks. In a letter sent to Tughril's vizier al-Kundurī around 449, al-Mu'ayyad reminds him that he had earlier presented him with an opportunity to submit to the Fatimids.⁴ In the letter he disparages the Abbasids and explains why the Fatimids have the correct lineage. This appears to mirror the claims of the SY, when al-Yāzūrī offers Tughril the eastern territories in return for his submission to the Imam-Caliph. It is possible that the Fatimids had attempted to convert Tughril. Al-Basāsīrī was just one of several options for taking Baghdad.

The above reading underlines the importance of seeing our texts as vessels of multiple earlier layers of an Egyptian historiography that was repeatedly retold. The attempts to convert Tughril inevitably failed and so they were only recorded by historians closely acquainted with the events, who had their own agendas to serve. The author of the SY wanted to prove al-Yāzūrī's loyalty and al-Mu'ayyad wished to show his commitment to the Fatimid cause. The correspondence with Tughril provided a useful way for these authors to prove their points. The other narratives that survive were written by those that witnessed the later stages of Seljuk expansion. By the 450s, it was clear that the Seljuks posed a real threat to Syria and by the 460s the Fatimids had begun to witness them spread across the region. Historians writing in these periods were likely perceive Tughril through these later

³ Peacock, *Early Seljuqs*, 119-121.

⁴ al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīra*, 154-6; Peacock has cited this as an example of how al-Kundurī was liable to be converted to Shī'ism. Peacock, *Early Seljuqs*, 121.

conquests. This serves to show that the study of history and historiography can never be separated. If we better understand Fatimid historians, we are likely to better understand Fatimid history.

Appendices

Appendix A. A side-by-side comparison of text shared between al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*

The order of passages in the table below follows the same order as each of the texts. Each passage has a unique number. This allows for easy comparison where the same passage appears in a different order in the *Muqaffā* or in the *Itti'āz*. Where a passage is in a different order in the compared text, I note: 'Out of sequence – see corresponding number under x year'. In these cases, see the corresponding passage under the table related to that year. These passage numbers have also been used for passage pairs with the *Muqaffā* and the *Itti'āz* in other appendices (allowing easy comparison with other sources), and in the footnotes of the dissertation.

Underlining is used to indicate instances of identical text between the compared passages. Bold indicates cases where the subject matter is only found in that text. Text without underlining and bold concerns subject matter that is found in both texts. This might indicate instances where the shared original source has been paraphrased differently, or it might indicate that both sources have accessed different sources with the same narrative. This will be seen most commonly in cases where al-Maqrīzī has copied from the same source text in slightly different ways (for example, using synonyms).

Page numbers from the editions are given between brackets in each of the texts.¹ Headings from the editions have been included to aid navigation and are indicated by 'Heading' in the 'passage no.' column.

Table 1. Year 439 of the *Itti'āz*

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	سنة تسع وثلاثين أربعمائة	Heading
	<p>فيها عمل الوزير أبو منصور الفلاحى على أبي سعيد سهل بن هرون التستري اليهودي وقتله عند خان العبيد. وذلك أن أم المستنصر كانت جارية أبي سعيد هذا، فأخذها منه الظاهر وتسراها فولدت له ابنه المستنصر، فرقت أبا سعيد درجةً عليه بعد وفاة الظاهر. وكان يخاف الوزير</p>	1

¹ The volumes being used are: al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III and al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II.

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>الجرجرائي، فلم يظهر ما في نفسه. فلما مات الجرجرائي وتولى الفلاحي انبسطت كلمة أبي سعيد في الدولة، بحيث لم يبق للفلاحي معه في الوزارة أمر ولا نهى، سوى الاسم فقط وبعض التنفيذ لا غير، وأبو سعيد يتولى ديوان أم الخليفة المستنصر. فغضَّ الفلاحي بأبي سعيد وشغب عليه الجند حتى قتلوه. وذلك أن بني قرة، عرب البحيرة، أفسدوا في الأعمال، فخرج إليهم الخادم عزيز الدولة ريحان، وأوقع بهم وقتل منهم، وعاد وقد عظم في نفسه لمعالجة النصر على بني قرة والظفر بهم. فثقل على أبي سعيد أمره واستمال المغاربة وزاد في واجباتهم، ونقص من أرزاق الأتراك ومن ينضاف إليهم؛ فجري بين الطائفتين حرب بباب زويلة. واتفق مرض ريحان وموته، فأتهم أبو سعيد أنه سمَّه؛ وتجمع الطوائف المنحرفة عنه على قتله. فركب من داره على العادة يريد القصر، في يوم الأحد لثلاث خلون من جمادى الأولى، في موكب عظيم، فلما قرب من القصر اعترضه ثلاثة من الأتراك وضربوه حتى مات. فأمر المستنصر بإحضار من قتله، فاجتمع الطوائف وقالوا نحن قتلناه. فلم يجد المستنصر بداً من الإغضاء، وقطع الأتراك أبا سعيد قطعاً، وتناولت الأيدي أعضاءه فتمزقت، واشترى أهله ما قدروا على تحصيله من جثته بمال. وجمع الأتراك ما قدروا عليه من أعضائه ورمته، وحرقوا ذلك بالنار، وألقوا عليه من التراب (195) ما صار به تلا مرتفعاً وضم أهله ما وصل إليهم منه في تابوت وأسدلوا عليه سترًا، وتركوه في بيت مؤزر بالستور وأوقدوا الشموع، وأقاموا عزاءه. فتعلقت من بعض الشموع شرارة في الستور التي هناك ومضت فيها، فاحترق التابوت بما فيه.</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>وكان مقدار ما حصل في بيت المال البراني على يد أبي نصر صدقة الوزير وأبي سعيد إبراهيم التستري من يوم مات الوزير على بن أحمد الجرجرائي وإلى أن قُتل أبو سعيد سبعمائة ألف دينار، والذي مات عنه الجرجرائي، وهو حاصل بيت المال المذكور برسم النفقات، ألف وسبعمائة ألف وستمائة وواحد وعشرون ديناراً ونصف ونصف ثمن دينار. فصار حاصل بيت المال برسم النفقات إلى أن قتل أبو سعيد ألقى ألف دينار وأربعمائة ألف دينار وستمائة دينار وواحد وعشرون ديناراً ونصف ونصف ثمن دينار.</p> <p>وردَّ المستنصر لأبي نصر، أخي أبي سعيد، خزانة الخاص، ولولدى أبي سعيد النظر في بعض الدواوين. وحققت أمّ المستنصر على الوزير أبي منصور صدقة بن يوسف الفلاحي بسبب قتل أبي سعيد، وما زالت به حتى صرفته عن الوزارة واعتقلته بخزانة البنود. وقيل كان صرّفه في سادس المحرم سنة أربعين.</p> <p>واتفق أنه لما قبض عليه وشجن بخزانة البنود وأمر بقتله بها، حفيرة ليواري فيها، فظهر للفعلة عند الحفر رأس، فلما رُفع سئل عنه الفلاحي، فقال هذا رأس ابن الأنباري، وأنا قتلتُه ودفن في هذا الموضع؛ وأنشد: رب لحد قد صار لحداً مراراً ضاحك من تراحم الأضداد. وكان أبوه أحد الكتاب البلغاء، وتولى ديوان دمشق.</p> <p>(197) ومن أحسن ما قيل في أبي سعيد، وقد كُره أذاه للمسلمين أنه كان يحلف: "وحق النعمة على بني إسرائيل"، قول الرضى فيه: يهود هذا الزمان قد بلغوا غاية آمالهم، وقد ملكوا؛ العزّ فيهم والمال عندهم؛ ومنهم</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>المستشار والملك؛ يأهل مصر إنّي قد نصحت لكم؛ تهودوا قد تهود الفلك</p> <p>وفيها استقر في الوزارة بعد الفلاحي ابو البركات الحسين بن عماد الدولة بن محمد بن أحمد الجرجاني، ابن أخي الوزير صفى الدين، ولقب بالوزير الأجل الكامل الأوحّد، علم الكفاة، سيد الوزراء، ظهير الأئمة، عماد الرؤساء، فخر الأمة، ذي الرئاسة، صفى أمير المؤمنين.</p> <p>وفيها ابتداءً أمر أبي محمد الحسن بن على بن عبد الرحمن اليازوري.</p>	
نشأته بالرملة:		Heading
<p>كان أبوه من أهل ضيعة من ضياع فلسطين يقال لها "يازور"، وله بها حال متسعة ونباهة كبيرة. فلما اتسعت حاله، وكثر ماله، أنف من المقام بها وتحول إلى الرملة وسكنها فشهر بها. وعُرف بالصدق في القول وسماحة النفس، فتقدّم الشهود بها، ورُدّ إليه قضاء أكثر أعمال الرملة. ونشأ له (367) ابنان، أصغرهما الحسن هذا. فخلف أخاه، القائم بعد أبيه، وأربى على أبيه وأخيه في حسن الطريقة وجميل السيرة وشرف الأعلام.</p>	<p>وكان من خبره أن أبيه على بن عبد الرحمن كانت له حال واسعة ببلد يعرف بيازور، من ضياع فلسطين، وكان مقدماً فيها؛ فلما كبرت حاله انتقل إلى الرملة واستوطنها، وصارت له وكلاء في الضياع. فاشتهر هناك وعرف بالصدق والصدق وسماحة النفس، فرُدّ إليه قضاء بعض أعمال الرملة. ونشأ له ابنان نجيبان، ولي أحدهما الحكم بعد أبيه إلى أن توفي، ثم خلفه أخوه عبد الرحمن هذا من بعده، فعُرف بسعة النفس وسعة الأخلاق،</p>	2
<p>واتّصل بخدمة خيرة، كاتب الوزير علي بن أحمد الجرجاني فأحسنّت إليه واعتنت به ومنعت من التعرّض لصرفه من الحكم إلى أن توقّيت، فصرف عن الحكم.</p>	<p>فاتّصل بخدمة الوزير الجرجاني، فصار بذلك ممنوعاً ممّن يريدّه بسوء.</p>	3
<p>Out of sequence – see corresponding number under year 450</p>	<p>واتفق أنه حجّ قبل قدومه إلى مصر، فلما زار قبر رسول الله نام في الحجرة الشريفة، فسقط عليه خلوق من الزعفران الملطّخ في حوائط الحجرة، فجاء بعض الخدام وأيقظه من نومه وقال: أيّها الرجل، إنك تلى ولاية</p>	4

passage no.	Itti'āz	Muqaffā
	<u>عظيمة وقد بشرتك، فلي منك الحباء والكرامة.</u>	
Heading		دخوله في خدمة أم المستنصر ...
5	(198) ثم انتقل بتلطّفه وكثرة مداخلته إلى خدمة السيدة أم <u>لمستنصر</u> ، فتقرّب <u>بخدمتها</u>	وقدم إلى القاهرة وتلطّف بكثرة مداخلته وتوصّل إلى خدمة السيدة أم الخليفة <u>المستنصر</u> وواظب <u>خدمتها</u> وخدمة حواشيها
6	ولازم بابها عندما صُرف عن الحكم <u>بفلسطين</u> يسأل عوّده إلى وطنه وخدمته فيها؛ وهو مع ذلك يواصل <u>الوزير الفلاحي</u> ويؤانسّه، فيبدأه بما في نفسه من <u>أبي سعيد التستري</u> ، فيفاوضه	ولازم بابها للسعي في عوده إلى الحكم <u>بفلسطين</u> . وصار يتردّد إلى <u>الوزير أبي نصر صدقة بن يوسف الفلاحي</u> حتّى اختصّ به وأفضى إليه بما يجده من استبداد <u>أبي سعد سهل التستري</u>
7	في التدبير على المذكور،	بأمور الدولة وما يلقي من امتهانه له، فيشاركه في التدبير عليه
8	ويفتح له من العمل عليه ما يظهر له صوابه. فتقل مكانه على أبي منذر لقربه من أم <u>المستنصر</u> ولمّا لأنه الوزير <u>الفلاحي</u> ؛ وهمّ به، ثم تراخى عنه، حتى كان من أمره ما كان،	ويلقّنه من ذلك ما يجد به سبيلاً إلى المكر به. فنفر منه أبو سعد ومقته وهمّ/ بالإيقاع به، فعوجل وقُتل،
9	وأمره <u>اليازوري</u> في كل يوم يتزايد وحاله يقوى. إلا أن قاضي القضاة وداعي الدعاة قاسم بن تاميلاً كان يمتنع من ردّ الحكم إليه ببلده، لما يعلم من سوء رأي <u>أبي سعيد</u> فيه، وأنه يريد القبض عليه؛ فكان ينحرف عنه ولا يلتفت إليه.	و اليازوري مع ذلك يتردّد إلى قاضي القضاة وداعي الدعاة قاسم بن عبد العزيز بن النعمان ولا ينقطع عنه ليردّه إلى الحكم ببلده. ففهم القاضي سوء رأي <u>أبي سعد التستري</u> فيه فانحرف عنه ولم يلتفت إليه. واستمرّ عليه هذا بعد قتل <u>أبي سعد</u> .
10	واتّفق أنّ <u>حضر قاضي القضاة</u> ذات يوم بباب البحر من القصر، على عادته في كل يوم اثنين، لتقبيل الأرض والسلام أو خروج السلام عليه، ويجلس معه من <u>الشهود</u> من جرى رسمه بذلك. فلما جلس بباب البحر وخليفتاه <u>القضاعي وابن أبي زكري</u> والشهود	فاتّفق أنّ قاضي القضاة حضر يوماً بباب البحر أحد أبواب القصر على عادته في كلّ اثنين وخميس، وجلس ينتظر خروج السلام إليه، وجلس معه من <u>الشهود</u> من جرى رسمه بذلك،
11	دخل أبو محمد <u>اليازوري</u> وجلس معهم، فقال له قاضي القضاة: بأمر من جلست ههنا! أتظنّ أنّ المجالس كلّها مبدولة لكل أحد أن يجلس فيها؟ هذا مجلس لا يجلس فيه إلا من أذنت له حضرة الإمامة وشرفته به؛ اخرج، فوالله لا	فدخل <u>اليازوري</u> وجلس معهم فالتفت إليه (368) القاضي وقال له: بأمر من جلست ههنا؟ أتظنّ أنّ المجالس كلّها مبدولة، لكل أحد أن يجلس فيها؟ هذا مجلس لا يجلس فيه إلا من أذنت له حضرة الإمامة وشرفته به. اخرج،

passage no.	Itti'āz	Muqaffā
	<u>تصرفت على أيامي أبداً.</u>	<u>فوالله لا تصرفت على أيامي أبداً!</u>
12	<u>فخرج ورجلاه لا تكادان تحملانه،</u> <u>فوقف بباب البحر إلى أن خرج قاضي</u> <u>القضاة، فسار وخليفته والشهود معه،</u>	<u>فخرج ورجلاه لا تكادان تحملانه.</u> <u>ووقف على باب البحر إلى أن خرج</u> <u>قاضي القضاة،</u>
13	<u>فسار في أعقابهم، وسبقهم ووقف بباب</u> <u>دار القاضي؛ فلما نزل صنع له</u> <u>استعطافاً،</u>	<u>فسار في أعقابيه وسبقه ووقف بباب</u> <u>داره. فلما نزل صقع له استعطافاً لئلا</u> <u>يريه أنه وجد من كلامه،</u>
14	<u>فلم يعره طرقة وانصرف فلقية</u> <u>القضاعي وقال: يا أبا محمد، كان يجب</u> <u>ألا تريه وجهك عقب ما جرى لك معه.</u>	<u>فلم يعره طرقة ودخل، فانصرف</u> <u>اليازوري. ولقيه القاضي أبو عبد الله</u> <u>محمد بن سلامة القضاعي خليفة قاضي</u> <u>القضاة فقال له: يا أبا محمد، قد كان</u> <u>يجب أن لا تريه وجهك عقب ما جرى</u> <u>لك معه اليوم.</u>
15	<u>وفارقه. فلقية ابن أبي زكري وخاطبه</u> <u>بجفاء.</u>	<u>ثم انصرف عن القضاعي وأقبل على</u> <u>أبي عبد الله أحمد بن محمد بن أبي</u> <u>زكريا خليفة قاضي القضاة فخاطبه</u> <u>بأجفى من خطاب القضاعي له. فتركه</u> <u>وقد عظم همه.</u>
Heading		<u>... بتوسط القائد رفق</u>
16	<u>فرد إلى داره مغموماً، فوجد ثلاثين</u> <u>جملًا من تفاح قد وصلت إليه من</u> <u>ضياعه لثباع بمصر، فأنفذ منها خمسة</u> <u>أحمال إلى الوزير، ولقاضي القضاة</u> <u>خمسة أحمال، وللقائد الأجل عدة الدولة</u> <u>رفق خمسة أحمال، ولمعز الدولة</u> <u>ومعضاد خمسة أحمال، ولابن أبي</u> <u>زكريا ثلاثة أحمال، وللقضاعي (199)</u> <u>خمسة أحمال، وفرق جملين على</u> <u>حرّاسهم. فلم يلتفت أحد منهم إليه، ولا</u> <u>عطف عليه، ما خلا القائد الأجل عدة</u> <u>الدولة رفق فإنه شكره وأثنى عليه،</u>	<u>ووافى منزله فوجد [أن] قد حضر إليه</u> <u>من ضياعه ثلاثون حملاً من التفاح</u> <u>لثباع بمصر، فأنفذ منها خمسة أحمال</u> <u>إلى الوزير الفلاحى، وبعث لقاضي</u> <u>القضاة خمسة أحمال، وللقائد الأجل عدة</u> <u>الدولة رفق خمسة أحمال، ولابن أبي</u> <u>زكريا ثلاثة أحمال، وللقضاعي خمسة</u> <u>أحمال، وفرق حملين على حواشيهم.</u> <u>وكان ثمن هذه الأحمال يبلغ جملة</u> <u>ثلاثمائة دينار. فلم يلتفت أحد منهم إليه</u> <u>ولا عطف عليه...</u>
17		<u>(369) ... ولا تقدّم منّا إليه من الجميل</u> <u>ما يوجب أن يكافئنا عليه. وهذا رجل</u> <u>حرّ له مروءة توجب أن نصطنعه</u> <u>ونحقّق حسن ظنه بنا.</u>

passage no.	Itti'āz	Muqaffā
18	وهو مع ذلك يقف بباب البحر، فإذا أقبل عدة الدولة رفق يريد القصر تلقاه وسلم عليه، فيكرمه ويسأل عن حاله ثم يدخل إلى القصر؛ فإذا خرج وجده واقفاً على حاله فيسلم عليه ويتبعه إلى داره؛ فإذا دخل انصرف عنه. فأقام على ذلك أياماً،	وركب اليازوري من الغد ووقف عند باب البحر. فلما أقبل رفق من داره يريد القصر، تلقاه وسلم عليه. فأكرمه ورحب به وسأله عن حاله. ثم دخل إلى القصر وقضى حق الخدمة، وخرج فوجده واقفاً على حاله. فسلم عليه، وسار معه إلى داره حتى وصل إليها، فانثنى اليازوري راجعاً. وأقام على ذلك أيام.
19	فخفت على قلبه ورغب في اصطناعه، فصار إذا وصل إلى داره أمره بالنزول معه، فينزل، ويتحدثان - وكان حلو الحديث - فيطيل عنده، ثم ينصرف. فصار يشنقه إذا غاب، ويمسكه إذا أراد الانصراف حتى تحضر المائدة.	فخفت على قلب رفق، وقويت رغبته في اصطناعه. وصار إذا وصل إلى داره أمر اليازوري بالنزول معه، فينزل ويجلس معه ويحدثه، وكان حلو الحديث فكة المحاضرة. فأطال جلوسه معه. وبقي رفق إذا غاب عنه يشنق إليه، وإذا هم بالقيام عنه أمسكه إلى أن تحضر المائدة، وأكثر منه حتى عد من خواصه.
20	وكانت أم المستنصر لما هلك أبو سعيد توقفت أمور خدمتها، فأحضرت أخاه وأمرته بخدمتها، فامتنع خوفاً من الوزير والأتراك، واستمرت ثلاثة أشهر تسأله وهو يمتنع. فحضر أبو محمد اليازوري يوماً، فجلس عدة الدولة رفق، وجرى بينهما امتناع أبي نصر، أخي أبي سعيد، من خدمة أم المستنصر،	ولما ضجرت أم المستنصر من عرض خدمتها على أبي نصر إبراهيم أخي أبي سعد سهل التستري، وامتناعه، حتى وقفت أمور خدمتها وبقي بابها مغلقاً مدة ثلاثة أشهر، قال رفق في بعض الأيام لليازوري، وقد أفضى به الحديث إلى كثرة رغبة السيدة أم الخليفة في أبي نصر وامتناعه: إنني أرى رأياً، فما عندك فيه؟ قال اليازوري: ما هو؟
21	فقال له رفق: أرى أن تكتب رقعة تلتمس خدمتها وتعرض نفسك عليها.	قال: تكتب رقعة تلتمس خدمة السيدة وتعرض نفسك عليها.
22	فقال أبو محمد: قد كنت أظن جميل رأيك في وإيثارك مصلحة حالي، وأكذبني فظني. فقال: بماذا؟ فقال: الهزء بي، فإني قد أجهدت في العود إلى قرية كنت فيها فيخل علي بها. فكيف أعرض لهذا الأمر الكبير ومناواة الوزراء!	فقال له اليازوري: كنت أظن جميل رأيك في وإيثارك مصلحة حالي. فأكذبني ظني. فقال: بماذا؟ قال: لهزئك بي. فإني قد أجهدت في العود إلى قرية كنت فيها فيخل علي بها. فكيف إذا تعرضت لهذا الأمر الكبير ومناواة الوزراء؟

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
<p>فقال له: أما ترضى بي سفيراً لك في هذا الأمر وعلى استفراغ الوسع لوجوب حقك عليّ؟ فإن قضت الأقدار ببلوغ الغرض في ذلك، فقد أدر كنا ما نؤثره. وإن تكن الأخرى، فعلى أكثر من العطلة ما تحصل. فأجاب إلى ذلك، وكتب إلى السيدة رقعة يعرض نفسه وماله عليها، ويخطب خدمتها، ويبدل الاجتهاد فيها، وأخذها منه رفق.</p>	<p>فقال له: أما ترضاني سفيراً لك في هذا الأمر، وعلى استفراغ الوسع فيه، لوجوب حقك عليّ، فإن قضت الأقدار ببلوغ الغرض في ذلك فقد أدر كنا ما نؤثره، وإن تكن الأخرى فقد أكثر من العطلة ما تحصل. فأجاب إلى ذلك، وكتب إلى السيدة رقعة يعرض نفسه وماله عليها، ويخطب خدمتها، ويبدل الاجتهاد فيها، وأخذها منه رفق.</p>	23
<p>وركب من الغد إلى القصر، ودخل إلى السيدة وقد أحضرت أبا نصر وعاولته في الخطاب وهو على حاله من الامتناع إلى أن أضجرتها، فانتهز رفق الفرصة بضجرتها وقال: يا مولانا قد طال غلق بابك ووقوف خدمتك وكثرة امتناع الشيخ أبي نصر مما تريد [ين] له منه. وههنا من أنت تعرفينه، وهو رجل مسلم وقاض، وكثير المروءة، وهو مستغن بماله وأملاكه عن التعرض لمالك، وهو ثقة ناهض كاف.</p>	<p>فلما كان من الغد ركب إلى القصر، ودخل إلى السيدة وقد أحضر أبو نصر، وعاولته الخطاب في خدمتها وهو يمتنع، حتى أضجرتها، فانتهز عز الدولة رفق الفرصة بضجرتها وقال: يا مولانا، قد طال غلق بابك ووقف خدمتك في امتناع الشيخ أبي نصر (200) مما نريده منه، وههنا من أنت تعرفينه، وهو رجل مسلم وقاض، وكبير المروءة، وهو مستغن بماله وأملاكه عن التعرض لما لك، وهو ثقة ناهض كاف.</p>	24
<p>فقلت: من هو؟ فقال القاضي أبو محمد اليازوري. وهذه رقعة. فأمرته بتسليمها إلى أبي نصر. وقالت: ما تقول فيه؟ فلم يصدق بذلك وقال: يا مولانا، هو والله الثقة الأمين الناهض الذي يصلح لخدمتك، وفيه لها جمال، وما تظفرين بمثله. فوقع ذلك منها بالموافقة لما كان في نفسها من الغيظ بامتناعه عليها.</p>	<p>فقلت: من هو؟ فقال القاضي أبو محمد اليازوري وهذه رقعة. أمرته بتسليمها إلى أبي نصر. وقالت: ما تقول فيه؟ فلم يصدق بذلك. فقال يا مولانا، هو والله الثقة الأمين الناهض الذي يصلح لخدمتك، وفيه لها جمال، وما تظفرين بمثله. فوقع ذلك منها بالموافقة.</p>	25
<p>وقالت لرفق: قل له يجلس في داره غداً إلى أن أنفذ إليه. فسر رفق بذلك سروراً كبيراً وخرج.</p>	<p>فقال لرفق: قل له يجلس في داره غداً حتى أنفذ إليه، فسر بذلك وخرج، فإذا أبو محمد في انتظاره على عادته، فسار،</p>	26
<p>فراى اليازوري فقال له: أقمح أم (371) شعير؟ قال: بل بر يوسفى - وقص عليه القصة وقال له: اغد إلى دارك فلا حاجة إلى الاجتماع اليوم، وإذا كان الغد فاجلس حتى يأتيك رسول السيدة. ففعل.</p>	<p>ولحق به أبو محمد، فقال له: أقمح أم شعير؟ فقال: بل بر يوسفى، وقص عليه الخبر</p>	27

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
وجاءه من الغد الرسول يستدعيه. فركب إلى باب السيدة وقد جلست له وراء المقطع، وردت إليه أمر بابها والنظر في ديوانها الذي هو باب الريح.	فلما كان الغد جاء الرسول مستدعيًا له فركب إلى بابها، فأحضرتة وأدخلته وراء المقطع وردت إليه أمر بابها والنظر في ديوانها، الذي هو باب الريح، وجميع أحوالها، ونزل.	28
فبلغ ذلك الوزير أبا نصر صدقة بن يوسف الفلاحي فشق عليه كون هذا الأمر لم يكن على يده مع علمه أنه لا يقدر عليه، فإن السيدة لم تكن تسمع قوله لما في نفسها منه بقتل أبي سعد، ولم يسعه إلا المجاملة.	فبلغ ذلك الوزير، فكبر عليه وأقلقه أن تم على غير يده، وأنه لا يقبل قوله عند السيدة لما في نفسها منه لقتل أبي سعيد.	29
واستدعى أمراء الأتراك وأمرهم بالمضي إليه وتهنئته. فلما دخلوا على اليازوري تلقاهم وأعظمهم لسعيهم إليه، وعندما هنأوه شكرهم وأثنى عليهم وقال: ما أنا إلا خادم ونائب لموالي الأمر أسأل في تشريفي بما يُعين لهم من خدمة لأنهم فيها. ثم لما قاموا نهض قائما لوداعهم. وأخذ الوزير الفلاحي في العمل عليه، فلم يمض إلا أيام حتى قبض عليه وقتل.	وأقبل الأمراء الأتراك إلى القاضي أبي محمد، فهنأوه بما صار إليه، فقام إليهم وتلقاهم، وأعظم سعيهم إليه وشكرهم، وقال: ما أنا إلا خادم ونائب لموالي الأمر أسأل في تشريفي بما يُعين لهم من خدمة لأنهم فيها. ثم لما قاموا نهض قائما لوداعهم. وأخذ الوزير الفلاحي في العمل عليه، فلم يمض إلا أيام حتى قبض عليه وقتل.	30

Table 2. Year 440 of the Itti'āz

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	(201) سنة اربعين اربعمائة	Heading
	فيها سار ناصر الدولة أبو محمد الحسن بن الحسين بن الحسن بن حمدان، امير دمشق، وشجاع الدولة جعفر بن كلید، والى حمص، بالعساكر وقبائل العربان إلى حلب لقتال أميرها ثمال بن صالح بن مرداس، وذلك أن ثمال بن صالح كان قد قرّر على نفسه في وزارة الفلاحي أن يحمل كل سنة عشرين ألفاً، فأخّر الحمل سنتين، وأخذ شجاع الدولة يُغري الوزير على ثمال ويسهل أمر حلب. فخرج الأمر إلى ابن حمدان أن يسير هو ووالي حمص بجموع العرب، فنزل بمن معه على حماة وفتحها، وأخذ المعرة، وأقدم فنزل على حلب لخمس بقين من ربيع الآخر. وحارب ابن مرداس حروباً آلت إلى رحيل ابن	31

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>حمدان بغير طائل، في سادس عشر جمادى الأولى. ففي عُوْدِهِ أصابه سيل هلك فيه أكثر ما معه من الخيل والرجال والأمتعة، وعاد إلى دمشق. فبعث ثمال إلى المستنصر يسأل عفوّه، وكان المتوسّط بينهما أبو نصر إبراهيم، أخو أبي سعيد [التستري]، فأجيب إلى ذلك، وانفصل رسوله من الحضرة. فورد الخبر بأن ثمال بعث والياً إلى معرة النعمان، وأنه أساء التدبير، فانحرف عنه الناس، وفر منهم إلى حلب، وأن جعفرأ، أمير حمص، بادر إلى المعرة، فلقبه مقلّد بن كامل بن مرداس وحاربه، فقتل في الواقعة (202) ليست بقين من شعبان وحملت رأسه وشهرت بحلب، وأسر كثير من عسكره، فبعث المستنصر إلى رسول ثمال وردّه، وأفهمه ما ورد من المكاتبه.</p> <p>ووجد الوزير أبو البركات السبيل إلى الإغراء بأبي نصر إبراهيم، فما زال المستنصر بأنه حمله الحقد لقتل: يبيلغ أخيه على السعى فيما يضُر الدولة من التوسط بين ثمال والحضرة، وأن ابن حمدان أساء التدبير في رجوعه عن حلب. فقبض على أبي نصر، وأخذت عامّة أمواله، وعوقب حتى مات.</p> <p>وولى دمشق بهاء الدولة مظفر الخادم الصقلي، وخرج إليها على جرائد الخيل فدخلها على حين غفلة، وقبض على ناصر الدولة ابن حمدان وحمله إلى صور، ونقله إلى الرملة وصودر، وأقام مظفر الخدمة بدمشق. وقبض على راشد بن سنان بن عليان، أمير بنى كلاب، واعتقله بصور.</p> <p>وخرج أمير الأمراء المظفر، فخر الملك، عدة الدولة وعمادها، رفق الخادم، في ثامن عشر ذي القعدة بتجمل كثير وأبهة عظيمة، وقوة قوية، وعُدّة وافرة، وآلات طبله، وعساكر تبلغ</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>عدتهم ثلاثين ألفاً، وكان المنفق فيه عيناً مع قيمة العروض أربعمئة ألف دينار. فبرز ظاهر القاهرة يريد حلب، وخرج المستنصر لتشيعه، وكتب لجميع أمراء الشام بالانقياد له والطاعة لأمره، وأن يترجلوا له إذا لقوه. وسار فوافي الرملة وقد وصل رسول صاحب القسطنطينية بالصلح بين المستنصر وبين بني مرداس، ففشل رفق وانخرقت حرمة، وحررت بالرملة وبدمشق أمور آلت إلى حرب بين العسكر عدة أيام، فبات يوماً ظاهر دمشق.</p> <p>(203) وفيها قُتل الوزير صدقة بن يوسف الفلاحي يوم الاثنين، النصف من المحرم، بخزانة البنود ودفن فيها. واتفق في وفاته عجب، وهو أنه لما ولى الوزارة سعى في اعتقال أبي علي الحسن بن علي الأنباري، واعتقله بخزانة البنود، ثم قتله في سنة ست وثلاثين وأربعمئة، ودفنه بخزانة البنود. فلما قبض عليه بعد صرفه عن الوزارة شجن في المكان الذي كان فيه ابن الأنباري من خزانة البنود، وقتل فيها، ودفن معه. وكان ابن الأنباري من جماعة الوزير الجرجاني ورفيقاً للفلاحي وصاحبه، ولما ولى الوزارة تخوّف منه، وما زال يعمل عليه حتى قتله، كما تقدم.</p>	
ارتفاع شأنه بخدمة السيّدة:		Heading
<p>فنهضوا، وقام لوداعهم. وأتوا إلى الوزير [الفلاحي]. وأعلموه بما كان من اليازوري، فقلق لذلك. ولم تطل الأيام حتّى قبض على الوزير وقتل، وأقيم بعده في الوزارة أبو البركات الحسين بن محمد الجرجاني.</p>		32
<p>فأقبلت حال اليازوري تنزّيد ومنزلته ترتفع وأمره يتأكّد. وخلعت عليه السيّدة خلعة ثانية،</p>	<p>وفيها أقبلت حال أبي محمد اليازوري تنزّيد، ومنزلته ترتفع، وخلع عليه ثانياً،</p>	33

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
وَلَقَّبَ بِالْمَكِينِ الْأَمِينِ <u>عمدة أمير المؤمنين</u> .	See corresponding passage number below	39
وَأَمْرَتُهُ أَنْ لَا يَقُومَ لِأَحَدٍ، فَإِنْ خَدَمْتَهُ لَا تَقْتَضِي إِعْظَامَ أَحَدٍ	أمر ألا يقوم <u>الأحد</u>	34
إِذَا دَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ وَلَوْ عَظُمَ قَدْرُهُ، فَكَانَ يُعْتَذِرُ إِلَى مَنْ يَأْتِيهِ مِنَ الْجَلَّةِ وَالرُّؤَسَاءِ وَالْأَكَابِرِ	إِذَا دَخَلَ عَلَيْهِ وَلَوْ عَظُمَ قَدْرُهُ، فَكَانَ يُعْتَذِرُ إِلَى مَنْ يَغْشَاهُ مِنَ الْجَلَّةِ وَالرُّؤَسَاءِ الْأَكَابِرِ،	35
عَنْ تَرْكِ الْقِيَامِ وَيَقُولُ: لَوْ مَلَكَتُ اخْتِيَارِي لِبَالِغَتِي فِي تَكْرِمَتِكُمْ بِمَا تَسْتَحَقُّونَهُ - إِلَى أَنْ تَمَهَّدَ عَذْرَهُ فِي ذَلِكَ، مَا	وَأَنَّهُ لَوْ مَلَكَ اخْتِيَارَهُ لِبَالِغٍ فِي تَكْرِمَتِهِمْ بِمَا يَسْتَحَقُّونَهُ؛	36
خَلَا الْقَائِدَ عَدَّةَ الدَّوْلَةِ رَفَقًا، الَّذِي كَانَ سَفِيرَهُ: فَإِنَّهُ كَانَ إِذَا أَقْبَلَ إِلَيْهِ وَثَبَ قَائِمًا وَوَفَاهُ حَقَّهُ مِنْ (372) الْإِعْظَامِ.	خَلَا الْقَائِدَ عَدَّةَ الدَّوْلَةِ الَّذِي كَانَ سَفِيرَهُ، فَإِنَّهُ كَانَ إِذَا أَقْبَلَ وَثَبَ إِلَيْهِ قَائِمًا.	37
فَبَلَغَ ذَلِكَ السَّيِّدَةَ فَقَالَتْ لَهُ: لَا تَتَحَرَّكَ لِأَحَدٍ بِالْجُمْلَةِ، فَكَانَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ إِذَا جَاءَ، يُعْتَذِرُ إِلَيْهِ.	فَبَلَغَ السَّيِّدَةَ ذَلِكَ، فَقَالَتْ لَهُ: لَا تَتَحَرَّكَ لِأَحَدٍ بِالْجُمْلَةِ، فَكَانَ إِذَا جَاءَ أَعْتَذِرُ إِلَيْهِ.	38
See corresponding passage number above.	وَلَقَّبَ بِالْمَكِينِ <u>عمدة أمير المؤمنين</u> ،	39
فَمَكَثَ كَذَلِكَ مَدَّةً، وَحَالَهُ أَخَذَتْ فِي التَّرَقِّيِّ، وَرِئَاسَتُهُ تَزْدَادُ إِجْلَالًا إِلَى أَنْ صَارَ يَحْضُرُ بِحَضْرَةِ الْخَلِيفَةِ الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ إِذَا أَرَادَ أَنْ يَسْتَدْعِيَ الْوَزِيرَ كَمَا كَانَ أَبُو سَعِيدٍ مَعَ الْفَلَاحِيِّ.	وَتَرَقَّتْ أَحْوَالُهُ حَتَّى صَارَ يَحْضُرُ بِحَضْرَةِ الْخَلِيفَةِ إِذَا أَرَادَ أَنْ يَسْتَدْعِيَ الْوَزِيرَ كَمَا كَانَ أَبُو سَعِيدٍ مَعَ الْفَلَاحِيِّ.	40
فَشَقَّ هَذَا عَلَى الْوَزِيرِ، لِأَنَّهُ كَانَ إِذَا حَضَرَ الْقَاضِي أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ الْيَازُورِي تَحَدَّثَ طَوِيلًا وَالسَّيِّدَةُ مِنَ وَرَاءِ الْمَقْطَعِ، فِيمَا يَحْتَاجُ إِلَيْهِ.	فَعَظُمَ ذَلِكَ عَلَى الْوَزِيرِ، لِأَنَّهُ كَانَ إِذَا حَضَرَ الْقَاضِي أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ الْيَازُورِي تَحَدَّثَ طَوِيلًا وَالسَّيِّدَةُ مِنَ وَرَاءِ الْمَقْطَعِ،	41
ثُمَّ تَسْتَدْعِي الْوَزِيرَ، فَإِذَا دَخَلَ وَعَرَضَ مَا يَرِيدُ مِنْ أُمُورِ الدَّوْلَةِ لَا يُجِيبُهُ إِلَّا الْيَازُورِيُّ، ثُمَّ يَلْتَفِتُ إِلَى الْخَلِيفَةِ بَعْدَ مَا يَجِيبُ الْوَزِيرَ وَيَقُولُ: أَلَيْسَ هُوَ الصَّوَابُ؟ فَيَقُولُ الْخَلِيفَةُ: نَعَمْ. وَيُخْرِجُ الرِّسُولَ مِنَ وَرَاءِ الْمَقْطَعِ وَيَقُولُ عَنِ	ثُمَّ يَسْتَدْعِي الْوَزِيرَ فَيَعْرِضُ مَا يَرِيدُ مِنْ أُمُورِ الدَّوْلَةِ، وَلَا يَكُونُ الْمَجِيبُ لَهُ إِلَّا الْقَاضِي أَبُو مُحَمَّدٍ، فَإِذَا أَجَابَهُ التَّفَتُّ إِلَى الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ وَقَالَ أَلَيْسَ هَذَا الصَّوَابُ؟ فَيَقُولُ الْمُسْتَنْصِرُ نَعَمْ؛ ثُمَّ يَخْرِجُ الرِّسُولَ مِنَ وَرَاءِ الْمَقْطَعِ وَيَقُولُ هَذَا الصَّوَابُ.	42

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
السيدة: هو الصواب.		
فصار الوزير كأنه إنما يعرض على اليازوري لا على الخليفة والسيدة ولا يقدر على الاعتراض فيما يقوله ولا يجد بداً من امتثال ذلك.	فكان الوزير كأنه يعرض على اليازوري الأمور دون الخليفة،	43
سعي الوزير الجرجرائي لإقصائه عن السيدة:		Heading
فشق عليه ما صار إليه	فیشق عليه ذلك،	44
وأخذ في أعمال الحيلة.	ولا يتمكن من مخالنته، ولا يستطيع وكان من جملة الصبر على ما به. أصحاب الدواوين رجل يعرف بالشيخ الأجل عبد الملك زين الكفاة أبي الفضل صاعد بن مسعود، وإليه ديوان الشام يومئذ، وهو شيخ خود؛ وكان الوزراء (204) يعتمدون عليه ويرجعون إلى رأيه. فأحضره الوزير، وفاوضه في أمر اليازوري، وأخذ رأيه فيما يعمل معه؛	45
فأشار عليه أبو الفضل صاعد بن مسعود أن يحسن للخليفة تولية اليازوري القضاء، فإذا تقلد القضاء وقع في هور كبير	فأشار عليه بأن يحسن للخليفة أن يفقد القضاء، ظناً منه أنه إذا تقلد القضاء فإنه يقع في أمر كبير.	46
وشغله عن ملازمة السيدة، فيصل الوزير حينئذ إلى استخدام ولده مكان اليازوري، ويستوي/ له الأمر ويملك جهتي السلطان والسيدة.	ويشغله ذلك عن ملازمة السيدة، فيجد الوزير سبيلاً إلى استخدام ولده مكانه، ويتقوى له الأمر فيه، ويملك جهة الخليفة والسيدة.	47
	وكان قد تكلم في قاضي القضاة من أيام أبي سعيد، وذكر أن أمور الناس ناقصة في حكوماته، وأن له غلماناً قد استحوزوا على الحكم، وهم الذين يوقفون أمور الناس؛ فاستخدم أبو سعيد شاهداً يعرف بابن عبدون، خليفة القاهرة، وتقدم إلى قاضي القضاة ألا يفصل حكماً بين اثنين إلا بحضوره. وضبط ابن عبدون أمر الحكم ضبطاً شديداً؛ وكان الخصوم يجتمعون بباب القاضي والشهود بين يديه، فلا يمضي حكماً إلا في دعوى بين اثنين، وما	48

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>يحتاج إليه من إقامة بينة، أو منازعة امرأة مع بعل لها في فرض، وما يجري هذا المجرى. وأما في تثبيت أو قصص مستعجمة الحكم، وما يحتاج فيه إلى مناظرات ومنازعات فلا يتكلم في شيء من ذلك إلا عند حضور ابن عبدون؛ وحجج الناس يحتاط عليها في قمطر، وتحمل بين يدي القاضي؛ فإذا حضر ابن عبدون أخضرت وفصل الحكم فيما بين أصحابها. وما زال كذلك حتى حضر إليه خصم في مرّات، فخاف عليه وتشفع إليه بأصدقائه، فلم يعره فرصة يوما حتى خرج من مجلس قاضي القضاة وركب، فتقدم إليه وقبل ركابه، وخضع له وتلطّف في أمره، فلم يلتفت إليه؛ فعاد إلى مَنْ خرج إليه من الشهود وسألهم سؤاله، فانتهره. فلما أيس منه وثب عليه بخنجر وخرق به بطنه، فخرّ إلى الأرض ميتا. وأخذ الرجل إلى أبي سعيد، فنكّل به وقطع يديه ورجليه، وضرب عنقه. ثم استخدم أبو سعيد بعد ابن عبدون القضاعي وابن أبي زكري وأقامهما خليفتي قاضي القضاة، وأمرهما بسلوك طريق ابن عبدون في الأحكام، فلم يقوما مقامه وكانا يجاملان القاضي، فعاد الأمر إلى ما كان عليه قبل ابن عبدون، إلا في فصل الأحكام فإنها كانت لا تتفصل إلا بحضورهما. فتقلّ ذلك على القاضي لاستيلاء غلمانه عليه، واتّهامه أن أمور الناس واقفة، وأنه لا ينفذ له حكم ولا أمر ولا نهى.</p> <p>(205) وكان يحضر مجلس الوزير يوم الخميس في القصر بعد قضاء خدمة المجالس، ثم في الدار يوم الاثنين مسلّما عليه. فحضر دار الوزارة يوم الاثنين على رغبه، فقربه الوزير وسأل عن حاله، فأجاب بأنه لا حكم له ولا أمر، والأحكام مردودة إلى خليفته ولهما الحكم دونه، فإذا حضرا فتح باب الحكم، وإذا غابا أغلق بابه.</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>فقال له: كفيت يا قاضي القضاة. وخرج من عنده وحضر بعده القضاة وأبى زكري، فقال لهما الوزير ما لقاضي القضاة يتضرر منكما ويشكو استيلاء كما على الحكم دونه، وأنه لا تنفذ أوامره معكما؟ فقالا: وأي أمر لنا دونه، هل أوقفنا أمر أحكامه، أولنا غلمان يمسكون حجج الناس حتى يصانعوهم عليها؟ يعرضان بغلمان القاضي! إنما نحن في حضورنا كبعض الشهود والأمر إليه في إمضاء الأحكام، وإنا لنشاهد ما لا يتسع لنا الكلام فيه. فقال: كفيتما أيها القضاة. وانصرفا وقد انفتح له باب الحيلة في صرف القاضي وتولية أبي محمد اليازوري.</p>	
فاتفق	واتفق	49
حضور قاضي القضاة قاسم بن عبد العزيز بن النعمان عند الوزير (363) وتفلقه من خليفته أبي عبد الله محمد القضاة وأبي عبد الله أحمد بن أبي زكريا وشكوى المذكورين من قاضي القضاة		50
مع توغك أبي محمد اليازوري وتخلفه في داره أياما. فخلا الوزير بالخليفة وأعاد عليه	مع ذلك توغك أبي محمد وانقطاعه أياما في داره عن مجلس الخليفة، فخلا له وجه السلطان وأعاد عليه النوبة،	51
ما ذكره كل من القاضي وخليفته وشنع أمر قاسم وقبحه. فقال الخليفة: فمن نستبدل به؟	<p>ثم قال له: أنت يا أمير المؤمنين لسان الشرع، ومقيم مناره، ومنفذ أحكامه؛ وقاضي القضاة إنما ينطق بلسانك، وينفذ الأحكام عنك، فإذا اشتهر في الأقطار ما يتم على الناس في أحكامهم كان سوء السمعة في ذلك على الدولة، وإثارة الشناعة القبيحة عليها؛ وفي الخصوم من هو من المشرق والمغرب واليمن وما وراءه، والروم؛ وفي استفاضة ذلك غضاضة على الدولة. ونحن إنما نطول على الممالك والدول بإقامة سنن الشريعة وإظهار العدل الذي عفت آثاره في غيرها من الدول، وقد كبر قاضي القضاة واستولى عليه غلمانه وغلبوا على أمره. فقال المستنصر: نحن نحفظ فيه خدمة سلفه</p>	52

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	لنا ومهاجرتهم معنا. فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، حفظك الله وشكرك، أما كان من كرامة سلقه أن يستتر حتى لا يشيع هذا عنه؟ وما زال حتى قال الخليفة: من في الدولة يجري مجراه؟	
فقال: عبيدك كثير؛ وبين يديك من يتجمل الحكم به مع ثقته وأمانته وقربه من خدمتك. فقال: ومن هو؟ قال: القاضي أبو محمد.	فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين: عبيدك كثير، ومع ذلك فبين يديك من يتحمل (206) الحكم به مع ثقته وأمانته وقربه من خدمتك، القاضي أبو محمد.	53
فقال: ذاك في خدمة مولاتنا الوالدة، ولا نفسح له في ذلك. فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، هي - خلد الله ملكها - أغير على دولتك وأحسن نظراً إليها من أن تحول بينها وبين ما يجمّلها. ومع هذا فلم يُنقل مما هو فيه إلى ما هو دونه، بل إلى ما هو أوفى منه. فأجاب إلى ذلك. وقام وقد استقرّ هذا وتمّ له ما أراد،	فقال: ذلك في خدمة مولاتنا الوالدة، ولا يفسح له في ذلك. فقال: يا أمير المؤمنين، هي - خلد الله ملكها - أغير على دولتك وأحسن نظراً لها من أن تحول بينها وبين ما يجمّلها؛ ومع ذلك، فلم يُنقل مما هو فيه إلى ما هو دونه، بل إلى ما هو أوفى منه. فأجاب إلى ذلك، وقام،	54
وشرع في الحال في كتابة سجله وإعداد الخلع له ليخلع عليه في غد ذلك اليوم خوفاً من نقض ما استقرّ.	فشرع في كتب سجله وإعداد الخلع له.	55
وبلغ ذلك كلّ القائد رفق فأنفذ إلى اليازوري وقصّ عليه الخبر وقال له: تلطف في أمرك كما تريد. - فعظم هذا على اليازوري وخاف من إبعاده عن خدمة السيّدة، فإنّها كانت أجلّ الخدم وأوفاه وأسناها محلاً وأغناها؛	وسمع هذه النوبة القائد عدّة الدولة، فأوفد إلى أبي محمد بخبره، وقال له: تلطف في أمرك كما تريد. فعظم ذلك عليه، وخاف من بعده عن خدمة السيّدة إذ كانت أجلّ الخدم،	56
فإن كلّ من كان في الدولة من وزير وأمير وغيرهما محتاج إليه. فلمّا كان مع عشاء الآخرة حمل على نفسه وهو محموم، وركب إلى باب الريح، ودخل وأعلمها مكانه. فأكبرت حضوره في مثل ذلك الوقت مع (374) ما تعلمه من توّعك بدنه.	فإن كلّ من في الدولة من وزير وأمير وغيرهما محتاج. فلمّا كان عشاء الآخرة حمل على نفسه وهو محموم وركب إلى باب الريح، ودخل، وأنفذ يعلم السيّدة مكانه؛	57
فخرجت وراء المقطع وسألته عن حال مرضه وما الذي دعاه إلى العناء في هذا الوقت على ما هو عليه. فرمى نفسه بين يديها	فخرجت وراء المقطع وسألته عن حال مرضه، وما الذي دعاه للعناء في هذا الوقت.	58

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
<p>وقصّ عليها القصة كلّها وقال: إنّما الغرض إبعادي عن خدمتك وحرمانني السعادة التي ألحقتني بها</p>	<p>فقصّ عليها القصة وقال: إنّما الغرض إبعادي عن خدمتك</p>	59
<p>ليقع التّمكّن مني. قالت: وما الذي تكره من ذلك؟ فقال: يا مولاتنا، هور الحكم واسع. وأحوال قاضي القضاة قاسم بين النعمان فيه مشهورة. ولو كانت جارية على النظام المستقيم لشغلت عن خدمتك، فكيف والحاجة داعية إلى تجديد إصلاحه وإحكام نظامه، وفي هذا شغل كبير؟ فقالت: لا يضيق صدرك بهذا الأمر، فبابي لك، وخدمتي موفورة عليك، ولا أستبدل بك أبداً. فقال: يا مولاتنا، قد قدّمت القول إنّ هور الحكم كبير واسع، واشتغالي به يحول بيني وبين ملازمة بابك. فقالت: خلفاؤك في الحكم، القضاء ابن أبي زكريا هما ينفذان من الأحكام ما يجوز تنفيذه. فإذا تحرّرت الأحكام نزلت ففصلت ذلك. وقرّر لنزولك يومين في الجمعة لفصل الأحكام. فإذا نزلت كان والداك ينوبان عنك في تنفيذ أمور خدمتي. وهذا التقرير لا يغلبك فعله. فقبل الأرض لها ودعا وشكر وأنصرف.</p>	<p>ليقع التّمكّن مني. فقالت: وما الذي تكره من ذلك؟ فقال: يا مولاتنا هور الحكم واسع، وأحوال قاضي القضاة ابن النعمان فيه مشهورة، ولو كانت جارية على النظام المستقيم لشغلت عن خدمتك، فكيف والحاجة داعية إلى إصلاحه وإحكام نظامه؛ وفي هذا شغل كبير. فقالت: لا يضيق صدرك بهذا الأمر، فبابي لك، وخدمتي موفورة عليك، ولا أستبدل بك أبداً. فقال: يا مولاتنا قد قدّمت القول أنّ هور الحكم كبير واسع، وانشغالي به يحول بيني وبين ملازمة بابك. فقالت: خليفتك في الحكم، القضاء ابن أبي زكري، هما ينفذان من الأحكام ما يجوز تنفيذه، فإذا تحرّرت إلى فصل الأحكام نزلت ففصلت (207) ذلك، وقررت لنزولك يومين في الجمعة لفصل الأحكام؛ وإذا نزلت كان ولدك ينوبان عنك في تنفيذ أمور خدمتي؛ وهذا التقرير لا يغلبك فعله. وقيل الأرض، ودعا، وشكر، وأنصرف.</p>	60
	<p>وكانت إذا قالت قولاً وقت به وثبتت عليه، فإنها كانت وثيقة العقد، حافظة العهد، غير ناقضة له، ولا متغيّرة عنه مع من تطلّع من أمره على ما يقتضى التغيير عليه، فكيف بمن ترتضى طريقته، وتحمد خلائقه.</p> <p>وفيهما ولي القائد بهاء الدولة وصارمها، طارق الصقلي المستنصري، دمشق، فقدمها صبيحة يوم الجمعة مستهل شهر رجب، وساعة وصوله دخل القصر وقبض على ناصر الدولة أبي محمد الحسن بن الحسين بن حمدان.</p>	61

Table 3. Year 441 of the Itti'āz

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
قبوله خطّة القضاء بنصيحة من مولاته	(208) سنة احدى وأربعين واربعائة	Heading
فلما كان في غد ذلك اليوم وهو الثاني من المحرم سنة إحدى وأربعين وأربعمائة،	في ثاني المحرم صرف قاضي القضاة أحمد بن عبد العزيز بن النعمان عن القضاء. وكانت هذه ولايته الثانية، وله فيه ثلاث عشرة سنة وشهر وأربعة أيام.	62
أسدعي إلى حضرة أمير المؤمنين وخلع عليه وقرىء سجله في الإيوان، وخرج والدولة بأسرها بين يديه.	وأسدعي إلى حضرة المستنصر القاضي أبو محمد اليازوري وخلع عليه مكانه في رابع عشره، وقرىء سجله في الديوان؛ وخرج والدولة بأسرها بين يديه.	63
فأقام في تنفيذ الأحكام عدة أيام (375) ولداه ينوبان عنه في باب الريج. وجعل الوزير يبعث للسيدة من يطارحها في ذكر بابها ويعرض لها بذكر ولد الوزير. فقالت: وما هو الأمر الذي يعجز ولدا القاضي أبي محمد عنه، وقد لقينا فعل أيهما وفهما منه ما يحتاجان إليه، ومع ذلك إلى أن يجيء أبوهما،	واستتاب ابنه الأكبر أبا الحسن محمداً ولقب بالقاضي الأجل خطير الملك؛ وأقام ابنه الآخر في جهات السيدة. وشرع الوزير في الإرسال إلى السيدة بأن يستقر ابنه في بابها؛ فامتنعت من ذلك وقالت	64
وما كنت بالذي يستبدل به بوجه ولا سبب.	ما كنت بالذي يستبدل به بوجه ولا سبب.	65
فلما سمع ذلك الوزير أبو البركات، أسقط في يده وقال: أردنا وضعه، والله تعالى يريد رفعه. فقال له أبو الفضل صاعد: أما إذا جرى الأمر بخلاف ما ظنناه وأملناه، فليس إلا مجاملة الرجل وموائقته على السلامة.	فسقط في يده وقال: أردنا وضعه والله تعالى يريد رفعه. فقال له أبو الفضل: أما إذا جرى الأمر بخلاف ما ظنناه فليس إلا مجاملة الرجل	66
فتواتفا وتعاهدا وصار لا يسلم على الوزير ولا يجتمعان إلا يوماً في الشهر، يحضر إليه في داره. فإذا صار إليه احتجب الوزير عن كل أحد،	وكان أبو محمد اليازوري لا يسلم على الوزير، ولا يجتمعان إلا يوماً في الشهر، يحضر إلى دار الوزير، فإذا حضر إليه احتجب عن كل أحد،	67
وخلا به، وبالغ في إكرامه، وهو في الباطن يدبر عليه.	وتلقاه قائما، وأجلسه على مخدة، وأعطاه من المجاملة فوق ما يؤثّر منه؛ وهو مع ذلك يبطن له السوء، ويعمل في التدبير عليه.	68
	وكانت أيام الوزير كلها رديئة لكثرة	69

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>القبض على الناس، والمصادرات، واصطفاء الأموال، والنفي، ونحو ذلك ، فكثُر الذام له. وكان أيضا يبطش بمن يبطش به من غير علم الخليفة ولا استئذانه، فتغير خاطر الخليفة عليه، وتكثُر منه تعيُّظه. إلا أن العادة جرت بالألا يُعترَض الوزير فيما يفعله، ويُمد له في النفس، ويُصبر على ما يكون منه.</p> <p>(209) وفيها قبض على أبي نصر إبراهيم بن سهل، واتُّهم أنه مالا ثمال بن صالح حتى قتل جعفر بن كليد [صاحب حمص]؛ وسُلم إلى الوزير أبي البركات الجرجرائي فضيق عليه وصادره حتى مات تحت العقوبة. وكان هو الذي سعى به إلى المستنصر فقال إنه عين لثمال.</p> <p>واتفق وصول الخادم رفق إلى دمشق وخروجه منها في سادس صفر يريد حلب، فوصل إلى جبل جوشن في ثاني عشر ربيع الأول، وأقام هناك، ثم بدا له فبعث بما معه من الأثقال إلى المعرة، فظن من معه من العساكر أنه يريد أن ينهزم، فأجدوا في الرحيل وقد حاصر قلوبهم الوجل وداخلهم الخوف، فأمر بردهم إليه، فأبوا ذلك عليه. وفطن أهل حلب لهم. فتبعوهم ونهبوا ما قدروا عليه منهم ، وكانت بينهما حرب جرح فيهما رفق في عدة مواضع من رأسه وبدنه، وأسر، وانهزم العسكر بأسره. وحُمِل رفق على بغل وهو مكشوف الرأس، ومعه جماعة من وجوه عسكره، فلم يحتمل ما أصابه، واختلط عقله، ومات بقلعة حلب بعد ثلاثة أيام، في مستهل ربيع الآخر؛ واعتُقل عامّة من كان معه من القواد والكُتّاب بحلب.</p> <p>فلما ورد الخبر بذلك على المستنصر</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>أمر بالإفراج عن ناصر الدولة أبي محمد الحسن بن الحسين بن حمدان من الاعتقال ، وقُلدَ إمارة دمشق الأمير المؤيد مصطفى الملك معز الدولة، ذا الرناستين ، حيدرة بن الأمير عصب الدولة حسين بن مفلح، في رجب، وخرج معه ناظرا في أعمال الشام أبو محمد الحسين بن حسن الماسكي.</p> <p>(210) ووجد أعداء الوزير أبي البركات الحسين بن محمد الجرجاني سبيلاً إلى إغراء المستنصر به ، وأنه تسرع فيما عادت مضرتة على الدولة من تجهيز العساكر إلى حلب. فحركت هذه الأقوال وما يشبهها عليه ما يحقده الخليفة من استبداده بأمور من غير أمر ولا استئذان، فأمر به فقبض عليه ونقي إلى صور في منتصف شوال، فاعتقل بصور. فكانت وزارته سنة وتسعة أشهر وعشرة أيام. ثم أفرج عنه ومضى إلى دمشق.</p>	
<p>فكفاه الله أمره، وقبض عليه وشغرت/ رتبة الوزارة عدة أيام، والسيدة تعرضها على اليازوري وهو يمتنع. فأقيم أبو الفضل صاعد وخلع عليه وعمل واسطة لا وزيراً. فصار إذا أحب أن يعرض على الخليفة أمراً مما يتعلق به يتقدم اليازوري إلى الحضرة، ثم</p>	<p>وبقي الأمر في الوزارة عدة أيام والخليفة يعرض لقاضي القضاة أبي محمد اليازوري بالوزارة وهو يمتنع عليه، فأسند إلي أبي الفضل صاعد بن مسعود، من الأمراء، وأقيم واسطة لا وزيراً، وخلع عليه وأقب بعמיד الملك زين الكفاة، وجعل يرسم عليه عرض ما يختص بالرجال دون الأموال. وكان إذا أراد الاستئذان على ما يفعل جلس اليازوري بحضرة الخليفة</p>	70
<p>يستدعي بأبي الفضل، فإذا عرض ما أحب لا يجيبه إلا اليازوري. فصار في نفسه منه مثل ما كان في نفس غيره من الوزراء. وأقبل ينصب عليه ويحمل الرجال على مكروهه ويوهمهم أنه إذا سأل لهم زيادة أو ولاية، يعترضه اليازوري بما يبطل رأيه ويُفسده.</p>	<p>واستدعي أبو الفضل، فعرض ما يحتاج إليه، فيتقدم إليه اليازوري بما يفعله، ويخرج وفي نفسه من اليازوري ما كان يدور بينه وبين الوزراء في معناه. فأخذ يُحمل عليه الرجال ويوهمهم أنه إذا سأل لهم في زيادة أو ولاية يعترضه اليازوري ويفسد عليه.</p>	71
<p>فاستدعي ناصر الدولة حسين بن حمدان بعض خواص اليازوري وقال له: اعلم</p>	<p>فلما كان في بعض الأيام قال ناصر الدولة حسن بن حسين بن حمدان لبعض</p>	72

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<p>أَنَّ الْقَاضِي لَهُ مِنَ الثَّنَاءِ الْجَمِيلِ كَثِيرٌ، وَنَحْنُ شَاكِرُونَ لَهُ، مَعْتَذِرُونَ بِجَمِيلِهِ، مَفْتَقِرُونَ إِلَى جَاهِهِ فِي جَمِيعِ أُمُورِنَا. وَاعْتَفَاؤُهُ مِنْ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ لَا يَبْرُئُهُ مِنْ ذَمِّنا إِنْ وَقَفْتَ حَوَائِجُنَا، وَيَكُونُ الشُّكْرُ فِيهِ لغيرِهِ إِنْ قُضِيَتْ. وَهَذَا الرَّجُلُ عَمِيدُ الْمَلِكِ هُوَذَا (376) يَحْمِلُ الرِّجَالَ عَلَيْهِ، وَيَشْعُرُهُمْ أَنَّهُ يَجْهَدُ فِي قَضَاءِ حَوَائِجِهِمْ، وَأَنَّهُ يَعْتَرِضُهُ بِمَا يَبْطِلُهَا عَلَيْهِمْ، وَفِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا يَعْلَمُهُ. فَقُلْ لَهُ عَنِّي: يَا سَيِّدِنَا، أَمَّا إِذْ تَرِيدُ شُكْرَ الرِّجَالِ وَسَلَامَةَ صُدُورِهِمْ لَكَ وَخَلَّاصَ نِيَاتِهِمْ فِي طَاعَتِكَ، فَادْخُلْ فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ، فَإِنْ أَحْسَنْتَ عَرَفُوا ذَلِكَ لَكَ، وَشَكَرُوهُ مِنْكَ وَإِنْ أَسَاءْتَ كَانَ لَكَ ضَرَرُهُ وَشَرُّهُ. وَإِلَّا فَاعْتَزِلْ جَانِبًا وَلَا تَلْعَبْ بِرُوحِكَ مَعَ الرِّجَالِ لئَلَّا يُتَلَفَكَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ. وَإِنْ أَذِنَ لِي فِي الْمَثُولِ بِحَضْرَتِهِ ذَكَرْتُ لَهُ ذَلِكَ.</p>	<p>ثَقَاتِهِ: اعْلَمْ أَنَّ الْقَاضِي لَهُ الثَّنَاءُ الْجَمِيلَ الْكَثِيرَ، وَنَحْنُ شَاكِرُونَ لَهُ، مُفْتَقِرُونَ بِجَمِيلِهِ، مَفْتَقِرُونَ (211) إِلَى جَاهِهِ فِي جَمِيعِ أُمُورِنَا؛ وَاعْتَفَاؤُهُ مِنْ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ لَا يَبْرُئُهُ مِنْ ذَمِّنا إِنْ وَقَفْتَ حَوَائِجُنَا، وَيَكُونُ الشُّكْرُ فِيهِ لغيرِهِ إِنْ قُضِيَتْ؛ وَهَذَا الرَّجُلُ عَمِيدُ الْمَلِكِ هُوَذَا يَحْمِلُ الرِّجَالَ عَلَيْهِ وَيُشْعِرُهُمْ أَنَّهُ يَجْتَهِدُ فِي قَضَاءِ حَوَائِجِهِمْ، وَأَنَّهُ يَعْتَرِضُهُ بِمَا يَبْطِلُهَا عَلَيْهِمْ؛ وَفِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ مَا تَعْلَمُهُ. فَقُلْ أَنْتَ لَهُ عَنِّي: يَا سَيِّدِنَا، إِمَّا أَنْ تَزِيدَ شُكْرَ الرِّجَالِ وَسَلَامَةَ صُدُورِهِمْ لَكَ وَخَلَّاصَ نِيَاتِهِمْ فِي طَاعَتِكَ، فَادْخُلْ فِي هَذَا الْأَمْرِ، فَإِنْ أَحْسَنْتَ عَرَفُوا ذَلِكَ لَكَ، وَشَكَرُوهُ مِنْكَ وَإِنْ أَسَاءْتَ كَانَ عَلَيْكَ ضَرَرُهُ وَشَرُّهُ؛ وَإِلَّا فَاعْتَزِلْ جَانِبًا وَلَا تَلْعَبْ بِرُوحِكَ مَعَ الرِّجَالِ؛ وَإِلَّا أَبْلَغَكَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ.</p>	
<p>فَلَمَّا بَلَغَ هَذَا لِلْيَازُورِيِّ قَالَ لَهُ: أَمَهْلَنِي اللَّيْلَةَ وَبَكِّرْ إِلَيَّ. فَبَكَّرَ إِلَيْهِ وَهُوَ خَالَ فَقَالَ لَهُ: أَعِذْ عَلَيَّ قَوْلَ نَاصِرِ الدَّوْلَةِ. فَأَعَادَهُ. فَقَالَ: أَقْرِهْ عَنِّي السَّلَامَ، وَقُلْ لَهُ: وَاللَّهِ إِلَّا أَدْخَلَ فِيهِ وَيَكُونُ لِي خَيْرُهُ وَشَرُّهُ. وَأَبْلَغَ نَاصِرِ الدَّوْلَةِ رِسَالَتَهُ؛ فَقَالَ: هَذَا هُوَ الصَّوَابُ.</p>	<p>فَبَلَغَهُ الرَّجُلُ ذَلِكَ، فَقَالَ: أَمَهْلَنِي اللَّيْلَةَ ثُمَّ بَكَّرَ إِلَيَّ. فَلَمَّا كَانَ فِي السَّحَرِ بَكَرَ إِلَيْهِ، فَقَالَ: أَعِذْ عَلَيَّ قَوْلَ نَاصِرِ الدَّوْلَةِ، فَأَعَادَهُ. فَقَالَ: أَقْرِهْ عَنِّي السَّلَامَ، وَقُلْ لَهُ: وَاللَّهِ إِلَّا أَدْخَلَ فِيهِ وَيَكُونُ لِي خَيْرُهُ وَشَرُّهُ. وَأَبْلَغَ نَاصِرِ الدَّوْلَةِ رِسَالَتَهُ؛ فَقَالَ: هَذَا هُوَ الصَّوَابُ.</p>	73

Table 4. Year 442 of the Itti'āz

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
ارتقاؤه الوزارة	(212) سنة اثنتين وأربعين وأربعمائة	Heading
<p>فَلَمَّا كَانَ بَعْدَ يَوْمَيْنِ قُرِئَ سَجَلُهُ بِالْوِزَارَةِ وَلُقِّبَ بِالْوِزِيرِ الْأَجَلِّ، الْأَوْحَدِ، الْمَكِينِ، سَيِّدِ الْوُزَرَاءِ، وَتَاجِ الْأَصْفِيَاءِ، وَقَاضِي الْقَضَاءِ، وَدَاعِي الدَّعَاةِ، عِلْمُ الْمَجْدِ، خَالِصَةُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ. وَخَلَعَ عَلَيْهِ فِي الْيَوْمِ السَّابِعِ مِنَ الْمَحْرَمِ فَنَظَرَ فِي الْوِزَارَةِ، وَمَضَى فِيهَا مُضَيَّ الْجَوَادِ، وَنَهَضَ مَسْرَعًا بِنَهْوِ غَيْرِ بِهِ فِي وَجْهِهِ مَن تَقَدَّمَ.</p>	<p>فِي سَابِعِ الْمَحْرَمِ قُرِئَ سَجَلُ الْقَاضِي أَبِي مُحَمَّدٍ الْيَازُورِيِّ بِالْوِزَارَةِ، وَلُقِّبَ بِالْوِزِيرِ الْأَجَلِّ الْمَكِينِ، سَيِّدِ الْوُزَرَاءِ، تَاجِ الْأَصْفِيَاءِ، قَاضِي الْقَضَاءِ، وَدَاعِي الدَّعَاةِ، عِلْمُ الْمَجْدِ، خَالِصَةُ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ؛ وَخَلَعَ عَلَيْهِ. فَنَظَرَ فِي الْوِزَارَةِ وَلَيْسَ مِنْ أَهْلِهَا، وَلَا مِنْ أَرْبَابِ الْكِتَابَةِ، فَمَضَى فِيهَا مُضَيَّ الْجَوَادِ، وَنَهَضَ مَسْرَعًا نَهْوَضًا عَزَّ بِهِ فِي وَجْهِهِ مَن تَقَدَّمَ، مَعَ مَا بِيَدِهِ مِنْ قَضَاءِ الْقَضَاءِ،</p>	74

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	والدعوة، والنظر في ديوان السيدة.	
<p>وكاتب ملوك الأطراف فأجابوه بما يليق بقدره ووفور حقه من الرئاسة، ما خلا معز بن باديس صاحب إفريقية، فإنه قصر به في المكاتب عما كان يكتب به من تقدمه من الوزراء، فإنه كان يكتب كلا منهم "بعده" فجعل مكاتبته "صنيعته".</p>	<p>75 وكاتب ملوك الأطراف، فأجابوه، بوفور حقه، إلا معز الدولة بن باديس الصنهاجي صاحب إفريقية، فإنه قصر في المكاتب عما كان يكتب به من تقدم من الوزراء، فإنه كان يكتب كلا منهم "بعده" فجعل مكاتبته "صنيعته".</p>	
<p>وكان لابن باديس بالقاهرة نائب، فاستدعاه اليازوري وعتب (377) صاحبه وقال له: أظنه انتقصني عمن تقدمني إذ لم أكن من أهل صناعة الكتابة. وإن لم أكن أوفى منهم، فما أكون دونهم. ومن رفعه السلطان ارتفع وإن كان خاملاً، ومن وضعه اتضع وإن كان جليلاً نبيلاً. فكتب إليه بما يرجعه إلى الصواب. فكتب إليه بذلك، وقد أذكى اليازوري عليه عيوناً يطالعونه بما يتفوه به. فلما وقف ابن باديس على كتاب وكيله قال: ما الذي يريد مني هذا الفلاح؟ [أن] أكتب له "عبده" وهو أكار؟ والله لا كان هذا أبداً! وإن الذي كتب به إليه لكثير. فطالعه عيونه بقول ابن باديس. فأحضر الوكيل وقال له: قد جرى صاحبك على عادته في الجهل. فأكتب إليه بما يردغه، وإلا عرفته بنفسه إذ لم يعرفني.</p>	<p>76 فاستدعى الوزير أبا القاسم ابن الإخوة، وكيل ابن باديس مصر، وعتب صاحبه عنده، وقال: أظن معزاً ينقصني عمن تقدمني؛ إذا لم أكن من أهل صناعة الكتابة، وإن لم أكن أوفى منهم فما أنا دونهم؛ ومن رفعه السلطان ارتفع وإن كان خاملاً، ومن وضعه اتضع وإن كان جليلاً نبيلاً؛ فكتب إليه بما يرجعه إلى الصواب. فكتب إليه بذلك، وقد أذكى الوزير عليه عيوناً يطالعونه بأنفاسه. فلما وقف على كتاب ابن الإخوة قال: ما الذي يريد مني هذا الفلاح؟ لا كنت عبده ولا كان؛ هذا (213) لا يكون أبداً، وما كتب إليه كثير. فطالعه عيونه بقوله: فأحضر ابن الإخوة وقال له: قد جرى صاحبك على عادته في الجهل، فكتب إليه بما يردغه فيه، وإلا عرفته بنفسه إذ لم يعرفني.</p>	
<p>فكتب إليه بذلك فأجاب بأقبح من الأول. فدرس إليه اليازوري من تلطف حتى أخذ سكين دواته. فلما وصلت إليه أحضر الوكيل وقال له: قد كنت أظن بصاحبك أن الذي حمله على ما كان منه نزوة الشيبية وقلة خبره بما تقضي به الأقدار، وأنه إذا نبه تنبه. فإذا الجهل مستول عليه، وظنه بأن بُعد المسافة بيننا وبينه يمنع من الانتصاف منه، والوصول إليه بما يكره. وقد تلطفنا في أخذ سكينه من دواته، وما هي! فأنفذها إليه وأعلمه أننا كما تلطفنا في أخذها فإننا نتلطف في ذبحه بها. - ودفعها إليه، فكتب الوكيل</p>	<p>77 فكتب إليه بذلك، فأجاب بما هو أقبح من الأول. فدرس إليه الوزير من تلطف في أخذ سكين دواته، فلما وصلت إليه أحضر ابن الإخوة وقال له: كنت أظن بصاحبك أن الذي حمله على ما كان منه ثروة الشيبية، وقلة خبره بما تقضي به الأقدار، وأنه إذا نبه تنبه، فإذا الجهل مستول عليه، وظنه أن بُعد المسافة بيننا وبينه يمنع من الانتصاف منه والوصول إليه بما يكره، وقد تلطفنا في أخذ سكين دواته، وما هي [ذي]، فأنفذها إليه وأعلمه أننا كما تلطفنا في أخذها أننا نتلطف في ذبحه بها. ودفعها إليه. فكتب</p>	

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<p>بذلك إليه فازداد شراً وبطراً وطغياناً. <u>فدس إليه من أخذ نعله - وكان يمشي</u> <u>في الأحذية السندية - فلما وصلت</u> <u>أحضر الوكيل وأعلمه بما انتهى إليه</u> <u>من جهل صاحبه، وقال: اكتب إلى هذا</u> <u>البربري الأحمق وقل له: إن عقلت</u> <u>وأحسن أدبك، وإلا جعلنا تأديبك بهذه!</u> <u>(378) فكتب إليه، فجرى على عادته</u> <u>في إطلاق الكلام القبيح.</u></p>	<p>ابن الإخوة بذلك، فازداد شراً وبطراً. <u>فدس عليه من أخذ نعله، وكان يمشي</u> <u>في الأحذية السندية، فلما وصلت إليه</u> <u>أحضر ابن الإخوة وقال له: اكتب إلى</u> <u>هذا البربري الأحمق، وقل له إن عقلت</u> <u>وأحسن أدبك، وإلا جعلنا تأديبك بهذه.</u> <u>فجرى على عادته في القول القبيح.</u></p>	
	<p>وفيهما توسل ثمال بن صالح في الصّح عنه وأطلق المأسورين، وسعى في ذلك على بن عياض قاضي صور؛ وسير ثمال زوجته عليّة بنت وثاب بن جعفر الشميري وولده وثاباً إلى القاهرة، ومعهما مال سنتين، أربعون ألف دينار. فقام اليازوري بأمرهم، فقبلهم المستنصر، وبالغ في الإحسان إليهم، وزاد في ألقاب ثمال وألقاب مقلد ابن عمه، ولقب قاضي صور عين الدولة. وفيهما ملك المستنصر حصن المنيعه بالشام.</p>	78

Table 5. Year 443 of the Itti'āz

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	(214) سنة ثلاث وأربعين واربعمائة	Heading
	<p>فيها أظهر المعز بن باديس صاحب إفريقية، الخلاف على المستنصر، وسير رسولا إلى بغداد ليقيم الدعوة العباسية، واستدعى منهم الخلع؛ فأجيب إلى ذلك. وجّهت الخلع على يد رسول يقال له أبو غالب الشيرزي، ومعه العهد واللواء الأسود؛ فمرّ ببلاد الروم ليعدّي منها إلى إفريقية، فقبض عليه صاحب الروم. وبلغ ذلك المعز بن باديس، فأرسل إلى قسطنطين ملك رعاية لحق الروم في أمره، فلم يجبه المستنصر. واتفق قدوم رسول طغرل بك</p>	79

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>يستأنذه في مسيره إلى مصر؛ فأظهر المودة التي بينه وبين المستنصر، وأنه لا يرخص في أدبته. واتفق قدوم رسول المستنصر إليه بهدية عظيمة، فبعث معه برسول القاتم بما علي يده، فدخل إلى القاهرة على جمل، وأخرق العهد واللواء والهدية في حفرة بين القصرين، و كان القادر قد فعل مع الظاهر والد المستنصر مثل ذلك بالخلعة التي سيرها إلى محمود بن شُبُكتكين. ثم أقرَّ المستنصر ردَّ الرسول إلى صاحب القسطنطينية.</p> <p>وكان سبب عصيان ابن باديس ما تقدم من بقصيره في مكاتبه الوزير اليازوري وما دار في ذلك.</p>	
<p>فتشمر له حينئذٍ اليازوري، وبعث <u>مكين</u> <u>الدولة الحسن بن علي بن ملهم</u>، أحد <u>الأمراء</u>، إلى طرابلس المغرب، وبها من العرب زغبة ورياح وقد حدثت بينهما حروب. فسار إليهما بخلع كثيرة وأموال وافرة ليصلح بينهما. فتحمل ما كان بينهما من <u>الدماء</u>، ودفع إليهم <u>الديات</u>، وزاد في إقطاعاتهم.</p>	<p>(215) وكان بطرابلس الغرب وما والاها زغبة ورياح، وهما قبيلتان من العرب، وبينهما حروب وعداوة، فأحضر الوزير <u>مكين الدولة أبا علي</u> <u>الحسن بن علي بن ملهم بن دينار</u> <u>العقيلي</u>، أحد أمراء الدولة، وكان رجلاً عاقلاً، وسيره إلى زغبة ورياح بخلع سنية وانعام كثيرة، وأمره أن يصلح ذات بينهما، ويتحمل ما بينهما من ديات، ويقديه بالزيادة في إقطاعاتهما.</p>	80
<p>وبعثهم على محاربة إفريقية وأباحهم ديار ابن باديس وقام في هذا قياماً عظيماً حتى سار المذكورون</p>	<p>فلما تمَّ له ذلك أمرهم بالمسير إلى المعز بن باديس، وأباحهم دياره، وتشدد في هذا الأمر حتى توجه المذكورون إلى ديار ابن باديس وملكوها، وجمعوا دُيُوله عليه، وقلموا أظفاره،</p>	81

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
واستولوا على أعمال القيروان وضايقوا ابن باديس وحصلوه	وضيقوا خناقه حتى لم يتمكن من قتالهم إلا مستنداً إلى حيطان إفريقية. وذلك أنهم ملكوا برقة، فسار إليهم المعز فهزموه، وتبعوه إلى إفريقية، وحصروا المدن، فنزل بأهل إفريقية بلاء لا يوصف، فخرج إليهم المعز في أربعين ألفاً وقاتلهم، فهزموه إلى القيروان. ثم جمع ثمانين ألفاً وقاتلهم، فهزموه، وأكثروا من القتل في أصحابه، وحصلوه بالقيروان. وأقاموا يحاصرون البلاد وينهبون إلى سنة تسع وأربعين	82
إلى أن نفدت أمواله وقلَّتْ عُدُّهُ وتقلَّتْ منه رجاله وأشرف على التلف	، فانتقل المعز إلى المهديّة في شهر رمضان منها، حتى نفدت أمواله، وقلَّتْ عُدُّهُ، وتقلَّتْ منه رجاله، وأشرف على التلف، فلم يجد سبيلاً غير أعمال الحيلة في خلاصه.	83
ففرّ بحشاشته في زي امرأة من القيروان إلى المهديّة، وترك حرمه وداره وأمواله وغلماؤه. فأخذ العرب المدينة وقتلوا الرجال وسبوا النساء ونهبوا ما كان في قصوره وجالوا في المدينة وأخربوها.	فخرج متخفياً في زي امرأة حتى انتهى إلى المهديّة، فاستولت الغربان على حرمه وداره وغلماؤه، وقتلوا الرجال وسبوا النساء، وانتهبوا ما كان في دُورهِ وقصوره، وعاثوا في البلد ينهبون ويأسرون ويقتلون، فخرّبت القيروان حينئذ إلى اليوم.	84
وحمل ما نُهب إلى القاهرة من الآلات والأسلحة والعُدَد والخيام، وكان لدخول ذلك يوم عظيم.	ووصل كثير مما نُهب من قصور بن باديس من الأسلحة والعُدَد والآلات والخيام وغيرها إلى القاهرة، فكان ليوم دخولها إلى القاهرة أمر عظيم من اجتماع الناس واعتبار أهل البصائر بتقلُّب الأحوال.	85
	وكان من خبر دخول العرب إلى المغرب أن بطون هلال وسليم من مُضَر لم يزالوا في البادية، ونجعوا من نجد إلى الحجاز، فنزل بو سليم مما يلي المدينة النبوية، ونزل بنو (216) هلال في جبل غزوان عند الطائف؛ وكانوا يطرقون العراق في رحلة الشتاء والصيف فيغيرون على أطراف الشام والعراق، وكانت بنو سليم تغير على الحاج أيام الموسم وزيارتهم المدينة.	86

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>ثم تجهّز بنو سليم وكثير من ربيعة بن عامر إلى القرامطة عند ظهورهم، وصاروا جُنُدا لهم بالبحرين وعمان، وقدموا معهم إلى الشام. فلما غُلبت القرامطة في أيام المعز لدين الله أبي تميم مَعَد، ثم في أيام ابنه العزيز بالله أبي منصور نزار، وانهزموا من الشام إلى البحرين نقل العزيز بالله مَن كان معهم من بني هلال وسُليم إلى مصر، وأنزلهم بالجانب الشرقي من بلاد الصعيد. وأقاموا هنالك وأضرّوا بالبلاد إلى أن ملك المعز بن باديس القيروان في سنة ثمان وأربعمائة، وهو ابن ثمانى سنين، من قَبْلِ الظاهر لإعزاز دين الله على بن الحاكم بأمر الله، فامتدّت أيامه حتى قام في الخلافة المستنصر بالله أبو تميم مَعَد بن الظاهر، واستوزر أبا محمد اليازورى، فأنف من مكاتبته بالمولى، وكان ما تقدّم ذكره.</p> <p>فحلف المعز بن باديس لِيُحوّلن الدعوة إلى بني العباس، ولجّ في ذلك، وقطع الدعاء للمستنصر، وأزال اسمه من الطُرز والرايات، ودعا للقائم أبي جعفر بن القادر في سنة أربعين وأربعمائة، وكتب إليه بذلك. فكتب إليه بالعهد صُحبة أبي الفضل بن عبد الواحد التميمي، فقرأ كتابه بجامع القيروان، ونشر الرايات السود، وهدم دار الإسماعيلية. ووصل الخبر بذلك إلى القاهرة؛ فأشار اليازورى بتجهيز أحياء هلال بن جُشْم. والأشر وزينية ورياح وعدى وربيعة إلى المغرب، وتولية مشايخهم أعمال إفريقية. فقبِلت مشورته. وأرسل إليهم في سنة إحدى وأربعين، وحمل إلى مشايخهم الأموال، وأنعم على سائرهم بفرو ودينار لكل أحد، وأبيح لهم حمى المغرب.</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>وكتب اليازوري إلى المعز بن باديس: "أما بعد، فقد أنفذنا إليكم خيولا فحولاً، وأرسلنا عليها رجالاً كهولاً" ليَقْضَى الله أمراً كان مفعولاً".</p> <p>(217) فسارت العرب إلى برقة، وفتحوا أمصارها؛ وكتبوا لإخوانهم الذين بشرقى الصعيد يرغبونهم في البلاد؛ فأعطوا من الدولة دينارين لكل واحد، ومضوا إلى أصحابهم؛ فتصارعوا على البلاد، فحصل لسليم الشرق، وللهلال المغرب. وخرّبوا المدينة الحمراء وأجدابية وسُرّت. وأقامت بطون من سليم وأحلافها بأرض برقة، وسارت قبائل دياب وعرق وزغب وجميع بطون هلال إلى إفريقية كالجراد المنتشر، لا يمرّون بشيء إلا أتوا عليه، حتى وصلوا إلى إفريقية سنة ثلاث وأربعين. وكان أول من وصل منهم أمير رياح مؤنس بن يحيى العنزى، فاستماله المعز بن باديس، وكثر عيّنهم في البلاد، ونادوا بشعار المستنصر. فبعث إليهم المعز العساكر فأوقعوا بها؛ فخرج إليهم في ثلاثين ألفاً فهزموه؛ وفر بنفسه وخاصته إلى القيروان، فنهبوا جميع ما كان معه، وقتلوا خلقاً كثيراً، وحصرّوه بالقيروان حتى هلك الضّواحي والقرى.</p> <p>واقْتَسَم العرب بلاد إفريقية في سنة ست وأربعين، وكان لزعبة طرابلس وما يليها، ولمرداس بن رياح باجة وما يليها. ثم اقْتَسَموا البلاد ثانياً، وكان لهلال من قابس إلى المغرب، وهم رياح وزغبة والمعقل وجشم وترنجة والأسيج وشداد والخلط وسفيان.</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>وتَصَوَّحَ الملك من المعز بن باديس فركب البحر في سنة تسع وأربعين، فدخل العرب القيروان واستباحوه وخرَّبوا مبانیه، فتفرَّق أهله في البلاد. ثم أخذوا المهديّة وحاربوا (218) زناتة من بعد صنهاجة، وغلبوهم على الضواحي واتصلت الفتنة بينهم فخربت إفريقية بأسرها، وصيروا البربر لهم خولاً. ومات المعز بن باديس سنة أربع وخمسين وأربعمئة.</p> <p>و كان المستنصر لما بعثهم إلى إفريقية جعل المؤنس بن يحيى المرداسي ولاية القيروان وباجة، وأعطى زغبة طرابلس وقابس، وجعل الحسن بن مسرة في ولاية قسنطينة، فلما غلبوا صنهاجة ملك كل منهم ما عقد عليه، فاشتدَّ عيْثُهم وإفسادهم.</p>	
<p>وكان في البحيرة طائفة يقال لها بنو قَرّة قد اقتطعوها وملكوها وعمّروا ضياعها، واشتدّت شوكتهم، وخشن جانبيهم وعظّم أمرُ مقدّمهم حتّى انتشر ذكرهم ونلّ لهم عدوهم وثقل أمرهم حتّى [على] ولاية الإسكندرية، واجتمع معهم الطلحيون فصاروا بدأ واحدة. وكانت لهم واجبات على الدولة، ولم يكن لهم إقطاع، بل كان ما يستحقونه من واجباتهم يُحمّل مع واجبات العسكر بالإسكندرية إلى الوالي فينفقه فيهم. وكان الوالي بالإسكندرية في سنة ثلاث (379) وأربعين وأربعمئة ناصر الدولة حسن بن حمدان والد ناصر الدولة الثائر بالقاهرة على المستنصر.</p>	<p>وفيها كانت وقعة البحيرة. وذلك أنها في إقطاع بني قرة وقد ملكوها وعمّروا ضياعها، وكثرت فيها أموالهم واشتدّت شوكتهم، وخشن جانبيهم، وكثر المقدّمون فيهم حتّى انتشر ذكرهم، ونلّ لهم عدوهم؛ وثقل أمرهم على الولاية بالإسكندرية، فجاورهم الطلحيون واستندموا منهم، وكانت لهم واجبات على الدولة من غير إقطاع، وهم يأخذون واجباتهم محمولة مع واجبات العسكر بالإسكندرية عندما تُحمّل إليها. فاتفق أن ناصر الدولة ابن حمدان أبا نصر الدولة حسين كان واليا بالإسكندرية</p>	87
<p>فلما انقضت سنة أربع وأربعين وأربعمئة استحقّ الطلحيون على الدولة عن واجباتهم ثلاثة آلاف دينار، فواصلوا اقتضاء ناصر الدولة إنفاقها فيهم، فوعدهم، وكتب إلى الحضرة يلتمس لهم ذلك. فوعده الوزير أنّه إذا حمل إلى رجال العسكر استحقاقاتهم</p>	<p>فاستحقّ الطلحيون على الدولة، عن واجباتهم المذكورة، ثلاثة آلاف دينار، فواصلوا اقتضاء ناصر الدولة إنفاقهم فيهم، فوعدهم؛ وكتب إلى الحضرة يلتمس ذلك، فوعده الوزير أنّه إذا حمل إلى رجال العسكر استحقاقهم حمل ذلك في جملته. وكان قد بقي على حمل</p>	88

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<p><u>حمل ذلك في جملته، وكان قد بقي لحمل المال مدة شهرين. فاستبعدوا الصبر إلى ذلك الوقت وواصلوا مطالبته، وحملوا بني قرة على معاونتهم عليه. فاضطهده وألزموه بالمسير معهم ومع جيرانهم الطلحيين إلى الحضرة الالتماس ذلك. فلم يجد بداً من إجابتهم، وسار معهم إلى الجيزة وطلع إلى الوزير وعرفه الحال. فقال ما أخرنا ذلك عنهم إلا أن السنة كثيرة النفقات والطوارئ، وهذه ألف دينار أنفقها فيهم إلى أن تحمّل باقى مالهم مع مال العسكر.</u></p>		
<p><u>فأخذ الألف وعرفهم ما قال الوزير. فامتنعوا عن الأخذ، وأبوا إلا قبض الثلاثة آلاف، وألزموه بالعود. فعاد، وعرف الوزير ما كان منهم. فغضب وأمر لهم بألف أخرى وقال:</u></p>	<p>فأخذ الألف وعرفهم ما قال الوزير. فامتنعوا عن الأخذ، وأبوا إلا قبض الثلاثة آلاف، وألزموه بالعود. فعاد، وعرف الوزير، فاغتاظ، وأمر لهم بألف أخرى.</p>	89
<p><u>قد ذكرنا لك أننا لم نؤخر عنهم ذلك إلا لضيق الحال وانتظار ما يصل من الريف فتحمل إليهم باقى استحقاقهم. ولم يبق الآن إلا ألف، ونحن نحمل إليهم ذلك بعد هذا.</u></p>		90
<p><u>قهره لبني قرة الثائرين وإجلأؤهم عن البحيرة</u></p>		Heading
<p><u>فعاد إليهم ناصر الدولة، فأبوا إلا أخذ الجميع، وأنهم لا يرحون من مكانهم إلا بجميع ما يستحقونه وجفوا في الخطاب. فعاد إلى الوزير وعرفه ما (380) كان منهم. فاشتد غضبه وقال: إجابتهم إلى ما التمسوه دفعة بعد أخرى طمعهم طمعهم، والله لا أطلق لهم درهماً واحداً. واستعاد الألفى دينار، وتقدم بتجريد العسكر لهم، فتسرّع يزحف مع ليث الدولة كافور الشرابي، ونزل إليهم فإذا هم قد تأهبوا للقائهم. فجرت بينهم وقفة قتل فيها اثنان من العسكر وحجز بينهما الليل.</u></p>	<p>فنزل إليهم، فأبوا إلا أخذ الجميع، وجفوا في الخطاب، فعاد إلى الوزير، وعرفه؛ فغضب وقال: إجابتهم إلى ما التمسوه دفعة بعد أخرى طمعهم طمعهم، والله لا أطلق لهم درهماً واحداً. واستعاد الألفى دينار، وتقدم بتجريد العسكر لهم، فتسرّع يزحف مع ليث الدولة كافور الشرابي، ونزل إليهم فإذا هم قد تأهبوا للقائهم. فجرت بينهم وقفة قتل فيها اثنان من العسكر وحجز بينهما الليل.</p>	91

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
فلما بلغ ذلك الوزير عظم عليه إقدامهم على العسكر، سيما بني قرّة، فإنهم كانوا أشدّ حرباً من الطلحيين.	وبلغ الوزير ذلك، فشقّ عليه إقدامهم على المحاربة، سيما بنو قرّة فإنهم صلّوا الحرب وكانوا فيها أشدّ من الطلحيين.	92
<p>وكان بالقاهرة من مقدّم-[ي]هم ثلاثة نفر، وهم ضيوف مُكرّمون، فأشير على الوزير بقبضهم ليكفّ عادية باقي بني قرّة. فاستدعى صاحب الستر سيف الدولة مبشّر، / ومتولّي الشرطة سنان الدولة ابن جابر، ومتولّي الصناعة عظيم الدولة عطاء، وأمرهم بأخذ الثلاثة ليلاً وتسييرهم تحت الحفظ والحوطة إلى الجيزة والتحيز بهم عن العسكر إلى حيث يأمنون على أنفسهم، وتخلية سبيلهم. ففعلوا ذلك. وأصبح الناس وقد علموا يمضيهم. وكلموا الوزير في ذلك فقال: قبّح السمعة في القبض عليهم وهم في ضيافتنا منعني من ذلك. فهم في هذه الحال كالحرّم. فلم أستجز فعل ذلك، بل أطلّقتهم، والله لا أخذتهم إلا من ظهور دوابهم!</p> <p>فقال شخص من الأكابر يعرف بعجلان بن مطر اللواتي: قد فعل هذا الوزير شيئاً لم يسبقه إليه أحد، من إطلاق هؤلاء القوم، واستحيى فيهم بما فعله. والله ليظفرن بهم لأن هذا تقليد البيغي، فإن كان فيهم بعد ذلك كائن فالدائرة عليهم.</p> <p>فكأتما نطق بالغيب: فإنهم تشمروا عند وصول الثلاثة إلى الحاجر ونزلوا به.</p>		93

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
وأخذ الوزير يجرد إليهم العساكر لهم حتى كمل له ما أراد، وسيّرهما وقد تجمعت حشود بني قرّة. فالتقوا بكم شريك فكانت الدائرة عليهم وقتل منهم خلق كثير (381) وانهزموا. فتبعهم العسكر ظناً أنهم يعودون إلى اللقاء، فلم ينتهم شيء عن قصد برقة، وأسلموا أموالهم وكل ما في أيديهم للنهب، ففاز به العسكر وغنموه، وانقلعت شافة بني قرّة والطلحيين من البحيرة، إلى اليوم، وبغوا مشردين مطردين يجاورون العربان على أقبح صورة أربعين سنة.	فأخذ الوزير يجرد إليهم العساكر، فانطردوا وجمعوا حشودهم، والتقوا بكم شريك، وكانت الدائرة عليهم وقتل منهم خلق كثير. وانهزموا والعساكر تتبعهم، فأحاطت بأموالهم من كل ما يملكونه؛ وفرّ بنو قرّة على وجوههم إلى برقة ومعهم الطلحيون، فانقطع أثرهم من البحيرة إلى اليوم، وصاروا مطردين في قبائل العرب نحواً من أربعين سنة.	94
وقد كان الوزير لما أخرج العسكر لقتال بني قرّة، فنّد أهل الدولة رأيهم، وحكموا أنهم لا ينتقلون من البحيرة أبداً لقوة بأسهم وشدة شوكتهم ولانتلافهم بالطلحيين. فأكذب جميل فعله ظنهم.	وكان كل من بالحضرة يفند رأي الوزير في تجهيز العساكر إليهم ويحكمون بأنهم لا يفارقون إلى البحيرة، فجاء الأمر بخلاف ظنهم.	95
ثم إنّه رأى في كون العساكر في أعمال البحيرة كلفة كبيرة. فنقل بني سنيس من فلسطين، وكانوا قد ثقلت الداروم وطأنهم بتلك الأعمال وصعب أمرهم، فعدى بهم إلى البحيرة، وهم أعداء قيس، وأوطأهم ديارهم وأقطعهم أرضهم، فامتحنى اسم بني قرّة.	(220) ثم إن الوزير رأى أن إقامة العساكر في أعمال البحيرة كلفة كبيرة، فأرسل إلى بني سنيس، وكانوا بالداروم وفلسطين، وقد ثقلت وطأنهم هناك وصعب أمرهم؛ فعدى بهم إلى البحيرة، وهم أعداء قيس، وأوطأهم ديارهم، وأقطعهم أرضهم، فمحنى اسم بني قرّة من هناك.	96
وكان تجهيزه للعساكر لبني قرّة في شهر رمضان سنة ثلاث وأربعين وأربعمائة، وتسييرهم في مستهل شوال. فخطأه الناس كلهم وغلطوه في فعله وحكموا بأنه لم يجرد قط عسكر في شوال فظفر، وأنهم لا يأمنون على العسكر أن ينهزم وينكسر. وكان شمس الدولة [إليه] زَمَ القصور والخدمة في الرسالة، وهو أيضاً زَمَ الأتراك والقيصرية، وليس في الدولة من يجري مجراه جلالة، وبينه وبين الوزير مباينة شديدة، ويتوقع له الشرّ ويتربص به الدوائر.	وكان تجهيزه للعسكر في شهر رمضان، وتسييره لهم إلى بني قرّة في مستهل شوال، فخطأه الناس في فعله، وقالوا لم يجرد عسكر قط في شوال، فظنوا أنه لا يؤمن على العسكر أن ينهزم وينكسر. وكان شمس الدولة زَمَ الأتراك والقيصرية، وإليه زَمَ القصور والخدمة في الرسالة، وليس أحد في الدولة يجري مجراه جلالة وتقدماً، بينه وبين الوزير مباينة شديدة ويتربص به الدوائر،	97

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
<p>فصار ينتظر انهزام العسكر ليقبض عليه، والأقدار تؤيده بالسعادة العظيمة. فلما أراد أن يسيّر العسكر من الجيزة</p>	<p>ويغتال له الغوائل، فكان ينتظر انهزام العسكر ليقبض عليه. فلما أراد العسكر أن يسيّر من الجيزة،</p>	98
<p>رتّب على الميمنة سنان الدولة ابن جابر، وعلى الميسرة حصن الدولة حيدرة بن منزوي،</p>		Header
<p>وجعل في القلب ناصر الدولة بن حمدان، وهو المقدم عليهما. وقرّر معه أن يكون اللقاء في يوم الخميس الخامس من شوال، بطالع تحيره له. وبعث معه عدة من طيور الحمام ليطالعه بما يكون (382) منه ومنهم يوماً بيوم. فلما كان اليوم الذي تقرّر فيه اللقاء، جلس الوزير في داره وهو شديد القلق كثير الاهتمام بأمر العسكر، واحتجب عن الناس لشغل سيره بهذا الأمر. وجلس ينتظر سقوط الطائر بما يكون. فلم يزل كذلك إلى الساعة الخامسة من النهار. فقام ليجدد طهار[ت]ه وعبر بالبيستان وقد أطلق الماء في محاريه، فرأى ورقة تمرّ على وجهه الماء، فأخذها متفائلاً بها، فوجدها أول كتاب كان قد وصل من القائد فضل إلى الحاكم بأمر الله، قد ذهبت طرّته وعنوانه وبقي صدره، وهو: "كتب عبد مولانا الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين من المخيم المنصور في الساعة (221) الخامسة من نهار الخميس الخامس من شوال، وقد أظفّره الله عز وجل بعدوّ الله تعالى وعدوّ الحضرة المطهّرة، أبي ركوّة المخدول، وهو في قبضة الأسارى والحمد لله رب العالمين".</p>	<p>ومقدّمه ناصر الدولة، قرّر معه لقاءهم في اليوم الخامس من شوال بطالع يخبره به؛ وسيّر معه عدة طيور من الحمام ليطالعه بما يكون يوماً بيوم. فلما كان في ذلك اليوم، وهو يوم خميس جلس في داره وقد اشتد قلقه وكثر اهتمامه بما يكون من العسكر، واحتجب عن الناس لشغل سره، وجلس ينتظر الطائر. فلم يزل كذلك إلى الساعة الخامسة من نهاره، فقام ليجدد طهارة، فعبر البستان وقد أطلق الماء في مجاريه، فرأى ورقة تمرّ على وجه الماء، فأخذها متفائلاً بها، فوجدها أول كتاب كان قد وصل من القائد فضل إلى الحاكم بأمر الله، قد ذهبت طرّته وعنوانه وبقي صدره، وهو: "كتب عبد مولانا الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين من المخيم المنصور في الساعة (221) الخامسة من نهار الخميس الخامس من شوال، وقد أظفّره الله عز وجل بعدوّ الله تعالى وعدوّ الحضرة المطهّرة، أبي ركوّة المخدول، وهو في قبضة الأسارى والحمد لله رب العالمين".</p>	99
<p>فلما وقف على ذلك سجد إلى الأرض شكراً لله تعالى وأستشعر الظفر وعجب من موافقة اليوم وعدة الأيام من شوال والإعلام بالظفر. ثم تجهّز للصلاة، فما فرغ حتى سقط الطائر بانكسار بني قرّة وانهمهم وبما منّ الله تعالى به من الظفر بهم. فأخذ الكتاب والظفر إلى القصر،</p>	<p>فلما وقف على ذلك سجد شكراً لله تعالى، وعجب من موافقة اليوم وعدة الأيام من شوال والإعلام بالظفر. ثم تجهّز للصلاة، فما فرغ حتى سقط الطائر بانكسار بني قرّة وانهمهم وبما منّ الله تعالى به من الظفر بهم. فأخذ الكتاب والظفر وركب إلى القصر،</p>	100

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
<p>وجدها في الماء وركب إلى القصر ودخل إلى الخليفة المستنصر بالله وأوقفه على الكتاب، فسرّ وأبتهج. وأراه الورقة التي وجدها في الماء وقال: هذا أعجب يا أمير المؤمنين - وحديثه حديثه. فعجب من هذا الاتفاق</p>	<p>ودخل إلى المستنصر وأوقفه على الكتاب؛ فسرّ بذلك، وأراه الطير وقال: هذا أعجب يا أمير المؤمنين؛ وحديثه بحديثه، فعجب من هذا الاتفاق.</p>	
<p>ثم تواصلت الأخبار من ناصر الدولة بالبشرى وشرح الحال في الظفر وانهزام القوم. فخلع على الوزير، وزيد في ألقابه: الناصر للدين، غياث المسلمين. فقوى أمره، وذلل خائب أعدائه... وعادوا يتقربون إليه بالخدمة، فأغضى عنهم ولم يؤاخذ أحداً منهم. وقدمت الرؤوس ممن قتل وأموال كثيرة من أموال أهل البحيرة.</p>	<p>101 ثم تواصلت رسلُ ناصر الدولة بالبشرى وشرح الحال في الظفر وانهزام القوم، فخلع على الوزير، وزيد في ألقابه الناصر للدين، غياث الدين؛ فتم له النظر وقوى أمره، وذلل مَنْ كان يُعاديهِ... فجري على عادته في العفو والمجاملة.</p>	
<p>تخليصه أهل صقلية من الأمراء الكلبيين</p>		Heading
<p>فلما خلا سرّ الوزير من أهل البحيرة، نظر في أمر مدينة صقلية فإن أهلها (383) كانوا [أعلنوا] خلافتهم، وكتبوا ابن باديس صاحب إفريقية وملكوهم عليهم، فأساء فيهم السيرة. فثاروا به وأخرجوه وكتبوا ملك الروم فبعث إليهم بطريقاً فحكم فيهم مدة، فلم يصبروا له.</p>	<p>102 وكان أهل جزيرة صقلية قد خالفوا الدولة غير مرة، لما فيهم من الشرّ والعظّة، وطردوا الولاة. وصار إليهم المعز ابن باديس، فملكوهم عليهم وقد خرج عن طاعة الدولة، فأساء السيرة فيهم، وثقل عليهم، فوثبوا عليه وأخرجوه منها. وكتبوا ملك الروم، فسار إليهم بطريق كبير، فولّوه أمرهم مدةً</p>	
<p>ووثبوا به وأخرجوه عنهم، وبعثوا إلى المستنصر يطلبون عفوّه ويستصرخونه فكتب إلى مستخلص الدولة [الكلبي] ابن أبي الحسين، فولّيهم مدةً. ثم بعثوا يشكون منه،</p>	<p>103 ثم وثبوا به وأخرجوه عنهم. وبعثوا إلى الحضرة يسألون إقالة عثرتهم والعفو عنهم ويسألون إيفاد والٍ. وكان بصقلية بنو أبي الحسين، لهم رئاسة وفيهم من يؤهل نفسه لولايتها؛ فسارت الخلع إلى رجل منهم يعرف بمستخلص الدولة، فمكث فيهم زماناً، ثم نفروا منه، وبعثوا يسألون تغييره عنهم.</p>	
<p>فسرّ الوزير صمصام الدولة ابن لؤلؤ، أحد الأمراء - وكان رجلاً عاقلاً - ومعه خلع نفيسة وأمر [ه] أن يصلح ذات بينهم، فإن رضوا بابن أبي الحسين خلع عليه وقرأ سجلّه بتجديد ولايته. وإن امتنعوا من الطاعة له،</p>	<p>104 فسرّ الوزير (222) رجلاً من أمراء الدولة يعرف بصمصام الدولة ابن لؤلؤ،</p>	

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
لبس هو الخلعة وقرأ سجلاً كتب له بولاية صقلية،		
وأن يتلطّف في إخراج بني أبي الحسين من جزيرة صقلية ويحملهم إلى القاهرة. فسار إلى صقلية وتحدّث في الصلح. فامتنعوا من ذلك ولم يجد فيهم حيلة. فأظهر سجلّه ولبس خلّعه فرضوا به.	وأسر إليه أن يتلطّف في إخراج بني أبي الحسين من صقلية ويسيرهم إلى الحضرة. فدخل إليها، وسأس أمره،	105
وأخرج جميع من كان بصقلية من بني أبي الحسين، وهم زيادة على ثلاثين رجلاً، وخلت منهم. فاستقام أمره.	حتى بعث بجميع من كان فيها من بني أبي الحسين. واستقام الأمر في صقلية بخروجهم عنها.	106
إرجاعه الصليحي باليمن إلى الطاعة		Heading
وبعث الوزير رسله إلى اليمن، وقد ثار فيها علي بن محمد الصليحي. فما زالوا به حتى دخل في طاعة الدولة		107
	وقام ببلاد اليمن رجل يعرف بعلي بن محمد الصليحي يتشيع، فحسن له الدعاة الدخول في نصرة خلفاء مصر، فأعلن [ذلك] بها، ودعا أهل اليمن إليها،	108
وبعث النجاوى إلى القاهرة، ومعها هدية جليلة تبلغ عشرة آلاف دينار. فجاء من ذلك ما ليس في المظنون ولم ير مثله فيما تقدّم.	وحمل تجارتهم مع هدية جليلة القدر تبلغ زهاء عشرة آلاف دينار إلى المستنصر.	109
	وكان أبوه قاضياً باليمن سنيّ المذهب، وزوجته أسماء ابنة عمّه شهاب، وكانت أجمل خلق الله، وهي أم الدعاة باليمن، وعرفت بالحرّة. وكانت ذات عز وكرم، وتفاخر بنوها بها، ومُدحت.	110
	وكان باليمن الداعي عامر بن عبد الله الرواحي، فاستمال أبا الحسن عليّ بن محمد بن عليّ الصليحي، وهو صغير، حتى مال إليه، فلما مات عامر أوصي له بكتبه وعلومه، فدرسها حتى تضلّع	

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	من معارفه وصار من فقهاء الشيعة، وحج بالناس دليلاً خمس عشرة سنة. ثم ثار في سنة تسع وعشرين وأربعمئة، وتزايد أمره، ودعا للمستنصر، فكتب إليه ما هو عليه، واستأذنه في المسير إلى تهامة، فأذن له. ولم تخرج سنة خمسين وأربعمئة حتى ملك السهل والجبل الوعر من بلاد اليمن.	
ثم إنه عطف على النوبة وأضعف عليهم البقط فحملوه واستمر بعده.	وجهز الوزير إلى النوبة، فأضعف عليهم البقط، وحملوه، واستقر الأمر على ذلك.	111

Table 6. Year 444 of the Itti'āz

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
حزمه في معاملة الروم البيزنطيين		Heading
وكانت الهدنة قد انعقدت مع الروم في وزارة أبي نصر الفلاحيّ، وقدم من قبلهم رسولان، أحدهما يُعرف بابن أصطفانوس هو المتكلم - وكان داهيةً أديباً شاعراً نحوياً فيلسوفاً نظاراً، ولد ببلاد الروم ونشأ بأنطاكية، ودخل إلى (384) العراق، وأخذ عن العلماء والأدباء، فاشتهر ذكره وبعد صيته.	See corresponding passage number under year 446	129
والآخر صاحب حرب يعرف بميخائيل. فأعجبهما حسنُ زِي الدولة وكرِيمُ أفعالها وجميل سيرتها، سَيِّمًا ميخائيل فأثبه أطربه ذلك، وكان خيراً عاقلاً. فلما عاد[1] إلى بلادهما، قضت الأقدار بموت متملك الروم وتملك ميخائيل هذا بعده. فأقام في المملكة نحو الخمس سنين.	See corresponding passage number under year 446	130
	فيها كتبت بغداد محاضر تتضمن القدر في نسب الخلفاء المصريين ونفقيهم من الالتحاق بعلي بن أبي طالب، رضي الله عنه، وجمع سائر أعيان الفقهاء ببغداد وأشرافها وقضاها، وعزوا نسبهم في الديصانية من المجوس. وسيرت	112

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>المحاضر إلى البلاد، وشنَّع عليهم تشنيع كبير. وسبب ذلك الغضب ما عُمِل مع الرسول المرسل من المعز بن باديس، فإنه لما شَهَر بالقاهرة على جمل مقلوب، وكتاب العقد في عنقه والهدية بين يديه، ثم أحرقت الخلع والتقليد، أعيذ الرسول إلى ملك الروم، فعزَّ عليه ما فعل واعتذر إليه منه، فإنه كان قد ضمن له من مصر إعادته إليه سالماً بعد ما جرت مخاطبة في طلبه. ثم أعاده ملك الروم إلى بغداد، فوصل في سنة أربع وأربعين هذه.</p> <p>وسبب عَوْدَه أَنَّ المعزَّ بن باديس بعث رسوله أبا القاسم بن عبد الرحمن إلى بغداد في ذلك، فبعث معه الملك طغرل بك، أبا علي بن كبير ليخاطب ملك الروم في رد أبي غالب، وكتب معه كتاباً عنوانه: "من ركن الدين وغيث المسلمين، بهاء دين الله وسلطان بلاد الله، ومغيث عباد الله، أبي طالب يمين الخليفة أمير المؤمنين، إلى عظيم الروم". ومضمونه بعد البسملة: "الحمد لله القاهر سلطنة، الباهر برهانه، العليَّ شأنه، السابغ إحسانه"، ثم مرَّ فيه إلى أن قال: "وقد نَجَمَ بمصر منذ سنين ناجم ضلالة يدعو إلى نفسه، ويغترُّ بمن أغواه من حزبه، ويعتقد من الدين ما لا يستجيزه أحد من أهل العلم في الائمة الأول وهذا العصر، ولا يستحسنه عاقل من أهل الإسلام والكفر". ثم ذكر الرسول أبا غالب وعاتب في أمره، وطلب تسييره مخفوراً إلى المعز بن باديس. فقدم إلى قسطنطين، متملك (224) الروم، بالقسطنطينية في صفر من هذه السنة، فتلقاه الملك وأدخله عليه، وسأله عن السلطان طغرل بك؛ فذكر له الرسالة، وطلب منه مقاطعة صاحب مصر، وإطلاق أبي غالب، وإرسال رسول المعزَّ إليه. فقال له: صاحب مصر</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	مجاور لنا، وبيننا وبينه عهود وهدنة، وقد بقي منها سنتان، ولا يمكن فُسْخُها؛ وأما رُسُلُ العزِّ والرسل إليه فهم قوم يسعون في الفساد. وتردد القول إلى أن أطلق أبا غالب وأجازه إلى المعز، وعاد أبو علي ورفيقه إلى بغداد في بقية السنة.	
وقصر النيل بمصر في سنة أربع وأربعمائة، ولم يكن بالمخازن السلطانية شيء من الغلال، فاشتدَّت المسبغة، وغلا السعر. وكان لخلو المخازن سبب: وهو أن الوزير الناصر للدين أبا محمد اليازوري لما أضيف إليه القضاء في وزارة أبي البركات الجرجاني، كان ينزل إلى جامع عمرو بن العاص بمصر في يومي السبت والثلاثاء من كل أسبوع ليجلس في الزيادة منه للحكم، على رسم من تقدّمه من القضاة. فإذا صلّى العصر طلع إلى القاهرة. وكان في كل سوق من أسواق مصر عريف على أرباب كل صناعة يتولى أمورهم. ومن عادة أخباز مصر في أزمّة الغلاء أنها متى بردت لم يرجع منها إلى شيء لكثرة ما تعشّ به. وكان لعريف الخبازين دكان يبيع الخبز، وبجانبها دكان رجل صعلوك يبيع بها الخبز أيضا، والسعر يومئذ أربعة ارطال بدرهم وثمان.	وفيها قصر مدّ النيل، ولم يكن في المخازن السلطانية شيء من الغلال، فاشتدّت المسبغة مصر. وكان لخلو المخازن السلطانية من الغلال سبب، وهو أن الوزير اليازوري لما تقلد وظيفة قضاء القضاة في وزارة أبي البركات الجرجاني كان ينزل إلى الجامع بمصر في يومي السبت والثلاثاء من كل جمعة، فيجلس في الزيادة منه للحكم، على رسم من تقدّمه من القضاة، وإذا أقبل العصر طلع إلى القاهرة. وكان في كل سوق من أسواق مصر على أرباب كل صناعة من الصنائع عريف يتولى أمورهم، وكانت عادة أخباز مصر في أزمّة المساغبة متى بردت لا يرجع منها إلى شيء لكثرة ما تُعشّ به. وكان لعريف الخبازين دكان وكان يبيع الخبز، وبهذا دكان لصعلوك يبيع الخبز أيضا، وكان سعره يومئذ أربعة (225) ارطال بدرهم وثمان.	113
فرأى الصعلوك أن خبزه قد كاد يبرد، فخاف من كساده فنادى عليه: أربعة ارطال بدرهم! / ليرغب الفقير فيه. فمال الناس إليه لأجل تسمّحه بثمن درهم، واشتروه بأجمعه، وبقي خبز العريف لم يعطف عليه أحد. فغضب ووكل بالرجل عونين من الحسبة أغرماه عشرة دراهم.	فرأى الصعلوك أن خبزه قد كاد يبرد، فخاف من كساده، فنادى عليه أربعة ارطال بدرهم ليرغب الناس فيه، فمال إليه الزبّون فاشتروا خبزه لأجل تسمّجه بثمن درهم، وبار خبز العريف، فغضب ووكل به عونين من الحسبة أغرماه دراهم.	114
فلم يُطَقْ ذلك ومضى إلى الجامع واستغاث بقاضي القضاة. وكان هناك فأحضر المحتسب وأنكر عليه فقال:	ووافق ذلك نزول قاضي القضاة إلى الجامع، فاستغاث به، فأمر بإحضار المحتسب وأنكر ما فعله،	115

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<p>العادة جارية باستخدام عرفاء في الأسواق على أرباب الصنائع، وتقبل قولهم فيما يذكرونه، وقد حضر عريف الخبازين بالسوق الفلاني واستدعى عونين من الحسبة، فوقع (385) الظن أنه أنكر شيئاً يوجب فعل ذلك. فاستدعى القاضي الخباز وأمره، فقص على المحتسب خبره. فقال القاضي للمحتسب: رجلٌ يُرخص على الناس أقواتهم فيجازي على ذلك بما يؤذيه - ثم سأل الخباز كم أخذ منه. فقال: أخذ مني العريف خمسة دراهم، وكل ما في يدي فقال: <u>يصرف هذا العريف مائة درهم</u>. عاجلاً، <u>ويُعزَم ما أخذه من هذا المسكين ويُعاد إليه</u>.</p>	<p>واعتذر بأن هذا من العريف وأنه لم يتحقق باطن الحال. فأمر القاضي <u>بصرف ذلك العريف وأن يُعزَم ما أخذ من الخباز</u>؛</p>	116
<p>والتفت إلى صاحب ديوانه، وقال: <u>ما معك فادفعه إلى هذا الخباز</u>.</p>	<p>والتفت إلى صاحب ديوانه، وقال: <u>ما معك فادفعه إلى هذا الخباز</u>.</p>	117
<p>حسن تدبيره في أزمة الغلاء</p>	Heading	
<p>فناوله قرطاساً فيه ثلاثون ربيعاً، فكَاد عقل الخباز يذهب من شدة فرجه. <u>وعاد إلى دكانه فإذا عجنته الثانية قد خبزت فنادى عليها: خمسة أرطال بدرهم! -</u> فقال الناس إليه واشتروا خبزه لرخصه. فخاف من هناك من الخبازين تلاف أخبازهم، فإنها بردت، وباعوا مثل بيعه.</p>	<p>فناوله قرطاساً فيه ثلاثون ربيعاً، فكَاد عقله يطير فرحاً. <u>وعاد فنادى على الخبز خمسة أرطال بدرهم، فمال إليه الناس،</u></p>	118
<p>فنادى: <u>ستة أرطال بدرهم! -</u> فقادتهم الضرورة إلى بيع أخبازهم كذلك. وصار يريد مكايذة العريف بإرخاص السعر ويزيد رطلاً رطلاً، والخبازون يتبعونه في بيعه خوفاً على بوار أخبازهم، إلى أن بلغ النداء: <u>عشرة أرطال بدرهم</u>،</p>	<p>وهو ينادي بزيادة رطل برطل، إلى أن بلغ <u>عشرة أرطال بدرهم</u>.</p>	119
<p>وانتشر ذلك في سائر البلد، وتسامع به الناس فتسارعوا إليه، حتى إنه لم يخرج قاضي القضاة من الجامع إلا والخبز في جميع البلد <u>عشرة أرطال بدرهم</u>.</p>	<p>وانتشر ذلك في البلد جميعه، وتسامع الناس به فتسارعوا إليه، فلم يبق في البلد خباز حتى باع <u>عشرة أرطال بدرهم</u>.</p>	120
<p>وكانت العادة أنه يشتري للديوان السلطاني في كل سنة غلة بمائة ألف دينار وتجعل متجراً. فلما عاد قاضي</p>	<p>وكانت العادة أن يُبتاع في كل سنة غلة للسلطان بمائة ألف دينار ويمحل متجراً. فلما عاد القاضي إلى القاهرة مثل</p>	121

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
القضاة إلى القاهرة مثل بحضرة الخليفة المستنصر، وعرفه ما من الله تعالى به في هذا اليوم من إرخاص السعر،	بحضرة الخليفة وعرفه ما من به في يومه من إرخاص السعر	
وتوفر الناس على الدعاء لأمير المؤمنين، وأن الله - جلّت قدرته - فعل ذلك، وحلّ إسماعيل الناس، بحسن نية أمير المؤمنين في رعيته بغير موجب	بغير موجب،	122
ولا فاعل له، بل بلطف الله تعالى واتفاق قريب يسير. وقصّ عليه الخبر		123
ثم قال: يا أمير المؤمنين، إن (386) المتجر الذي يقام بالغلة في [هـ] أوفي مضرة على المسلمين، وربما انحط السعر عن مشتراها فلا يمكن بيعها، فتتغير في المخازن وتتلف، وأنه يقام متجر لا كلفة على الناس فيه، ويفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلة، ولا يخشى عليه من تغير في المخازن ولا انحطاط سعر، وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك. فأمضى الخليفة ما رآه، وبطل المتجر في الغلة وتوسع الناس بذلك.		124

Table 7. Year 446 of the Itti'āz

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	(226) سنة ست وأربعين وأربعمائة	Heading
ثم قصر النيل في سنة سبع وأربعين بعد خمس سنين من نظره في الوزارة، ولم يكن بمخازن السلطان من الغلة إلا ما ينصرف في جريات من في القصور ومطبخ الخليفة وحواشيه لا غير. فورد على الوزير من ذلك ما أهمه. وصار سعر التليس ثمانية دنانير، واشتد الأمر على الناس.	فيها أيضا قصر مدّ النيل، ونزع السعر، ووقع الوباء. ولم يكن في المخازن السلطانية إلا ما يتصرف في جريات من في القصور ومطبخ الخليفة وحواشيه لا غير، فورد على الوزير من ذلك ما أهمه. وصار سعر التليس ثمانية دنانير، واشتد الأمر على الناس.	125

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
وكانت عادة التجار أن يقرضوا المعاملين حين إيسارهم وضيق الحال عليهم في المقام للديوان بما يجب عليهم من الخراج، مالا يتناعون به منهم غلاتهم عند إدراكها ليصيئوا فيها ربحاً.	وكان التجار بين نار المعاملين وضيق الحال عليهم في القيام للديوان بما يجب عليهم من الخراج، ومطالبة الفلاحين بالقيام به، يتناعون منهم غلاتهم على أن يصبروا عليهم إلى حين إدراكه بسعر يربحون فيه.	126
فإذا استقرت مبيعاتهم حضروا مع المعاملين إلى الديوان وقاموا عنهم للجهب ³ بما كتب عليهم، ويثبت ذلك في روزنامج الجهب ² مع مبلغ الغلة. فإذا أدركت غلاتهم وصارت في الجرون اكتالها التجار وحملوها إلى مخازنهم (387) يريدون فيها السعر الغالـ[ي].	فإذا استقرت مبيعاتهم لهم حضروا معهم للديوان، وقاموا عنهم للجند ³ بما يجب عليهم، وكتب ذلك في روزنامج الجند مع مبلغ الغلة؛ فإذا أدركت الغلة وصارت في الأجران يكتالونها ويحملونها إلى مخازنهم.	126
فمنع الوزير من ذلك في هذه السنة، وكتب إلى العمال النواحي أن يستعرضوا روزنامجات الجهابذة، ويحضروا منها ما قام به التجار من المعاملين، ومبلغ الغلة الذي رفع الإيقاع إليه، وأن يقدموا للتجار ما وزنوه للديوان ويُرَبِّحُوهم في كل دينار ثمن دينار؛ ويضعوا ختمهم على المخازن ويطالعوا ما يَحْصُلُ تحت أيديهم بها.	فمنعهم الوزير من ذلك، وكتب إلى العمال بجميع النواحي أن يستعرضوا روزنامجات الجهابذة، ويحضروا منها ما قام به التجار من المعاملين، ومبلغ الغلة الذي رفع الإيقاع إليه، وأن يقدموا للتجار ما وزنوه للديوان ويُرَبِّحُوهم في كل دينار ثمن دينار؛ ويضعوا ختمهم على المخازن ويطالعوا ما يَحْصُلُ تحت أيديهم بها.	127
فلما تحرر ذلك جهز المراكب لحمل الغلات من النواحي، وأودعها في المخازن السلطانية بمدينة مصر، وقرّر ثمن التليس ثلاثة دنانير بعد ما كان بثمانية دنانير. وسلم إلى الخبازين ما يتناعونه لعمارة الأسواق، ووظف ما تحتاج إليه مصر والقاهرة، فكان ألف تليس دوار كل يوم: مصر، سبعمائة. والقاهرة ثلاثمائة. فاستمر هذا التدبير	فلما تحصّلت بالنواحي جهز المراكب بحمل العلات، وأودعها المخازن السلطانية بمصر، وقرّر ثمن كل تليس ثلاثة دنانير بعد أن كان ثمانية دنانير. وسلم إلى الخبازين ما يتناعونه لعمارة الأسواق ووظف ما تحتاج إليه القاهرة ومصر، فكان ألف تليس في كل يوم، لمصر سبعمائة وللقاهرة ثلاثمائة. فقام بالتدبير أحسن قيام مدة عشرين شهراً،	128

² The editor notes that *rūznāmij* should be read to mean notebook (ar. *Daftar*).

³ The use of *jund* (army) in two places, where the *muqaffā* prefers *jahbadh* (great scholar), might show an attempt by al-Maqrīzī to correct the source text with a word that he thought more appropriate. The office was known to al-Maqrīzī's contemporary al-Qalqashandī, variously described as *jahbadh*, *jahbadh al-ḥudhdhāq* or *jahbadh al-ḥudhdhāq al-mutaṣarrifin*. He states that the official might also be referred to as *al-ṣayrafī* (money-changer), and he was responsible for changing or valuing gold and silver. Al-Qalqashandī, *subh*, V:466, VI:44. Al-Qalqashandī does not apply this specifically to the Fatimids, but his description would suit the context. Note that al-Maqrīzī retains this title later in the *itti'āz* version (passage 127).

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
مَدَّةَ عَشْرِينَ شَهْرًا حَتَّى أُدْرِكَتْ غَلَّةُ السَّنَةِ الثَّانِيَةِ، فَتَوَسَّعَ النَّاسُ بِهَا وَزَالَ عَنْهُمْ الْغَلَاءُ، وَمَا كَادُوا يَتَأَلَّمُونَ لِحُسْنِ هَذَا التَّدْبِيرِ.	حَتَّى أُدْرِكَتْ الْغَلَّةُ فَتَوَسَّعَ النَّاسُ بِهَا، وَزَالَ عَنْهُمْ الْغَلَاءُ.	
See corresponding passage number under year 444	(227) وَكَانَ عِنْدَ اسْتِقْرَارِ الْهَدَنَةِ مَعَ قُسْطَنْطِينَ مَلِكِ الرُّومِ، فِي أَيَّامِ وَزَارَةِ أَبِي نَصْرِ الْفَلَاحِيِّ، قَدْ وَصَلَ رَسُولَانِ أَحَدُهُمَا هُوَ الْمُتَكَلِّمُ الْمُتَرْجِمُ، وَكَانَ دَاهِيَةً أَدِيبًا شَاعِرًا نَحْوِيًّا فِيلَسُوفًا وُلِدَ بِالرُّومِ وَنَشَأَ بِأَنْطَاكِيَّةٍ، وَدَخَلَ الْعِرَاقَ، وَلَقِّنَ مِنْ الْعُلُومِ وَالْأَدَابِ مَا بَعُدَ بِهِ صَبِيَّتُهُ، وَكَانَ يَعْرِفُ بَابَنَ أَصْطَفَانُوسَ،	129
See corresponding passage number under year 444	وَالْآخِرُ مُتَحَمِّلُ الْهَدِيَّةِ، وَهُوَ صَاحِبُ حَرْبٍ يَعْرِفُ بِمِخَائِيلَ. فَرَأَى مِنْ حَسَنِ زَيِّ الدَّوْلَةِ وَجَمِيلَ سِيرَتِهَا مَا أُعْجِبَ بِهِ، لَا سِيَّمَا مِخَائِيلَ، فَإِنَّهُ أَطْرَبُهُ مَا رَأَى وَحَسَنَ مَوْقِعَهُ فِي نَفْسِهِ. وَسَارَا وَقَدْ امْتَلَأَتْ قُلُوبُهُمَا بِمَحَبَّةٍ مَا شَاهَدَاهُ. فَاتَّفَقَ مَلِكُ الرُّومِ وَتَمْلِيكَ مِخَائِيلَ هَذَا،	130
إِعْجَابُ الْإِمْبَرَاطُورِ الْبِيزَنْطِيِّ بِحَالِ الْخَلَاةِ		Heading
وَبَلَغَ مِخَائِيلَ مَتَمَلِّكَ الرُّومِ مَا بِمِصْرَ مِنَ الْغَلَاءِ الْمَذْكُورِ، فَرَأَى لَكثْرَةَ مَحَبَّتِهِ فِي الدَّوْلَةِ أَنْ يَحْمِلَ إِلَى الْقَاهِرَةِ مَائَةَ أَلْفِ قَفِيزٍ مِنَ الْغَلَّةِ، وَقَدَّمَ كِتَابَهُ وَعَيَّنَ الْغَلَّةَ وَالْكَيْلَ الَّذِي تَسْتَوْفَى بِهِ عِنْدَ وَصُولِهَا، وَسَيَّرَهَا إِلَى أَنْطَاكِيَّةٍ، وَأَعَدَّ هَدِيَّةَ الْهَدَنَةِ عَلَى مَا جَرَتْ بِهِ الْعَادَةُ، وَهَدِيَّةً مِنْ مَالِهِ. فَلَمَّا رَأَى الرُّومُ ذَلِكَ ظَنُّوا بِهِ الْمِيلَ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ، فَفَقَلُّوهُ	فَبَلَغَهُ مَا بِمِصْرَ مِنَ الْغَلَاءِ، فَحَمَلَ إِلَيْهَا مَائَةَ أَلْفِ قَفِيزٍ قَمْحًا، وَقَدَّمَ كِتَابَهُ أَمَامَهَا يَعَيِّنُ الْغَلَّةَ وَالْكَيْلَ الَّذِي تَسْتَوْفَى بِهِ إِذَا وَصَلَتْ؛ فَانْتَهَتْ إِلَى أَنْطَاكِيَّةٍ. وَأَعَدَّ هَدِيَّةَ الْهَدَنَةِ عَلَى مَا جَرَتْ بِهِ الْعَادَةُ، وَهَدِيَّةً مِنْ مَالِهِ. فَلَمَّا رَأَى الرُّومُ ذَلِكَ ظَنُّوا بِهِ الْمِيلَ إِلَى الْإِسْلَامِ، فَفَقَلُّوهُ	131
	فِي ثَامَنِ شَوَالٍ؛ فَكَانَتْ مَدَّةُ مَلِكِهِ اثْنَتَيْ عَشْرَةَ سَنَةً وَسَبْعَةَ أَشْهُرٍ، وَعَمَرَهُ أَرْبَعُ وخمسون سنة وشهر واحد.	132
وَأَقَامُوا بَعْدَهُ رَجُلًا يُعْرِفُ بَابَنَ سَقْلَارُوسَ مِنْ أَهْلِ أَنْطَاكِيَّةِ، وَكَانَ عَسِيرًا لَجُوجًا خَبِيثَ الطَّبَاعِ. فَقَبِضَ عَلَى الْهَدِيثَيْنِ وَقَالَ: أَنَا أَنْفَقْتُ ثَمَنَهُمَا عَلَى قِتَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ. (388) وَكَانَ لِلْوَزِيرِ عَيُونُ بِالْقُسْطَنْطِينِيَّةِ فَكَتَبُوا إِلَيْهِ بِذَلِكَ.	وَأَقَامُوا رَجُلًا يَعْرِفُ بَابَنَ سَقْلَارُوسَ مِنْ أَهْلِ أَنْطَاكِيَّةِ، وَكَانَ لَجُوجًا خَبِيثًا حَدِيدًا، فَاعْتَرَضَ الْهَدِيثَيْنِ وَأَخَذَهُمَا، وَقَالَ: أَنَا أَنْتَفَعْتُ بِهِمَا وَأَنْفَقْتُ ثَمَنَهُمَا عَلَى قِتَالِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ. وَكَانَتْ لِلْوَزِيرِ بِالْقُسْطَنْطِينِيَّةِ عَيُونٌ، فَكَتَبُوا إِلَيْهِ بِذَلِكَ،	133

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<u>فسير مكيين الدولة بن ملهم إلى اللاذقية في عسكر، فسار إليها وحاصرها.</u>	<u>فسير مكيين الدولة الحسن ابن علي بن ملهم الكتامي إلى اللاذقية في عسكر لحصارها</u>	
<u>ونودي في بلاد الشام بالغزو إلى بلاد الروم.</u>	See corresponding passage number under 447	145
<u>فلما اشتد الأمر على أهل اللاذقية بعثوا إلى ابن سقلاروس بما هم فيه. فكتب إلى المستنصر يستوضح ما الذي أوجب ذلك؟ - فكتب إليه بأن الذي فعله في نقض ما استقر مع من تقدمه من الهدنة وقبض الهدية أوجب ذلك.</u>	<u>والتضييق على من فيها، فحاصرها حتى اشتد على من فيها الأمر. فكتب ابن سقلاروس، متملك الروم، إلى الحضرة يستوضح ما الذي أوجب ذلك، فأجيب أن الذي أوجبه ما كان فعله في نقض ما استقر مع من تقدمه من الهدنة، وقبض الهدية، والهدية التي ليست من ماله.</u>	134
<u>فأجاب بأنه يحمل الهدية. فاشتراط عليه إطلاق كل من في بلاده من الأسرى. فأجاب بأنه إذا أطلق من لهم في بلاد الإسلام من أسرى الروم، أطلق من عنده من المسلمين. فأجيب بأنه لا يصح التماسه لذلك: فإن من أسر من بلاد الروم تفرقوا في الممالك بالعراق والدولة الفاطمية والمغرب واليمن وغير ذلك، ولا حكم للحضرة على جميع الممالك حتى يرجع منها من صار في أيدي أهلها. وبلاد الروم بخلاف ذلك، ومن حصل فيها من المسلمين كمن هو معتقل في دار واحدة لا يمكنه الخروج منها إلا بآذن أهلها، وبين الحاليين فرق كبير.</u>	<u>فأجاب بأنه يحمل الهدية، فاشتراط عليه إطلاق من في بلاد الروم الأسرى. فأجاب بأنه إذا أطلق من لهم في بلاد الإسلام من أسرى الروم أطلق من [في بلاد الروم من أسرى المسلمين. فأجيب بأنه (228) لا يصح التماسه لذلك، لأن من أسر من بلاد الروم تفرقوا في الممالك بالعراق والدولة الفاطمية والمغرب واليمن وغير ذلك، ولا حكم للحضرة على جميع الممالك، ويرجع منها ما صار في أيدي أهلها؛ وبلاد الروم بخلاف ذلك، ومن حصل فيها من المسلمين كمن هو معتقل في دار واحدة لا يمكنه الخروج منها إلا بآذن أهلها، وبين الحاليين فرق كبير.</u>	135
<u>فأجاب بأنه يُطلق من في بلاد [ه] من أسرى المسلمين. فاشتراط عليه مع ذلك النزول عما صار في أيدي الروم من الحصون الإسلامية، فامتنع من ذلك وقال إذا سلم إلينا ما صار في أيدي المسلمين من حصون الروم، سلم ما في أيديهم من حصون المسلمين. فنقل إليازوري الجيش بجيش آخر وقدم عليه الأمير السعيد ليث الدولة ففتح اللاذقية.</u>	<u>فأجاب بأنه لا يطلق من في بلاده من أسرى المسلمين. فاشتراط عليه النزول عما صار في أيدي الروم من الحصون الإسلامية، فامتنع من ذلك وقال إذا سلم إلينا ما صار في أيدي المسلمين من حصون الروم، سلم ما في أيديهم من حصون المسلمين. فبدل الجيش بجيش آخر، وخرج مع مقدمه الأمير السعيد ليث الدولة، فنازل اللاذقية حتى فتحها، ووقع العنف فيها.</u>	136
<u>وأجيب ابن سقلاروس بأنه لا يصح أن يسلم إليه ما صار في أيدي المسلمين</u>	<u>وأجيب بأنه لا يصح أن يسلم إليهم ما صار في أيدي المسلمين من الحصون</u>	137

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
من الحصون لأنهم قد ابتنوا فيها العمارات وأنشأوا البساتين فلا يصح تسليمها إليهم، فإنه يصير المسلمون [بها أهل] ذمة.	لأنهم قد أنبتوا فيها العقارات وأنشئوا فيها البساتين.	
فأجاب بأنه يدفع إليهم ثمن أملاكهم وينقلهم إلى بلاد المسلمين. ثم أجابوا إلى تسليم ما في أيديهم من الحصون الإسلامية.	فقال: يدفع لهم عن أملاكهم وما أنشئوه من البساتين وغيرها، وما أنفقوه فيها، وينتقلون عنها إلى غيرها من بلاد المسلمين. فأجابوا إلى أن يسلموا ما في أيديهم من الحصون الإسلامية.	138
وكانت العادة جارية بأنه إذا وصلت هدية الروم أن تقوم في بيت المال، (389) وتحمل إليهم هدية قيمتها نحو الثلثين من هديتهم ليصير للإسلام مزية عليهم بالثلث. فاشترط الوزير على ابن سقلاروس أن تكون قيمة ما يحمل إليهم من الهدية عوضاً عن قيمة هديتهم النصف من ذلك. فأجابوا إليه.	وكانت العادة جارية بأنه إذا وصلت هدية من الروم إلى الحضرة تقوم ويحمل إليهم هدية موضعها بثلاثي قيمتها، ليكون الإسلام مزية عليهم بالثلث، فاشترط أن يكون قيمة ما يحمل إليهم من الهدية عوضاً عن قيمة هديتهم النصف، فأجابوا إلى ذلك أيضاً.	139
انقطاع المفاوضة مع الروم بنكبة اليازوري		Heading
فاشترط الوزير أن يؤدي إليه جزية كل من تضمه دار البلاط، التي هي دار الملك ومحل الملك ومكانه. فامتنع من ذلك. فقتل الجيش بجيش ثالث.	فاشترط عليهم أن يردوا كل من تضمه دار البلاد، التي هي دار الملك ومحلّه، فامتنع من ذلك. فأمد الجيش بجيش ثالث وعليه أميران، هما موفق الدولة حفاظ بن فاتك وأبو الجيش عسكر بن الحلّ، ومقاد جميع الجيش إلى الأمير مكين الدولة وأمينها ابن ملهم.	140
فأوغلوا في بلاد الروم يقتلون ويأسرون وينهبون، فاشتدت بلية الروم. وبعث ابن سقلاروس مكاتباته بالإذعان إلى القيام بالجزية عن دار البلاط، وشرع في تجهيزها فبلغت نيفاً وثلاثين ألف دينار، وحمل ذلك إلى أنطاكية. فبلغه صرف الوزير اليازوري، فأعيدت إلى القسطنطينية. وزينت بلاد الروم لموته وكثر فرحهم بما صُرف عنهم من خشونة جانبه.	فأوغلوا في بلاد الروم ينهبون ويقتلون ويأسرون حتى أعظموا النكاية فيها، والرسل والمكاتبات تتردد، إلى أن استقر القيام بالجزية التي التمسها أمراء البلاط، وجهزت الهدية. وبلغت الجزية المذكورة نيفاً وثلاثين ألف دينار. (229) وحمل ذلك إلى أنطاكية، فبلغهم قتل الوزير، فأعيدت إلى القسطنطينية. وزينت بلاد الروم لموته، وكثر ابتهاجهم بما صُرف عنهم من خشونة جانبه عليهم، وشدة شكيمته.	141
	وأما ابن ملهم فإنه لما أوغل في بلاد الروم وقارب أفامية وجال في أعمال	142

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	<p>أنطاكية نهب وسبي، فقدمت من القسطنطينية قطنع يقال إن عدتها ثمانون قطعة، فكانت بينها وبين ابن ملهم حروب آلت إلى أن أسير هو وجماعة من أعيان العرب في آخر ربيع الآخر.</p> <p>وفيهما استدعى راشد بن عليان بن سنان، أمير الكلبين، فاعتقل بالقاهرة، وردت إمارة بني كليب لنبهان القريطي. وقبض على إقطاع راشد وأخيه مسمار، وهو مقيم بظاهر دمشق، ففر إلى غالب بن صالح. فكتب المستنصر إلى ثمال ينكر عليه تسيير هدية إلى ملك الروم، فتحير في أمره واعتذر.</p>	

Table 8. Year 447 of the Itti'āz

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	(230) سنة سبع وأربعين واربعمائة	Heading
	<p>فيها سیر المستنصر إلى كنيسة قمامة، فأحتاط بجميع ما فيها. وذلك أن القاضي ابا عبد الله القضاعي كان قد توجه من عند الخليفة برسالة إلى متملك الروم، فقدم وهو بالقسطنطينية رسول السلطان طغرل بك بن سلجوق يلتمس من الملكة ثيودورا أن تمكن رسوله من الصلاة في جامع قسطنطينية، فأذنت له في ذلك، فدخل إليه صلى به، وخطب للخليفة القائم بأمر الله العباسي. فبعث القضاعي بذلك إلى المستنصر، فأحاط بما في قمامة وأخذه، وأخرج البطرک منها إلى دار مفردة، وأغلق أبواب كنائس مصر والشام، وطالب الرهبان بالجزية لأربع سنين، وزاد على النصارى في الجزية. وكان هذا ابتداء فساد ما بين الروم والمصريين.</p> <p>وفيهما تجمّع كثير من التركمان بحلب وغيرها، وأفسدوا في أعمال الشام.</p>	143

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	وفيهما تزايد الغلاء، وكثر الوباء، وعم الموتان بديار مصر.	
	وفيهما سار مكين الدولة الحسن بن على بن ملهم من القاهرة بالعساكر؛	144
See corresponding passage number under year 446	<u>نودي في بلاد الشام بالغزو</u>	145
	<p>والجهاد. واستدعى راشد بن عليان بن سنان إلى القاهرة، وقرر معه أن يسير في قومه الكلبيين مع ابن ملهم، ثم قبض عليه. وعقدت إمارة الكلبيين لنبهان، وقيل لسنان، فنزل ابن ملهم أفامية، ثم سار إلى حصن قسطول فحصره عشرين يوما حتى أخذه (231) بالأمان، في ثامن ربيع الأول سنة سبع وأربعين. وعاد إلى أفامية فحصرها ورمأها بالمجانيق، فطلبوا الأمان على أن يرحل عنهم؛ فلما رحل أحرقوا القلعة وانهزموا، فلاحقهم وقتلهم، وأطفأ النار من القلعة، وأغار على البلاد، فلم يكن بأنطاكية من يذب عنها، وجمع كل طامع في النهب بحجة ابن ملهم.</p> <p>وتوسط ثمال بن صالح للصلح، فلم يتم. وسيرت الملكة ثيودورا أسطولا إلى أنطاكية، فوصل اللاذقية ثمانون قطعة، وخرج دوقس أنطاكية وبطركها في جماعة، فظفروا بشيئين للمسلمين معهم الغنائم، فسار ابن ملهم نحوهم، وكشف الروم إلى طرف أنطاكية، واستنقذ الأسرى منهم وقتل منهم خلقا كثيرا. فدار الأسطول إلى طرابلس وقاتلوا أهلها، فقتل من الفريقين خلانق. وعاد الأسطول الرومي إلى اللاذقية، فماتت الملكة ثيودورا بعد سبع سنين من ملكها وتسعة أشهر واثنى عشرة ليلة؛ وملك بعدها ميخائيل.</p>	146

Table 8. Year 448 of the Itti'āz

For passages in this table, words that are also found in Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* have been highlighted. Corresponding page numbers for the *Kāmil* are given in the notes.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
دعمه لثورة البساسيري ببغداد	(232) سنة ثمان واربعين وأربعمائة	Heading
	فيها جُهزت الأموال لأبي الحارث البساسيري، فخرج بها المؤيد في الله عبد الله بن موسى، وجملثها ألفاً ألفاً وتلثمائة ألف دينار، العين ألف ألف وتسعمائة ألف دينار، والعروض أربعمائة ألف دينار.	147
واتفق أنه كان بالعراق رجل يُعرف بأبي الحارث البساسيري صار اسباسلار كبير القدر يبلغ إقطاعه نحو ثلاثين ألف دينار،	وكان من خبره أنه كان من جملة المماليك الأتراك فصار إلى بهاء الدولة بن عضد الدولة بن بويه، رجل من أهل قسّاء، إحدى مدائن فارس، فلذلك قيل له البساسيري، وتنقل في الخدم حتى صار مُقدّم الأتراك ببغداد في أيام الخليفة القائم بأمر الله أبي جعفر عبد الله بن أحمد القادر، وتلقب بالمظفر. وكان القائم لا يقطعُ أمراً دونه. فطار اسمه وتهيّئته أمراء العرب والعجم، ودعى له على منابر العراق والأهواز، وتجبر.	148
	وأراد في سنة ست واربعين من الخليفة أن يسلم إليه أبا الغنائم وأبا سعد ابني المحلبان، صاحب قريش ابن بدران صاحب الموصل، فلم يُمكّنه من ذلك. فسار إلى الأنبار ونصب عليها المجانيق، وهدم سورها وأخذها قهراً، وأسر أبا الغنائم [٩١ ب] ابن المحلبان ومائة رجل من بني خفاجة، وكثيراً من أهل الأنبار. ورجع إلى بغداد وأبو الغنائم بين يديه على جمل في رجليه قيد، فصلب كثيراً من الأسرى.	149 ⁴
	(233) واتفق في شهر ربيع الآخر من سنة سبع وصول زورق فيه ثمر للبساسيري، فخرج إليه ابن سكرة الهاشمي في جماعة، فأراقوه ونهبوا دُورَه وأخذوا دوابّه، وكان هو إذ ذاك	150 ⁵

⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:317-8.

⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:321-2.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	في نواحي واسط. فلما بلغه ذلك نسبه إلى الوزير رئيس الرؤساء أبي القاسم بن المسلمة،	
فوقع بينه وبين الوزير رئيس الرؤساء أبي القاسم ابن المسلمة وزير القائم بأمر الله العباسي في سنة سبع وأربعين وأربعمائة	فعظمت الوحشة بينه وبين الوزير. وسار إلى دبيس بن بدران وهو مُستوحش، فوافقت رسل طغرل بك بن ميكال بن سلجوق إلى الخليفة القائم بإظهار الطاعة، فتقرر الأمر مع الملك الرحيم خسرو فيروز بن أبي كاليجار المَرزبان ابن سلطان الدولة أبي شجاع، على أن يخطب لطغرل بك ببغداد، فخطب له لثمان بقين من شهر رمضان منها.	151 ⁶
	ثم إنه قدم إلى بغداد وقبض على الملك الرحيم وعلى جماعة، ثم بعث به إلى قلعة السيروان، وفر منه قريش، ثم إنه خلع عليه وردّه إلى أهله، وأخذ أموال الأجنّاد البغداديين وأمرهم بالسعى في طلب الرزق، فسار أكثرهم إلى البساسيري. وبعث طغرل بك إلى الأمير نور الدين دبيس بن بدران أن يحضر إليه البساسيري، فالتزم له بذلك.	152 ⁷
وعانده إلى أن أخرجه من بغداد، فقصد ديار بكر.	وبلغ البساسيري الخبر، فسار إلى رحبة مالك بن طوق،	153
وكاتب المستنصر، وهو بأعمال حلب يرغب في الخدمة ويعرض نفسه ويستأذن في الوصول إلى الحضرة، وأنه في ثلاثمائة غلام.	وكاتب المستنصر يطلب منه الإذن له في الدخول إلى حضرته،	154
فأخذ الوزير الكتاب وقبله أحسن قبول. واستشار أهل الدولة في الإذن له، وكلهم أشار بذلك وأنّ في قدومه ما ناله من الكرامة، وفيه زيادة في عدد رجال الدولة. فلم يوافق على مجيئه وقال: هذا الرجل قد كان إقطاعه بالعراق ما يزيد على ثلاثين ألف دينار، ومعه أولاد مولاه الملك أبي طاهر ابن كاليجار وغيرهم من أولاد الملوك،	فأشير على المستنصر بالألا يُمكنه من الحضور، وأن يعده بما يرضيه،	155

⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:322-3.

⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:323-5.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
وأجلهم إقطاعه ألف ومائتا دينار، فإن اقتصر به على مثل ما لهم من الواجب لم يرض، وإن زيد عليه كان قبيحاً. وأيضاً فإننا لا نطبق من عندنا اليوم من الأثرak، فكيف إذا انضاف إليهم مثل هذه العدة؟		
والصواب أن يبقى بحيث هو، وتحسين إليه ونقيمه لمناسبة أعداء الدولة. فإن نهض بذلك كان النفع للدولة والاسم لها. وإن قصر عنه كان ذلك برأسه.		156
	وسير إليه الخلع. فبعث يسأل في النجدة، ويلتزم بأخذ بغداد وإقامة الخطبة بها للمستنصر وإزالة دولة بني العباس، وأنه يكفى في رد طغربك عن قصده البلاد الشامية.	157
	فجهزت إليه خزائن الأموال العظيمة على يد المؤيد في الدين أبي نصر هبة الله بن موسى في سنة ثمان وأربعين، حيث لم يترك في خزائن أموال القصر شئ ألبته.	158
	وخرج خطير الملك محمد بن الوزير من القاهرة في تجمل عظيم، ومعه من كل ما يريد، (234) حتى أخذ أحواض الخشب وفيها الطين المزروع فيه سائر البقول برسم مائدته. ومعه من خزائن الأموال والأسلحة والآلات والأمتعة ما يجل وصفه. فسار إلى القدس، ورحل منها إلى اللاذقية يريد فتحها.	159
	فلما كان في شوال منها واقع البساسيري ودبيس قریش ابن بدران العقيلي صاحب الموصل وقتلهم ابن عم طغربك،	160 ⁸
See corresponding passage number under year 450	وكان طغربك قد سيره إلى سنجار في ألفين وخمسائة فارس. فكانت الوقعة المشهورة التي لم يفلت منها إلا مائتا فارس أو دونها.	161
	وانهزم قریش وقتلهم، واستولى البساسيري ودبيس على الموصل	162

⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:331.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	وأقاما بها الدعوة للمستنصر، وكتب إليه بذلك، فسيرت إليهما الخلع ولجماعة أمراء العرب.	
	وعمل الشعر في هذه الواقعة. فمن مليح ما قيل لابن حيوس: عجبت لمدعى الأفاق ملكا؛ وغايته ببغداد الركود؛ ومن مُستخلف، بالهون يرضى؛ يُذاد عن الحياض ولا يذود؛ وأعجبُ منهما شعب بمصر؛ تقام له بسنجان الحدود	163
	وبلغ ذلك طغرلبيك، فسار يريد الموصل حتى بلغ نصيبين، فأوقع بالعرب وألقاهم بين يدي الفيلة، فقتلهم شر قتلة. وبعث إليه ديبس و قریش بالطاعة فقبل منهما. وسار إلى ديار بكر؛ وجّهز أخاه داود إلى الموصل، فتسلمها وعاد إلى بغداد.	164 ⁹

Table 9. Year 449 of the *Itti'āz*

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	سنة تسع وأربعين واربعمائة	Heading
See corresponding passage number under year 450 for passage that deals with similar subject matter, without any lexical similarities.	ففيها تسلّم مكيّن الدولة ابن ملهم من شمال بن صالح مدينة حلب في آخر ذي القعدة، وانكفت أيدي التركمان عنها، وأقيمت خطبة المستنصر فيها وقطعت خطبة القائم، وذلك بعد حروب عظيمة. وكان دخول ابن ملهم حلب يوم الخميس لثلاث بقين من ذي القعدة، فبقي على ملكها أربع سنين.	165
	وففيها قدم كتاب من بُخاري أنه وقع بها وباء عظيم حتى هلك من ذلك الإقليم ألف ألف وستمائة ألف وخمسون ألف إنسان، وخلت الأسواق، وأغلقت الأبواب، وتعدى الوباء إلى أنربيجان فلأهواز والبصرة وواسط، وعامة تلك	166

⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:334.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	<p>[١٩٢] الأعمال، فكانت الحفيرة تحفر ويُلْفى فيها العشرون والثلاثون من الأموات. وكان سببه قلة القوات والجوع، فنبشت الأموات وأكلهم الناس. وكان الموت إذا وقع في دار مات جميع مَنْ فيها، وكان المريض ينشق قلبه عن دم المهجة، فيخرج من فمه قطرة فيموت، أو يخرج من فيه دود فيموت. وكل دار كان فيها خمر مات أهلها كلهم في ليلة واحدة، ومن كانت امرأته حراماً ماتاً معاً، ومات قيّم مسجد وله خمسون ألف درهم فلم يقبلها أحد، ووضعت في المسجد تسعة أيام، فدخل أربعة من الشلوح إليها ليأخذوها فمات الأربعة عليها. وكان يموت الوصي قبل الموصي، وكل مسلمين كان بينهما تفاخر ولم يصطلحا ماتا. وابتدأ هذا الوباء من تركستان، ودب منها إلى كاشغر والشاش وفرغانة، وعم النساء والصبيان، فمات الصبيان والكهول والفتيان من سائر الناس إلا الملوك والعساكر، فإنه لم يمت منهم ولا من الشيوخ والعجائز إلا القليل!!</p>	

Table 10. Year 450 of the Itti'āz

For passages in this table, words that are also found in Ibn al-Athīr's *Kāmil* have been highlighted. Corresponding page numbers for the *Kāmil* are given in the notes.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
تَلَطَّفَه في صرف خطر السلاجقة عن الشام ومصر	(236) سنة خمسين واربعمائة	Heading
	<p>في أول المحرم قبض المستنصر على وزيره الناصر للدين، غياث المسلمين، أبي محمد اليازوري، وكان قد جُمع له ما لم يجتمع لغيره من تقليد الوزارة وقضاء القضاء وداعي الدعاة. وكان للقبض عليه أسباب، منها أن</p>	167
وَأَتَّفَق وصول طغرلبيك السلجوقي من خراسان بالغزَّ إلى بغداد في هذه السنة، وللوزير بها أعين.	<p>طغرلبيك لما ملك بغداد كان بها لليازوري عيون كثيرة يطالعونه بدفين الأمور وجليها، فوصلت كتبهم</p>	168

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
فكتبوا إليه بوصوله وأنه مز مع على المسير من بغداد إلى بلاد الشام ليملكه كما ملك بغداد.	بوصوله، وأنهم سمعوه يذكر إزماعه على التوجه نحو الشام ليملكه.	
فقلق من ذلك لعظم أمر طغربك، وأنه دوح الممالك وقتل الملوك واحتوى عليها وانتشر صيته وكبر في نفوس الملوك شأنه ولم يبق له مُعاندٌ يخافه. فرأى أن الحيلة أبلغ من مراده من دفعه عن البلاد بالاستعداد، لكثرة ما معه من العساكر.	فقلق لذلك ورأى أن الحيلة أبلغ من الاستعداد له،	169
وكتب إليه يهنئه بوصوله إلى العراق، وبيذل له من الخدمة ما يوفي على أمله، وأن مصر وأعمالها بحكمه، وأنه وإن كان مستخدماً لدولة ويدعو إليها فإنه يعلم كثرة الاختلاف، فمن تجاوزها في نسبها، واتفاق الكلمة ووقوع الإجماع على الرضا بالخليفة الصحيح النسب، الصريح الحسب، الهاشمي العباسي، وأنه لا يمتنع عن الإقرار له بذلك.	وكتب إليه يهنئه بوصوله إلى العراق، وبيذل له من الخدمة ما يوفي على أمله، وأن مصر وأعمالها بحكمه، وأنه وإن كان مستخدماً لدولة ويدعو إليها فإنه يعلم كثرة الاختلاف، فمن تجاوزها في نسبها، واتفاق الكلمة ووقوع الإجماع على الرضا بالخليفة الصحيح النسب، الصريح الحسب، الهاشمي العباسي، وأنه لا يمتنع عن الإقرار له بذلك.	170
– وأعطاه صفقة يده على مبايعته وتسليم الدولة إليه، وأنه قد اتصل به إزماع حضرته على التوجه إلى الشام، وأنه أشفق من تسليمها إليه أن تطأها عساكره مع كثرتها (391) وتجمّعها فتخربها وتعفي آثارها. [فإن رأى إعفاءها] من وطء العساكر لها ووصول ركابها إليها على وجه الفرجة والنظر إلى دمشق وحسنها، فلها عالي رأيها.	وأعطاه صفقة يده على مبايعته، وتسليم الدولة له. وأنه قد اتصل به إزماع حضرته على التوجه إلى الشام، وأنه أشفق من تسليمها إليه فتطأها عساكره مع كثرتها وتجمّعها فتخربها وتعفي آثارها، ولا يقع بملكها انتفاع، ولا يرجى لها ارتفاع، فإن رأى أغفاها من وطء العساكر لها، ووصول ركابها إليها، على وجه الفرجة والنظر إلى دمشق وحسنها، فلها عالي رأيها.	171
فلما وقف طغربك على كتابه قال هذا كتاب رجل عاقل، ويجب أن يُعتمد ما أشار به بالإذن للعسكر في عودتهم إلى بلادهم، فمضى كل منهم لوجهه. ثم أمر فضرب فساطيطه في الجانب الغربي من بغداد،	فلما وقف طغربك على كتابه قال هذا كتاب رجل عاقل، ويجب أن يُعتمد ما أشار به بالإذن للعسكر في عودتهم إلى بلادهم، فمضى كل منهم لوجهه. ثم أمر فضرب فساطيطه في الجانب الغربي من بغداد،	172
فكتب عيون الوزير إليه بذلك، فقلق شديداً وكتب إلى طغربك: لا تغرنك الأماني والخدع بأن أسلم إليك أعمال	فكتب بذلك عيون اليازوري إليه، فقلق، ثم كتب إليه: "ولا تغرنك الأماني والخدع بأن أسلم إليك أعمال الدولة،	173

passage no.	Itti'āz	Muqaffā
	<p>وَأُخُونٌ أَمَانَتِي لِمَنْ غَذَانِي فَضْلُهُ وَعَمَرَنِي إِحْسَانُهُ، وَتَتَعَيَّنَ عَلَيَّ طَاعَتُهُ وَمَوَالَاتُهُ. فَإِنْ كُنْتَ تَسْلَمُ إِلَيَّ مَا فِي يَدِكَ لصاحبك من العراق وأعماله سلِّمْتُ إليك ما في يدي لصاحبِي، بل الواجب أن تكون كلمة الإسلام مجموعة (237) الابن بنت النبي الذي هو أولى بمكانه من غيره. وإن رغبت في الهادئة والموادعة انتظمت الحال بين الدولتين، وأمن الناس بينهما. فإن أبيت إلا الخلافة، ونزع الهوى بك إلى الظنون الفاصلة، والأطماع الكاذبة فليس لك عندي إلا السيف. فإن شئت فأقم، وإن شئت فسير."</p>	<p>الدولة وأخون أمانتي لمن غذاني فضله وعمرني إحسانه وتتعين علي طاعته وموالاته. فإن كنت تسلم إلي ما في يدك لصاحبك من بلاد العراق وأعمالها، سلمت إليك ما في يدي لصاحبِي. [و] الواجب أن تكون كلمة الإسلام مجموعة لابن بنت النبي، الذي هو أولى مكانه من غيره. وإن رغبت إلى ما في الموادعة والمهادنة انتظمت الحال بين الدولتين وأمن الناس بينهما. فإن أبيت إلا الخلاف ونزع بك الهوى إلى الظنون الفاسدة والأطماع الكاذبة، فليس لك عندي إلا السيف. فإن شئت فأقم، وإن شئت فسير!</p>
174	<p>فعاظ ذلك طغرل بك وقال: خدعني هذا الفلاح وسخر مني. وكتب إلى إبراهيم بن ينال، أخي طغرل بك لأمه، برّد العسكر مسرعاً، فلم يتأت له اجتماعهم.</p>	<p>فعاظ ذلك طغرل بك وقال: خدعني هذا الفلاح وسخر مني. - وكتب إلى إبراهيم بنال أخيه: ردّ إلي العسكر مسرعاً! - فأنفذ إبراهيم ليردهم فلم يرجع أحد منهم وقالوا: فينا من بينه وبين وطنه شهران وثلاثة وخمسة، وقد سرنا معه حتى وطئ الأعمال وملك البلاد وفتح المدن واحتوى عليها وفاز/ بما فيها، ولم نحصل منه إلا على التعب والنصب والخيبة. وإذا كنا لم نُصب في طول سفرنا خيراً فما عسى أن نؤمله إذا عدنا؟ - ومضوا.</p>
175	<p>وكان اليازوري قد بثّ عيونه وجواشيه في عسكر طغرل بك واستفسد أعيانهم بكثرة الأماني والمواعيد، مثل خاتون زوج طغرل بك، والكندري وزيره، وابراهيم بنال أخيه وصاحب جيشه؛ فمالوا إليه وقعدوا عن صاحبهم.</p>	<p>هذا وقد بث اليازوري عيونه وجواسيسه في عسكر طغرل بك واستفسد أعيانهم وأطفهم وأكثر (392) أمانيتهم ومواعيدهم، وتوصل إلى زوجة طغرل بك، وإلى أبي نصر منصور الكندري وزيره، وإلى إبراهيم بنال أخيه وصاحب جيشه. فمالوا إليه وتفاعسوا عن طغرل بك.</p>
176	<p>وحمل خاتون على قتلها، فامتنعت من ذلك وواعدته أنها تتحيز بغلمانها، وهم نحو اثني عشر ألفاً، عنه، فاعتزلت بهم. وكان ذلك سبب ظفر الباساسيرى بعسكر طغرل بك، وظفر كثير منهم،</p>	<p>وما كفاه ذلك حتى حمل الخاتون زوج طغرل بك على قتلها، فقالت: أما بيدي فلا، ولكني أتحيز عنه بغلmani، وهم حمية عسكره - وكانت عدتهم نحو اثني عشر ألفاً - وفي اعتزالي بهم عنه ضعف لجانبه. واعتزلت عن طغرل بك بهم،</p>

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
وكان ذلك سبب الظفر به.		
ثُمَّ إِنَّ طُغْرلُوكَ بَعَثَ فِي سَنَةِ خَمْسِينَ وَأَرْبَعِمِائَةٍ إِلَى سَنَجَارِ أَلْقَيْنَ وَخَمْسِمِائَةٍ مِنَ الْغَزَى إِلَى الْبَسَاسِيرِيِّ فَقَدِمَهَا وَظَفَرَ بِهَا وَقَتَلَ جَمِيعَهَا وَأَقْلَتَ مِنْهُمْ نَحْوَ الْمَائَتَيْنِ فَارِسَ. فَلَمْ يِقَاتِلْ بَعْدَهَا رِجَالُ الدَّوْلَةِ الْفَاطِمِيَّةِ، وَعَادَ عَنِ بَغْدَادَ،	See corresponding passage number under year 448	161
	ورجوع طغرلوك من بغداد طالبا لجمع عسكره الذي تفرق عنه. وهو أنه سار في هذه السنة ملك البساسيري وقريش الموصل بعد حصار شديد نحو أربعة أشهر حتى هدم قلعتها. فخرج طغرلوك يريد همدان سارا عن الموصل، وهو يتبعهما، إلى نصيبين؛ ففارقه إبراهيم ينال وقصد همدان، ولحقه الأتراك الذين كانوا ببغداد. ففت ذلك في عضد طغرلوك وترك ما هو فيه، ورجع ليضم إليه من تفرق عنه، وترك بغداد.	176.1 ¹⁰
فقوى البساسيري وكثف جمعه. وقصد والوزير أعمال العراق يفتحها بلداً بلداً، [اليازوري] يمدّه بما يستعين به على ذلك من المال والرأي والتدبير،	فقوى أبو الحارث البساسيري، وكثف جمعه، وقصد أعمال العراق، ففتح بلداً بلداً، وتملك الأعمال والرساتيق طوعاً والدولة المصرية ثمّده بما وكرها، يستعين به على ذلك، وهو لا ينفذ في أمر من الأمور إلا بما يقرّره اليازوري.	177
إلى أن وصل إلى بغداد وناصب القتال، وقسم عسكره فرقتين، فرقة تقاتل في النهار، وأخرى تقاتل من صلاة المغرب إلى الفجر، حتى دخلها وأقبل يملك محالها وشوارعها	Contrasts with <i>Itti'āz</i> . See corresponding passage number below.	264
إلى أن وصل دار الخلافة وحصرها ونصب عليها القتال من كل جانب وفرّق والنقابين في جميع جهاتها. فلما أشرف على أخذها صعد القائم بأمر الله إلى أعلى الدار واستشرف على الناس	Contrasts with <i>Itti'āz</i> . See corresponding passage number below.	266
وأقبل ينادي: يا أهل بغداد! — ويحضّهم على نصرته والدفاع عن حوزته. واستندم من قريش بن بدران وطلب منه الأمان،	Largely contrasts with <i>Itti'āz</i> . See corresponding passage number below.	267

¹⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:341-2.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
فأخذه ومنع منه البساسيري، وأسلمه الوزير ابن المسلمة.	Contrasts with <i>Itti'āz</i> . See corresponding passage number below.	268
واستولى البساسيري على دار الخلافة بما فيها	Contrasts with <i>Itti'āz</i> . See corresponding passage number below.	269
وكسر منبر الجامع وقال: هذا منبر يُعلنُ عليه بيغض آل محمد. - وأنشأ منبراً آخر وخطب عليه للمستنصر.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	273
ثم لفّ ابن المسلمة في جلد ثورٍ وصلبه حتى جفّ عليه فمات.	Contrasts with <i>Itti'āz</i> . See corresponding passage number below.	274
وأقامت الخطبة للمستنصر (393) أربعين جمعة، والقائم معتقل في قلعة الحديثة عند مهارش نحو عشرة أشهر.	Some contrasts with <i>Itti'āz</i> . See corresponding passage numbers under this year below	274.1
وعزم اليازوري أن يحمل إلى مهارش عشرة آلاف دينار ويستخلص الخليفة من يده ويحمله إلى القاهرة على حال جميلة، فإذا قرب منها تلقاه بأهل الدولة أحسن لقاء وبألف في إكرامه وأنزله في القصر الغربي وحمل إليه ما يناسبه وأقام له الراتب السنّي في كلّ يوم وجعل له مائة دينار في كلّ يوم وجعله يركب في موكب المستنصر بين يديه يحجبه.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	276
فإذا ركب بين يديه عدّة ركبات وانتشر في الأقطار خير هذا الحال، خلع عليه وعقد له ألوية الولاية للعراق وكتب عهده بتقليده إياه وسيره إليه وأعادته إلى مملكته وخلافته من قبله. فمَنَعَه حادثُ القدر، الذي حلّ به قبل إدراك ما في نفسه.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	277
وكانت حلب قد تغلب عليها صالح بن مرداس من أمراء بني كلاب في أيام الظاهر لإعزاز دين الله عليّ ابن الحاكم، وكثف أمره، إلى أن ولي أمير الجيوش أنوش تكين الدزبري دمشق وأعمال الشام فحاربته وقتلته. فقام من بعده ابنه شيل الدولة أبو نصر فحاربته الدزبري وقتلته أيضاً، وملك حلب	See corresponding passage number under year 449 for passage that deals with similar subject matter, without any lexical similarities.	165

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<p>واستخلف عليها من غلمانها رضي الدولة منجوتكين فأقام بها عدة سنين. فلما مات الدزبري تغلب على حلب شمال بن صالح بن مرداس في وزارة الجرجرائي. فكتب إليه بولايتها وقرّر عليه مالاً يحمله في كل سنة. وتمادى الحال على ذلك إلى أيام الوزير الناصر للدين أبي محمد اليازوري، فلم يرض بذلك. وعلم أنه لا يطيق صرفه، فرجع إلى عادته في أعمال الحيلة واستعمال الخديعة، وبعث إليه بقاضي مدينة صور، فساس الأمر مع شمال وأحكم التدبير فيما قرّره معه، ووعده (394) ومناه حتى نزل من قلعة حلب وسلمها إلى والٍ من قبل المستنصر، وسار من حلب يريد القاهرة. فلما بلغ إلى رفح بلغه القبض على اليازوري فقال: والله/ إنني أموت بحسرة نظرة إلى من أسألني من ذلك الملك وأخرجني بلا رغبة ولا رهبة إلا بحسن السياسة. ولو رام ذلك مني قسراً لتعذر عليه</p>		
أمثلة من أريحته		Heading
<p>وكان له من المآثر المرضية والخلال الحميدة والأفعال الجميلة، والأخلاق الرضية ما يتجمل الملوك بذكرها: منها أنه كانت له مائدة يحضرها كل قاضٍ وفقهه وأديب وجليل القدر،</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	229
<p>فيجتمع عليها قريباً من عشرين نسمة.</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	230
<p>حدث القاضي عمدة الدولة ابن حميد قال: كنت أجلس علي يساره. فإذا ازدحموا وكثر تضايقهم على المائدة، جذبني إليه حتى يكاد ينحرف عن مجلسه. فأذكر يوماً ونحن مجتمعون، إذ استوذن على الفقيه أبي عقبة، فأمر بدخوله. فلما دخل لم يجد موضعاً فجذبني إليه بحيث صرت إذا مددت يدي إلى المائدة لا أرجعها إلى فمي إلا بكلفة، خوفاً أن أصيبه بها. فبينما أنا كذلك وقد مددت يدي ورجعتها، وهو قد</p>		178

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
<p>مَدَّ يَدَهُ فَلَمْ أَمْهَلْ حَتَّى تَرْجِعَ فَأَصَابَ مِرْفَقِي جَوْخَةً صَدْرَهُ، فَوَرَدَ عَلَيَّ أَمْرٌ عَظِيمٌ مِنْ ذَلِكَ، وَتَأَخَّرْتُ وَقَبِلْتُ الْأَرْضَ وَقُلْتُ: قَدْ بَسَطْنَا إِنْْعَامَ سَيِّدِنَا إِلَى حَيْثُ لَا نَسْتَحِقُّهُ، وَأَخْرَجْنَا إِلَى سُوءِ الْأَدَبِ. وَلَوْ أَنْعَمْتَ بِنَصَبِ مَائِدَةٍ نَجْتَمِعُ عَلَيْهَا بِحَضْرَتِهِ لَكَانَ لَنَا فِي ذَلِكَ الشَّرَفُ الْأَوْفَى وَالْفَخْرُ الْأَسْنَى، وَلَمْ نَنْتَهِ إِلَى هَذَا الْحَدِّ فِي سُوءِ الْأَدَبِ.</p> <p>فَقَالَ: وَمَا الَّذِي أَوْجَبَ قَوْلَكَ هَذَا حَتَّى ذَكَرْتَ مَا ذَكَرْتَ؟ وَلَقَدْ نَكَدْتَ بِإِيرَادِهِ.</p> <p>(395) فَقُلْتُ: يَا سَيِّدَنَا نُسِيءُ آدَابِنَا فَتَغْفِرْ وَتَعْتَرِفْ بِالْخَطِئِ فَتَنْكَرَهُ عَلَيْنَا، وَنَعْتَذِرُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ فَتُلَوِّمُنَا عَلَيْهِ. فَمَا نَدْرِي بِمَاذَا نُقَابِلُ إِحْسَانَكَ، وَلَا بِأَيِّ لِسَانٍ نَشْكُرُ تَفَضُّلَكَ.</p> <p>فَقَالَ: وَمَا الَّذِي كَانَ حَتَّى نَحْتَاجَ إِلَى كُلِّ هَذَا؟ - وَأَقْبَلَ يَجْذِبُنِي وَأَنَا أَتَقَبَّضُ، حَتَّى زَادَ تَمَكُّنِي بِاجْتِدَابِهِ لِي فَوْقَ مَا كُنْتُ عَلَيْهِ أَوَّلًا، وَقُرْبَ كَتْفِي مِنْ صَدْرِهِ، وَهُوَ مَنْطَلِقُ الْوَجْهِ ظَاهِرَ الْبَشْرِ. وَكَانَ قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمِ يَسْمَعُ حَدِيثَنَا عَلَى الْمَائِدَةِ وَلَا يَكَادُ يَجِيبُ لِأَنَّهُ كَانَ كَثِيرَ الصَّمْتِ قَلِيلَ الْكَلَامِ لَا نَسْمَعُ مِنْهُ إِلَّا الْلَفْظَ الْقَلِيلَ عَنِ الْكَلَامِ الْكَثِيرِ. فَابْتَدَأَ ذَلِكَ الْيَوْمَ يَتَحَدَّثُ بِمَا يَسْتَطَاعُ حَتَّى يَزِيلُ عَنِّي مَا اعْتَرَانِي مِنَ الْغَمِّ بِمَا كَانَ مَنِي.</p>		
<p>(قال) وَأَقَمْتُ مَعَهُ خَمْسَ عَشْرَةَ سَنَةً قَبْلَ وِزَارَتِهِ مَلَاذِمًا لَهُ فِي الْمَبِيتِ وَالصَّبَاحِ، فَكُنْتُ أُرَاعِيهِ فِي حَالَاتِهَا كُلِّهَا لَيْلًا وَنَهَارًا فَلَا أَرَاهُ يَتَغَيَّرُ عَلَيَّ مِنْهَا شَيْءٌ، وَلَا يَتَبَيَّنُ لِي مِنْهُ غَضَبٌ مِنْ رَضَى.</p>	<p>See corresponding passage number under this year below</p>	<p>231</p>
<p>فَحَدَّثْتُ أَبِي بِذَلِكَ فَقَالَ: يَا بَنِيَّ، إِنِّي لَمْ أَكُنْ لِأَوْتَرِ سَمَاعِ ذَلِكَ مِنْكَ، فَكَيْفَ سَمَاعِ غَيْرِي لَهُ؟ فَلَا تَحْدِثْ بِهِ أَحَدًا،</p>		<p>179</p>

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
وتلطف في تأمل ذلك منه إلى أن تقف عليه، فإنك إذا حدثت به نسبت إلى غلظ الطبع وثخانة الحس، والبله.		
<u>فأقبلت أدقّق التأمل له في حالتي غضبه</u> <u>ورضاه، شهوراً قبل أن يتبين لي: فكان</u> <u>إذا رضي تورّدت وجنتاه بحمرة. وإذا</u> <u>غضب اصفرت محاجر عينيه. فعرفتُ</u> <u>أبي بذلك فقال: يا بني، هذا غاية في</u> <u>سكون النفس وصحة الطباع واعتدال</u> <u>المزاج.</u>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	232
<u>وكانت طبائعه قريبة من الاعتدال، فإذا</u> <u>أحسن بميل طباعه عمّا يعهده، أخذ في</u> <u>إصلاحه حتّى تعود إلى الاستقامة.</u>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	233
حسن احتماؤه في المأكّل والمشرب		Heading
<u>وحدثت بعض من كانـ[ت] تقوم</u> <u>بخدمته من النساء قالت: كنت أتولى</u> <u>صلاح ما يشربه من الدواء في كلّ</u> <u>يوم،</u>		180
<u>وكان لا يعطل شربه يوماً واحداً.</u> <u>(396) وذلك أنّه كان يشرب السكنجبين</u> <u>والورد أسبوعاً، ثمّ يريح نفسه ثلاثة</u> <u>أيام، ثمّ يشرب النّفوع المغلي في</u> <u>الشتاء، والمنجم في الصيف، أسبوعاً</u> <u>لكلّ منها. ويشرب ماء البزور أسبوعاً،</u> <u>ويشرب ماء الجبن ثلاثة أيّام، ويشرب</u> <u>ماء البقل أسبوعاً، ثمّ يشرب الراوند</u> <u>المنقوع كذلك، ويريح نفسه بين كلّ</u> <u>دواءين ثلاثة أيّام، ولا يخلّ بذلك في</u> <u>صيف ولا شتاء.</u>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	234
<u>وكان نديّ الوجه كثير الحياء لا يكاد</u> <u>يرفع طرفه إلّا لضرورة. ولم يسمع منه</u> <u>قطّ في سؤال لفظة "لا"، بل كان إذا</u> <u>سئل فيما يرى إجابة سؤاله إليه يقول</u> <u>"نعم" بإخفاض من طرفه وخفوت من</u> <u>صوته. فإذا سئل فيما لا يرى الإجابة</u> <u>إليه يطرق ولا يرفع بصره. وعُرف</u> <u>هذا منه، وكان لا يُراجع فيه إلّا بعد</u> <u>مدّة.</u>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	235

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<p>وكان كلٌّ من يحضر مائدته يستدعي منه الحضور بين يديه ليلاً ليسمروا عنده. وكان فيهم من يشرب المسكر، فإذا حضروا عرف/ كلٌّ منهم مجلسه الذي تقرر له. وكان كلٌّ من لا يشرب النبيذ يجلس عن يمينه، ومن يستعمله يجلس عن يساره. وتوضع بين يدي كلٍّ منهم الفواكه الرطبة واليابسة، ويتفرد من لا يشرب بحلاوة توضع بين يديه،</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	236
<p>ومن يشرب يعمل بين يديه ما يستعمله،</p>		Heading
<p>وستارة الغناء مضروبة. فيجلسون بين يديه، وهو مشغول بوقع، وهم يتحدثون همساً وإشارة، إلى أن ينقضي أمره من التواقيع، فيسند ظهره وينشطهم للحديث فيتحدثون. ويقول لمن عن يمينه: قد تجدد اليوم كذا وكذا، فما عندكم فيه؟</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	237
<p>- فيقولون: سعادة حضرة سيدنا ثمهد له صواب الآراء، وقد خصها الله تعالى من ذلك بما لا تهتدي عبيدُها إليه.</p>		181
<p>لجوءه الدائم إلى المشورة</p>		Heading
<p>فيقول: بل يقول كلٌّ منكم ما عنده في ذلك، ولا يقوم في نفس واحد (397) منكم أن ما رآه خطأ فيمسك عن ذكره، فربما كان الصواب مقروناً بذلك الرأي وهو ضالة من لم تجر عادته بإنعام الفكرة فيه.</p>		182
<p>فيصق أحدهم ويقول: الذي يراه العبد على وجه الخدمة كذا وكذا فلا يزال يسمع من واحد واحد حتى يستكمل الجماعة. ثم يعطف على شماله فيقول: قولوا! - فيفعلون كفعل الأولين، وهو يسمع ولا يرد على أحد شيئاً، فلا يصوب المصيب ولا يُخطيء المخطيء، ويببئ يضرب الآراء بعضها ببعض حتى يتمحض له الصواب، ويصبح يرمي فلا يُخطيء. وهكذا كانت أفعاله طول مدته، لم يستبد قط برأيه ولا أنف من المشورة، بل</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	238

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
يقول: المستبدّ برأيه واقفٌ على مداحض الزلّ، وفي الاستشارة حلّ عقول الرجال.		
وبهذا العقل ثمّ له ما كان يدبّره حتى أثر في جميع ما رامه من أطراف الدنيا أثراً بقي ذكرها دهرًا طويلاً	See corresponding passage number under this year below	239
حسن تدبيره لمداخل الدولة		Heading
وأراد أن يعرف قدر ارتفاع الدولة وما عليها من النفقات ليقايس بينهما. فتقدّم إلى أصحاب الدواوين بأن يعمل كلّ منهم ارتفاع ما يجري في ديوانه، وما عليه من النفقات. فعُمل ذلك، وتسلمه متولّي ديوان المجلس وهو زمام الدواوين، فنظّم عليه عملاً جامعاً واختصره أيام [دولته].		183
فجاء ارتفاع الدولة ألفي ألف دينار،	See corresponding passage number under this year below	240
منها: الشام: ألف ألف دينار، ونفقاته بإزاء ارتفاعه. ومنها: الريف وباقي الدولة: ألف ألف دينار،		184
يقف منها عن مغلول وينكسر عن موتى وهراب ومفقود أبواب: مائتا ألف دينار. (398) وتبقى ثمانمائة ألف دينار، ينصرف منها للرجال عن واجباتهم وكساويهم ثلاثمائة ألف دينار، وعن ثمن الغلة للقصور: مائة ألف دينار. وعن نفقات القصور: مائتا ألف دينار. وعن عمائر، وما يُقام للضيوف الواصلين، من الملوك وغيرهم، مائة ألف دينار.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	241
ويبقى بعد ذلك مائتا ألف دينار حاصلة يحملها كلّ سنة إلى بيت المال المصون. فحظي بذلك عند الخليفة، وتمكّن منه، وارتفع قدره عنده.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	242
وكانت الدولة طول نظره في عرس، لتوالي الفتوحات في أيامه وعمارة الأعمال بحسن تدبيره واستخدام الكفاة فيها بجودة اختياره.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	244

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
بواخر النكبة		Heading
وكان المستنصر يحضر عنده في كل يوم ثلاثاء من كل جمعة ويبيت عنده في لذة ومسرّة، فيحضر إليه من التحف والطرف والغرائب ما لا يكاد يقدر عليه غيره. فاستمرّ على ذلك ثماني سنين.		185
فكثرت حسّاده على ما يتوالى من سعادته في كل يوم، وما يتجدد له من رئاسة يقتضيها حسن آثاره في الدولة، وتأثيراته في جميع الأطراف والممالك بلطف السياسة ومُحكّم (238) التدبير الذي يبلغ به غاية آماله، بحيث لا يبلغ غيره بعضها إلا باتفاق الجمل العظيمة، وتفريغ بيوت الأموال، ثم لا يكاد يظفر ببلوغ أمل في جهة من الجهات إلا دوخها وثبتت آثاره فيها الدهر الطويل.		186
يتأتّى له من السعادة وتعيينه عليه الأقدار. واستطال حسّاده مدّته فابتغوا له الغوائل ونصبوا له الحبال، وركبوا عليه المناصب حتى كان هلاكه بأقلّ الناس قدراً وأحقّهم، وأدناهم منزلةً وأضعفهم قدرةً، وهم من أطراف الخدام، ليبين الله آياته للناس ليعلموا أنّ الله على كلّ شيء قديرٌ: وذلك أنّ اثنين من أطراف المستخدمين، أحدهما خادم يعرف بفرج المغراوي كان في حاشيته، والآخر خازن في بيت المال يتولّى خزّانة الفرش يعرف بتنا.	وصار أعداؤه بتعجبون مما يتأتّى له من السعادة وتعيينه عليه الأقدار. واستطالوا مدّته، فابتغوا له الغوائل، ونصبوا له الحبال، وركبوا عليه المناصب حتى كان هلاكه بأقلّ الناس وأحقّهم، وأدناهم منزلةً، وأضعفهم قدرةً، وهم من أطراف الخدام. فأقاموا رجلين، أحدهما خادم يعرف بفرج المغربي كان في حاشيته، والآخر خازن يتولّى خزّانة الفرش يعرف بتنا.	187
وحكوا أنّه نقل الأموال إلى الشام في التوابيت وفي شمع سبكه، وأنفذه إلى القدس وإلى الخليل، وأنّه قد عول على الهرب إلى بغداد.	وحكوا أنه نقل الأموال إلى الشام في التوابيت وفي شمع سبكه وأعدّه إلى القدس وإلى الخليل، وأنه قد عول على الهرب إلى بغداد؛	188
فصدّق ذلك وقُبض عليه بغير ذنب إلاّ الملل والحسد الذي جرت عادة الملوك به. وإنّ ملّهم بغير علّة وحسدهم على تظافر من يُنعمون عليه بما يصير في يديه ليتجمل به، فيكون ذلك سبب	واستظهروا بكتابه الذي ذكر إلى طغربك، ومع ما في طبيعة الملك من الحسد والملل، والأنفة من الاستبداد عليهم ومحبة الانفراد بالمجد.	189

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
حسد هم وملهم.		
(399) ضيافة ابن اليازوري للخليفة المستنصر...		Heading
وَاتَّفَقَ أَنَّ الْمُسْتَنْصِرَ التَّمَسَّ مِنْ صَفِيِّ الْمَلِكِ وَلَدِ الْوَزِيرِ عَمَلٌ دَعْوَةٌ يَدْعُوهُ إِلَيْهَا، فِدَافَعَهُ عَنْ ذَلِكَ، اسْتَعْظَامًا لِحُضُورِهِ عِنْدَهُ. فَأَقَامَ مَدَّةً حَتَّى بَعَثَهُ وَالِدُهُ الْوَزِيرُ النَّاصِرَ لِلدِّينِ عَلَى تَكْلُفِ عَمَلِهَا. فَاهْتَمَّ لِذَلِكَ وَصَنَعَ مَا يَلِيقُ إِعْدَادِهِ. وَتَقَرَّرَ الْحَالُ عَلَى يَوْمٍ.	وكان من أسباب الجذلان أن المستنصر التمس من صفى الملك، ولد اليازورى، عمل دعوة يدعوه إليها، فدافعه عن ذلك استعظاما لحضوره عنده، فأقام مدة حتى بعثه والده الوزير على تكلف عملها له، فتهتم لذلك، واصطنع ما يجب إعداده، وتقرر الحال على يوم يحضر فيه.	190
فَلَمَّا تَهَيَّأَ ذَلِكَ، حَضَرَ صَفِيَّ الْمَلِكِ إِلَى أَبِيهِ وَأَعْلَمَهُ بِإِنجَازِ مَا يَحْتَاجُ إِلَيْهِ، فَصَارَ مَعَهُ إِلَى الدَّارِ بِخَوَاصِهِ فَرَأَى مَا تَقْصُرُ عَنْهُ كُلُّ صِفَةٍ: مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَنَّهُ فَرَشَ مَجْلِسَيْنِ بِدِيْبَاجٍ بَيَاضٍ كُلَّهُ وَفِيهِ جَامَاتُ كِبَارٍ حُمْرٌ بِنُقُوشٍ كَأَجَلٍ مِنَ الْأَعْدَالِ،	فَلَمَّا كَانَ قَبْلَ ذَلِكَ بِيَوْمٍ حَضَرَ صَفِيَّ الْمَلِكِ عِنْدَ الْوَزِيرِ وَأَعْلَمَهُ بِإِنجَازِ مَا يَحْتَاجُ إِلَيْهِ، فَصَارَ مَعَهُ إِلَى الدَّارِ وَاسْتَصْحَبَ خَوَاصِهِ، فَرَأَى مَا يَتِمُّ عَنْهُ الْوَصْفُ، وَفَرَشَ مَجْلِسَيْنِ بِدِيْبَاجٍ بَيَاضٍ كُلَّهُ، وَفِيهِ جَامَاتُ كِبَارٍ وَحُمْرٌ مَنُقُوشٌ،	191
وَفِي كُلِّ مَجْلَسٍ ثَلَاثُ مَرَاتِبٍ وَبَسَاطٌ مِلءُ الْمَجْلَسِ، وَسِرَادِقَيْنِ - يَعْنِي: سِتَارَتَيْنِ - وَحِجْلَتَيْنِ لِلصِّدْرِ - يَعْنِي شَخَانَتَيْنِ - وَكُلُّ مَرْتَبَةٍ ثَمَانِي قِطْعٍ، ثَمَنُ ذَلِكَ خَمْسَةُ آلَافٍ دِينَارٍ.	كُلُّ مَجْلَسٍ ثَلَاثُ مَرَاتِبٍ وَبَسَاطٌ مِلءُ الْمَجْلَسِ؛ وَسِرَادِيقٍ وَحِجْلَيْنِ لِلصِّدْرِ وَالْبَابُ كُلُّهُ جَدِيدٌ كَمَا حَمَلَ مِنَ الْأَعْدَالِ، فَتَقَدَّرَ ذَلِكَ بِخَمْسَةِ آلَافٍ دِينَارٍ.	192
فَأَقْبَلَ كُلُّ [مَنْ] حَضَرَ يَبَالِغٌ فِي صِفَتِهِ، إِلَّا ابْنَ حَمِيدٍ فَإِنَّهُ صَارَ سَاكِنًا، فَلَحَظَهُ الْوَزِيرُ. وَطَافَ الْمَجَالِسَ وَالْإِسْتِـ[عْرَاضَ] كُلَّ مَا أَعَدَّهُ، وَهُوَ يَقُولُ: يُزَادُ هَهُنَا كَذَا، وَيُتْرَكُ هُنَا كَذَا. -	فَأَقْبَلَ كُلُّ مَنْ حَضَرَ يَبَالِغٌ فِي صِفَتِهِ وَيَدْعُو، وَشَخْصٌ مِنْهُمْ سَاكِنٌ. فَلَحَظَ الْوَزِيرُ وَأَمْسَكَ حَتَّى فَرَّغَ مِنْ تَطَوُّافِ الْمَجَالِسِ وَعَرَّضَ كُلَّ مَا أَعَدَّهُ،	193
ثُمَّ عَدَلَ إِلَى بَيْتِ الطَّهَارَةِ فَدَخَلَهُ، وَقَدْ أَعَدَّ فِي دَهْلِيزِهِ مِنَ الْفُرَشِ وَالْأَلَاتِ وَالطِّيبِ، وَفِي دَاخِلِهِ مِنَ الْفَوَاكِهِ وَالْمَشْمُومَاتِ كُلِّ مُسْتَحْسِنٍ. وَاسْتَدْعَى ابْنَ حَمِيدٍ مُنْفَرِدًا، وَجَلَسَ فِي دَهْلِيزِهِ	وَعَدَلَ إِلَى بَيْتِ الطَّهَارَةِ وَقَدْ أَعَدَّ فِي دَهْلِيزِهِ مِنَ الْفُرَشِ وَالْأَلَاتِ وَالطِّيبِ، وَدَاخِلِهِ مِنَ الْفَوَاكِهِ وَالْمَشْمُومَاتِ كُلِّ مُسْتَحْسِنٍ. وَدَعَا الْوَزِيرُ الرَّجُلَ الَّذِي سَكَتَ عِنْدَ مِبَالِغَةِ مَنْ حَضَرَ فِي الْوَصْفِ،	194
وَقَالَ: يَا عُمْدَةَ الْمُلُوكِ، مَا لِي لَمْ أَسْمَعْكَ تَوْمَنَ عَلَى مَا قَالَ الْجَمَاعَةُ؟ فَقَالَ لَهُ بَعْدَ لَمْ يَقْبَلْهُ الْوَزِيرُ، وَأَلْزَمَهُ أَنْ يَصْدُقَهُ فَقَالَ: يَا سَيِّدِنَا، عِنْدِي أَحَدُ رَأْيَيْنِ: إِمَّا أَنْ تَأْمُرَ بِإِزَالَةِ هَذِهِ الْفُرَشِ وَنَصَبَ غَيْرِهَا مِمَّا هُوَ مُسْتَعْمَلٌ، أَوْ تَحْمِلَهُ إِلَى الْخَلِيفَةِ	وَقَالَ: يَا عُمْدَةَ الْمَلِكِ، مَا لِي لَمْ أَسْمَعْكَ تَوْمَنَ عَلَى مَا قَالَ الْجَمَاعَةُ؟ فَقَالَ لَهُ بَعْدَ مَا سَأَلَهُ الْإِعْقَاءَ عَنْهُ وَتَرَكَهُ مِنَ الْقَوْلِ، فَأَبَى إِلَّا أَنْ يَقُولَ: سَيِّدِنَا فِيمَا أَعَدَّهُ مِنْ هَذَا الْجَمَالِ بَيْنَ أَحَدِ رَأْيَيْنِ، إِمَّا أَنْ يَأْمُرَ بِإِزَالَتِهِ وَنَصَبَ غَيْرِهِ مِمَّا قَدْ (239)	195

passage no.	Itti'āz	Muqaffā
	<u>استعمل، وإما يحمله إلى الخليفة إذا</u> <u>انقضى جلوسه عليه.</u>	<u>إذا انقضى جلوسه عليه.</u>
196	<u>فقال: وما هو هذا؟ أليس هو مما أنعم به</u> <u>وصار إليّ من فضله؟ وما قدره حتى</u> <u>تمتدّ عينه إليه أو تتطّلع له نفسه! وأما</u> <u>إزالته ونصب غيره فما كنت أكسر في</u> <u>نفس هذا الصبي شهوة، فإني متى</u> <u>أمرت بإزالته حزن لذلك. واقتربا.</u>	<u>(400) فقال: وما هو هذا؟ أليس هو ممّا</u> <u>أنعم به وصار إليّ من فضله؟ وما قدره</u> <u>حتّى تمتدّ عينه إليه وتتطّلع نفسه له؟ أمّا</u> <u>إزالته ونصب غيره، فما كنت الأكسر</u> <u>نفس هذا الصبيّ. وإن أمرت بإزالته</u> <u>حزن وانكسرت نفسه. — وقام.</u>
Heading		كانت سببا لتتكرّر الخليفة على اليازوري
197	<u>فلما كان الغد جاء المستنصر وأقام</u> <u>يومه ذلك في الدار، وأخضر إليه الطعام</u> <u>مما حوله من الطّرف، ثم عاد آخر</u> <u>النهار. وحضر عند الوزير أصدقاؤه،</u> <u>فانفرد بذلك الرجل، وقال: يا عمدة</u> <u>الدولة، والله ما أخطأ جزرك فيما قلته</u> <u>بالأمس، منذ دخل الخليفة إلى الدار إلى</u> <u>أن خرج لم يطرف طرفة عن تأمل</u> <u>الفرش، فإذا وجّهت طرفي نحوه أطرق</u> <u>وتشاغل.</u>	<u>فحضر المستنصر وأقام يومه في الدار،</u> <u>وأخضر إليه ما [أ]عدّ له من الطّرف.</u> <u>وركب آخر النهار وعاد إلى قصره.</u> <u>وحضر خواصّ الوزير عنده على</u> <u>عادتهم. فانفرد بآبن حميد وقال له: يا</u> <u>عمدة الدولة، والله ما أخطأ حَزْرُكَ فيما</u> <u>قلته بالأمس: منذ دخل الخليفة إلى الدار</u> <u>إلى أن خرج لم يطرف طرفة عن تأمل</u> <u>الفرش، فإذا وجّهت طرفي نحوه أطرق</u> <u>وتشاغل.</u>
198	<u>فقال له: يا سيدنا أمّا إذ فات الأمر الأول</u> <u>فلا يفوت الثاني. فقال: والله لا فعلت ولا</u> <u>غممت صفّي الملك.</u>	<u>فقال: يا سيّدي، إذ فات الأمر الأوّل،</u> <u>فلا يفوت الثاني. فقال: والله لا فعلت،</u> <u>ولا غممتُ صفّي الملك بحرماته إياه!</u>
199	<u>واتفق أنه</u>	<u>واتفق أيضاً أنّ ابن حميد دخل على</u> <u>الوزير في يوم بكرة، وقد قدّمت الدابة</u> <u>إلى باب المجلس،</u>
200	<u>خرج يوما وعليه ثوب بديع، فلما عاد</u>	<u>فخرج ليركب، وعليه ثوب أسمر اللون</u> <u>مليخ السمرة. فدنا منه ليصلح ثيابه لمّا</u> <u>ركب، وجعل يلمس الثوب. فسار</u> <u>الوزير وعاد. فلما انقضت المائدة</u>
201	<u>قال لصديقه: يا عمدة الدولة، لاحظتك</u> <u>اليوم تنظر الثوب الذي كان عليّ</u> <u>فعجبت من ذلك، فلما مثلت بحضرة</u> <u>مولانا أقبل يتأمل الثوب ولم يزل</u> <u>يزحف من الدست حتى مد يده إلى</u> <u>الثوب وتلمّسه، فزال عجبى منك إذ كان</u> <u>الخليفة يتأمله؛ والملوك إذا أنعموا على</u> <u>أحد استحال التظاهر بإحسانهم حسدا</u>	<u>قال لابن حميد: قد لاحظتك اليوم تنظر</u> <u>الثوب الذي كان عليّ، فعجبت من ذلك.</u> <u>فلما مثلت بحضرة مولانا كنت بحيث</u> <u>جرت العادة. فأقبل يتأمل الثوب، ولم</u> <u>يزل يزحف من الدست حتّى قرب مني.</u> <u>فتغافلت عنه، ولحظته وقد مدّ يده إلى</u> <u>الثوب ليلمسه. فقلت في نفسي: زال</u> <u>عجبى من عمدة الدولة إذا كان الخليفة</u>

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
على هذه الصفة، وهو ثوب ملحم خراساني. فقال: الملوك إذا أنعموا على أحد ممن في دولتهم نعمة وتظاهر بها، (401) استحال الإحسان الاصطناع حسداً ومللاً.	وملاً.	
خصاله الحميدة		Heading
وكان الوزير شريف الأخلاق، عالي الهمة، كريم الطباع، وطيب الأكناف، مستحکم الحلم، واسع الصدر، ندي الوجه، يستقل الكثير ويستصغر كل كبير.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	244
فكان راتب مائدته في كل يوم كموائد الملوك في الأعياد والولائم. وكان لا يبتاع لمطبخه من الطير ما هو مَعْرَق ولا مُصَدِّر، وكان سعر المعرق ستة بدينار، والمصدر أربعة بدينار، والمسمن ثلاثة بدينار، والفائق اثنان بدينار، فيعمل المسمن لداره ومن فيها، وأما مائدته فلا يقدم عليها إلا الفائق.	وكان راتب مائدته في كل يوم كموائد الملوك في الأعياد والولائم. وكان لا يبتاع لمطبخه من الطير ما هو مَعْرَق ولا مُصَدِّر، وكان سعر المعرق ستة بدينار والمصدر أربعة بدينار، والمسمن ثلاثة بدينار، والفائق اثنان بدينار، وكان يعمل لداره ومن فيها المسمن، وأما مائدته فلا يقدم عليها إلا الفائق.	202
فاتفق حدوث الغلاء في سنة سبع وأربعين وأربعمائة، وصار الخبز طرفة من الطرف لقلته وغلاء السعر من قصور النيل،	(240) فلما كان في سنة سبع وأربعين وقصر النيل نزع السعر وغلا حتى بلغ التلبس ثمانية دنانير وصار الخبز طرفة.	203
والمستنصر يحضر دار الوزير في كل يوم ثلاثاء على عادته، وتقدم إليه المائدة، فيراعي حالها فيجدها على ما يعهد، لم يخنل منها شيء، حتى الدجاج الفائق. فقال لصاحب مطبخه: ويلك! يكون راتب مائدة الوزير الدجاج/ الفائق، ومائدتي دون ذلك؟ فقال: يا مولانا، ما ذنبي إذا قصر بك أصحاب دواوينك ومطابخك ولم... يقصروا في شيء مما جرت به العادة في راتب مائدته وغيرها، مع تقدمه إليهم في كل يوم بالزيادة فيها وفي راتب داره.	وكان المستنصر يحضر دار اليازوري كل يوم ثلاثاء على عادته، فتقدم إليه المائدة، فإذا هي على ما يعهد لم يخنل منها بشيء حتى الدجاج الفائق، فقال لصاحب مطبخه: ويلك، يكون راتب مائدة الوزير الدجاج الفائق ومائدتي دون ذلك! فقال: يا مولانا ما ذنبي إذا قصر بك أصحاب دواوينك ولم يطلقوا لمائدتك ما ألتمسه منهم، والوزير فلا تتجاسر وكلاؤه أن يقصروا في شيء مما جرت العادة به في راتب مائدته وغيرها، مع تقدمه إليهم في كل يوم بالزيادة فيها وفي راتب داره	204
(402) وكان الوزير أيضاً إذا أعطي هناً، وإذا أنعم على إنسان أسبغ، وإذا اصطنع أحداً رفعة إلى ما تقصر عنه	See corresponding passage number under this year below	245

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<p>الآمال والأمانى، مع عظيم الصدقة وجزيل البر الذي عمّ به أهل البيوتات بما أقامه لهم من المشاهرات على مقاديرهم، والأشراف سكان المنامة، والفقراء وأهل الستر بالقرافة بما يواصلهم به من البرّ والكسب، ويجري ذلك على يد ابن عصفور أحد الشهود بمصر ووكيل السيّد الوالد. فكانوا يظنون أنّ ذلك من إنعامها وبرّها أو من إنعام المستنصر.</p>		
<p>فلما قُتل الوزير انقطع عنهم ما كان يصل إليهم من برّه، فاستنصروا بذلك [الوكيل] وواصلوا الخطاب فيه</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	246
<p>وقالوا: قد جُفينا من مولانا ومولاتنا وانقطع برّهما عنا،</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	247
<p>فلو أذكرتُهُما بنا؟ - وأكثرُوا من ذلك على ابن عصفور. فقال لهم: الذي كنتم ترون ما كان ليحييكم حتى يبعث الله ناصر دين آخر! فحينئذ يأتكم منه ما كان يصلكم به.</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	248
<p>فقالوا: نحن التمسنا من مولانا ومولاتنا، ولم نلتمس من ناصر الدين؟ فقال: ما كان يحييكم ذلك إلا من الوزير، فإن بعثه الله لكم فعاياه يبرّكم بما كان يبرّكم به.</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	249
<p>فعجبوا من ذلك وأكثرُوا من الترحّم عليه.</p>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	250
<p>ولما تظافر الغلامان على الوزير حتّى تمّ من القبض عليه ما تمّ،</p>	فلما تظافر عداه عليه	205
<p>لم يشعر إلا في ساعة القبض، فكتب إلى أبي الفرج الباطلي - وكان قد قدّمه وأحسن إليه</p>	لم يشعر إلا في ساعة القبض، فكتب إلى أبي الفرج الباطلي - وكان قد قدّمه وأحسن إليه	206
<p>لم يشعر مستهلّ المحرم سنة خمسين وأربعمئة إلا وقد قبض عليه. فكتب رقعة إلى أبي الفرج الباطلي، لموضع تقديمه له، وبما أحسن به إليه وأنعم عليه،</p>	ورفعه على جميع أصحاب الدواوين، واستخلصه دونهم، كما يأتى إن شاء الله عند ذكر وفاته -	207
<p>وأنه هو الذي رفعه على جميع أصحاب الدواوين، واستخلصه دونهم. وظنّ أنه يجازيه على ما صنع إليه، وفي له. فخاب ظنّه.</p>		

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<p>ونصّ الرقعة بعد البسملة: عرفنا يا أبا الفرج، أطال الله بقاءك وأدام عزك، <u>تغيّر الرأي فينا، وسوء النية (403) والطوية. فإن يكن هذا الأمر صائراً إليك، فاحفظ الصُحبة وارع واجب الحرمة. وإن يكن صائراً إلى غيرك فابتغ لنفسك نفقا في الأرض. على أنا نشير عليك: إن دُعيت إليه فلا تأبى عنه فإنه أصلح لك وأعوذ علينا. والسلام</u></p>	<p>بعد البسملة: "عَرَفْنَا يَا أبا الفرج - أطال الله بقاءك وأدام عزك - <u>تغيّر الرأي فينا، وسوء النية والطوية، فإن يكن هذا الأمر صائراً إليك فاحفظ الصُحبة، وارع واجب الحرمة، وإن يكن صائراً إلى غيرك وابتغ لنفسك نفقا في الأرض. على أنا نشير عليك: إن دُعيت إليه فلا تأبى عنه فإنه أصلح لك وأعوذ علينا. والسلام</u>"</p>	208
<p><u>فدعى البابلي واستقر في الوزارة بعد اليازوري،</u></p>	<p>ودُعي البابلي للأمر، وورّر، لأنه لم يكن في الدولة من يتقدمه لما وطّاه اليازوري وأمله من تقديمه وتمييزه. وكان اعتزاله يغطي على عيوبه، فلما ولي الوزارة بان للناس من رقاوته وحدته وكثرة شرّه ما افْتُضِح به؛</p>	209
<p><u>فتجرّد لمقابلة إحسان اليازوري بكلّ قبيح، وذكره في مجالسه بما لا يستحقّه منه. وكانت هذه الرقعة أعظم ذنوبه عنده، فكان يقول: يخاطبني وهو على شفير القبر بنون العظمة! ولا يذكره إلا بالسفيلة والسفائط.</u></p>	<p>وتجرّد لمقابلة إحسان اليازوري بكلّ قبيح وذكره بما لا يستحق من الغضب. وكانت الرقعة التي كتبها إليه من أعظم ذنوبه عنده فكان يقول: يخاطبني وهو على شفير القبر بنون العظمة! ولا يذكره إلا بالسفاهة واللغو، فسقط قدره من أعين الكافة وحذرّه كل أحد.</p>	210
<p><u>ولم يُقنعه كونه في الاعتقال بمصر حتّى نفاه إلى تنيس في صفر، هو وأولاده ونساؤه وحاشيته، فاعتقلوا بها. وشرع في التدبير على قتله. خوفاً من الرضى عنه</u></p>	<p>ثم لم يقنعه كون اليازوري في (241) الاعتقال بمصر حتّى نفاه إلى تنيس، في صفر، ومعه نساؤه وأولاده وحاشيته، فاعتقلوا بها. ثم شرع البابلي في التدبير على قتله.</p>	211
	<p>قال الشريف فخر الدولة ومجدها، نقيب نقباء الطالبين: قال لى مولانا - يعني المستنصر - يا فخر الدولة، ما رأيت أوقع من البابلي، وذلك أنّ اليازوري لم ينته إلى ما صار إليه من عظيم المنزلة إلا بعد أن تقدّم له من المآثر والآثار في الدولة وما فُتِح على يديه ما هو معلوم مشهور، وكان يرتقى بذلك درجة بعد درجة إلى أن انتهى إلى ما انتهى إليه؛ والبابلي فَمِنْ أول يوم استخدمناه استدعى المنزلة التي لم</p>	212

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	يصر ذلك إليها إلا بعد عدة سنين، فأجبتة إليها، وقلت ترى تساعده الأقدار بأن يكون مثل ما كان ذلك الرجل.	
فحدثت عظيم الدولة متولي الستر قال: كنت في جملة الصقالبة الموكلين على الناصر [اليازوري] ثم على البابلي بعده. فكنت أرى من رئاسة الناصر - على شبيبته - ورجاحته، وسكون جأشه، ومن طيش البابلي وخفته ونقصه، ما أعجب منه. وهو أنني لما كنت موكلاً بالناصر، كنت أراه ملازماً بالعتبة باب المجلس في القاعة لا يتغير مكانه. وكان البابلي يتعلّى عليه ويراسله بما يُمض ويوصينا إذا مضينا إلى [اليازوري] بالجلب على فتح الباب والإكثار من قلقلته عند الفتح، لزعجه بذلك، فوالله ما يكثر ث إليه ولا ينزعج. وإذا دخل إليه تذكار متولي الستر يكون جلوسه منه في الاعتقال كجلوسه منه في وقت وزارته، ويخاطبه بما يرضى به فيجيبه عنه بسكون وهدوء كأنه في الدست جالساً.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	257
فأذكر، وقد دخل إليه يوماً فجلس ونحن (404) وقوف بين أيديهما	See corresponding passage number under this year below	258
أكثر من ثلاثين صقلبياً، فأدى إليه ما أوصاه البابلي به، وأجابه عنه. فنهض ولبس نعله وقال له: يا سيدي، صرفتني عن الستر بغير ذنب ثم أعدتني إليه بغير مسألة. فما كان مغناك في ذلك؟	See corresponding passage number under this year below	259
فرفع طرفه إليه كأنه والله يخاطبه من دست الوزارة وقال له: كان صرفك في الأول برأيي واختياري. ثم أعدتكَ كذلك برأيي لا عرفته من ميل مولانا إلى استخدامك.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	260
فخرج تذكار وهو يقول: انظروا إلى هذا الرجل في سكون جأشه وقلة احتفاله في الجواب/ مع حاجته إليّ في مثل هذا الوقت الذي تحقق قدرتي على الإحسان إليه فيه وعلى الإساءة. فوالله ما خاطبته	See corresponding passage number under this year below	261.1

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
إِلَّا وَأَنَا أَظُنُّ أَنَّهُ سَيَجِيءُ بِمَا يُمَهِّدُ عِنْدِي عُذْرَهُ فِيهِ، فَلَمْ يَكُنْ مِنْهُ غَيْرُ مَا سَمِعْتُمُوهُ. وَوَاللَّهِ مَا أَجْدُ سَبِيلًا إِلَى مُقَابَلَتِهِ بِغَيْرِ الْجَمِيلِ، لَمَا كُنْتُ أَشَاهِدُ مِنْ أَفْعَالِهِ وَجَمِيلِ سِيرَتِهِ.		
وَكُنْ أَكْثَرَ وَقْتَهُ صَائِماً، وَلَا يَكَادُ يُفْطِرُ إِلَّا أَقْلَهُ. ذَاكَ، وَهُوَ كَثِيرُ التَّلَاوَةِ، وَلَا يَسْأَلُ عَنْ شَيْءٍ مِنْ طَعَامٍ وَلَا شَرَابٍ. وَكُنْتُ مِنْ حَالِهِ عَجَباً.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	261.2
كَانَ فِي حَالٍ وَزَارَتْهُ كَثِيرُ الصَّمْتِ، مَوَاصِلَ الإِطْرَاقِ، شَدِيدَ سَكُونِ النَّفْسِ، هَادِئِ الطَّبَائِعِ. فَكُنَّا نَحْمِلُ ذَلِكَ مِنْهُ عَلَى التَّيِّهِ وَالصَّلَفِ وَالْإِعْجَابِ وَقَلَّةِ اِحْتِفَالِهِ بِالنَّاسِ. فَلَمَّا صَارَ فِي حَالَةِ الْقَبْضِ وَالْخَوْفِ كَانَتْ حَالُهُ عَلَى مِثْلِ مَا كُنَّا نَشَاهِدُهُ مِنْهُ وَنَتَّهَمُهُ فِيهِ.	See corresponding passage number under this year below	261.3
مَكِيدَةُ الْبَابِلِيِّ لِقَتْلِ الْيَازُورِيِّ		Heading
وَأَخَذَ الْبَابِلِيُّ كُلَّمَا حَضَرَ بَيْنَ يَدَيِ الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ يَكْثُرُ التَّنْثِيرُ عَلَى الْيَازُورِيِّ،	ومنها أنه كان إذا حضر بين يدي يكثر التنثير على اليازوري ويذكره بالقبيح ظناً منه تطلعنا إلى عودته إلى الأمر، وليثبت في نفوسنا سوء الرأي فيه. ولم نعلم أن غرضه قتله	213
إِلَى أَنْ كَانَ الْيَوْمَ الَّذِي شَغِبَتْ عَلَيْهِ الْأَتْرَاكُ وَوُطِنُوا دُرَّاعَتَهُ. فَإِنَّهُ لَمَّا دَخَلَ عَلَى (405) الْمُسْتَنْصِرِ قَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّهُ لَا يَنْفَذُ لَكَ أَمْرٌ وَلَا يَتِمُّ لِي نَظَرٌ، وَهَذَا الْكَلْبُ فِي قَيْدِ الْحَيَاةِ. فَقَالَ: وَمَنْ هُوَ هَذَا الْكَلْبُ؟ فَقَالَ: الْحَسَنُ بْنُ عَلِيِّ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ الْيَازُورِيِّ.	إِلَى أَنْ كَانَ الْيَوْمَ الَّذِي سَقَتْ عَلَيْهِ الْأَتْرَاكُ وَوُطِنُوا دُرَّاعَتَهُ، فَإِنَّهُ لَمَّا دَخَلَ إِلَيَّ قَالَ: يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِنَّهُ لَا يَنْفَذُ لَكَ أَمْرٌ وَلَا يَتِمُّ لِي نَظَرٌ وَهَذَا الْكَلْبُ فِي قَيْدِ الْحَيَاةِ. فَقُلْتُ: وَمَنْ هُوَ ذَلِكَ الْكَلْبُ؟ فَقَالَ: عَلَى ابْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ الْيَازُورِيِّ.	214
فَقَالَ: أَيُّهَا الْوَزِيرُ، أَعْلَمْتُ لَمْ أَصْرِفْ الْيَازُورِيِّ عَنْ خِدْمَتِنَا وَلَنَا فِي إِعَادَتِهِ رَغْبَةً. فَطَبْتُ نَفْساً وَدَعْتُ ذِكْرَهُ، فَأَنْتَ أَمِنْ مِمَّا تَخَافُهُ مِنْ جِهَتِهِ.	فَقُلْتُ: أَيُّهَا الْوَزِيرُ، أَعْلَمْتُ لَمْ أَصْرِفْ الْوَزِيرَ عَنْ خِدْمَتِنَا وَلَنَا فِي إِعَادَتِهِ رَغْبَةً، فَطَبْتُ نَفْساً وَدَعْتُ ذِكْرَهُ، فَأَنْتَ أَمِنْ مِمَّا تَخَافُهُ مِنْ جِهَتِهِ.	215
فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ، إِنَّ هَذَا لَعَجَبٌ فِيمَنْ حَسُنَ مَقَامُكَ، يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، عَنْهُ مَعَ قَبِيحِ فِعْلِهِ، وَمَا هَمَّ بِهِ مِنْ قَتْلِكَ، حَتَّى إِنْ السَّقِيَّةَ أَقَامَتْ تَدُورُ فِي قَصْرِكَ أَسْبُوعاً كَامِلاً...	فَقَالَ: وَاللَّهِ إِنَّ هَذَا لَعَجَبٌ مِنْ حَسَنِ مَقَامِكَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَنْهُ مَعَ قَبِيحِ فِعْلِهِ، وَمَا هَمَّ بِهِ مِنْ قَتْلِكَ، حَتَّى إِنْ السَّقِيَّةَ أَقَامَتْ تَدُورُ فِي قَصْرِكَ أَسْبُوعاً كَامِلاً.	216

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
This lacuna was filled by the editor from the <i>Itti'āz</i> . The added text has, therefore been removed from the <i>Muqaffā</i> side and kept only with the <i>Itti'āz</i> . It is not clear from the edition why the lacuna exists.	فقلت: أيها الوزير، أقامت السقية تدور على في قصرى أسبوعاً كاملاً؟	217
قال: نعم. فأطرق متعجباً وبقي متفكراً	فقال: نعم. فأطرقت متعجباً، وبقيت (242) متفكراً في ذلك، أصرف الظن بين تصديقه وتكذيبه، ثم أقول، لو لم يطلع على ذلك لم يذكره.	218
وأمسك. فظنّ البابليّ بإمساك الخليفة أنّه راضٍ بما يفعله مع اليازوري، وخرج، واستدعى طاهراً كاتب السرّ وسيره لقتله. فتمى الخبر إلى أمّ المستنصر فأكرته، ودخلت على المستنصر وقالت: أنت يا مولانا أمرت البابليّ بقتل اليازوري؟	فأمسكت، فظنّ بإمساكي أنني راضٍ بما يفعله معه؛ وخرج فاستدعى طاهراً كاتب السرّ وسيره لقتله. ونمي الخبر إلى مولاتنا الوالدة، فأكرت ذلك ودخلت إليّ، فقالت: أنت يا مولانا أمرت البابليّ بقتل اليازوري!	219
فقال: لا. قالت: قد سير طاهر [أ] ابن غلام رشيد لقتله فاستدعى المستنصر سعيد السعداء وأنفذه إلى البابليّ وقال: قل له: لم (406) نامرك بقتله، فأنفذ من يُعيد طاهراً ويمنعه من النفوذ. فألفاه سعيد السعداء في الحمام، فاعتذر إليه. فقال: لا بدّ من الدخول إليك! - ودخل وأدى الرسالة إليه. فقال: نعم، هوذا أخرج وأسير من يُعيده.	فقلت: لا. فقالت: قد سير طاهر ابن غلام لقتله. فاستدعيْتُ سعيد السعداء وأنفذه إليه، وقلت له: قل له لم يأمرك بقتله، فأنفذ من يُعيد طاهراً ويمنعه من النفوذ. فألفاه صاحبُ الرسالة في الحمام، فاعتذر إليه، فقال: لا بد من الدخول، ودخل وأدى الرسالة إليه؛ فقال: أخرج وأسير من يعيده.	220
وطول في الحمام. ثم خرج، فإلى أن يكتب الكتاب ويسير به النجّاب، جدّ طاهر في السير ووصل قبله إلى تنيس. فلم يدخل النجّاب حتّى نُفذ الحكم في اليازوري. وذلك أنّ طاهراً لما وصل دفع كتاب البابليّ إلى الأمير جمال الدولة صبح والي تنيس وفيه: إنّنا قد سيرنا طاهراً، فيما أنت تقف عليه من جهته، فنتبّت منه، وتحضر معه لإنجازه وتحذر من تأخيره من اليوم إلى الغد.	وطول في الحمام ثم خرج، فإلى أن كتب الكتاب وسير به النجّاب سبقة ذلك إلى تنيس، فلم يصل حتّى نفذ الحكم فيه. ولما وصل طاهر إلى تنيس أوصل كتاب البابليّ إلى جمال الدولة صبح يذكر فيه: إنّنا قد سيرنا طاهراً فيما أنت تقف عليه من جهته، فنتبّت منه، وتحضر معه لإنجازه وتحذر من تأخيره من اليوم إلى الغد.	221

¹¹ 'Corrected' by editor from *Itti'āz*.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
<p>فقال: وما الذي وصلت فيه؟ فأخرج تذكرة بخط البابلي فيها: إذا وصلت يا طاهر - أعزك الله - إلى تنيس وقد سغبت ولهت من العطش، فلا تبل ريقك بقطرة دون أن تحضر حسن بن علي بن عبد الرحمان اليازوري إلى دار الخدمة وتمضي حكم السيف فيه؛ فكتبنا إلى الأمير جمال الدولة بمعونتك على ما يستدعيه ذلك؛ فقدمه ولا تؤخره إن شاء أحد.</p>	<p>فقال: وما الذي وصلت فيه؟ فأخرج تذكرة بخط البابلي فيها: إذا وصلت يا طاهر - أعزك الله - إلى تنيس وقد سغبت ولهت من العطش، فلا تبل ريقك بقطرة دون أن يحضر علي بن حسن بن عبد الرحمن اليازوري إلى دار الخدمة، وتمضي حكم السيف فيه؛ فقد كتبنا إلى الأمير جمال الدولة بمعونتك على ما يستدعيه ذلك؛ فقدمه ولا تؤخره إن شاء أحد.</p>	222
<p>فقال له الوالي: أنت خليفة صاحب الستر، ومرسل من جهة السلطان، والأمر الذي وصلت فيه ممتل، فأمض الحكم فيه.</p>	<p>فقال له: أنت خليفة صاحب الستر ومرسل من جهة السلطان، والأمر الذي وصلت فيه ممتل، فأمض الحكم فيه.</p>	223
<p>(407) قتل اليازوري في سجن تنيس</p>	Heading	
<p>وأنفذ من يحضر اليازوري من معتقله، التي اعتقل بها. فلما حضر أجلس على مصطبة باب الدهليز، وطاهر على مقابلته في مصطبة،</p>	<p>وأنفذ من يحضر اليازوري من معتقله،</p>	224
<p>والصقالبة والسعدية خدام الستر وقوف، والسياف قائم. وقال طاهر: يا حسن، يقول لك مولانا: أين أموالي؟ فلم يجبه ولم يرفع طرفه إليه. فقال له: لك أخاطب يا حسن بن علي بن عبد الرحمن، يقول لك أمير المؤمنين أين أموالي؟ فلم يجبه ورفع طرفه ونظر إلى طاهر وإلى الجماعة القيام وقال لطاهر: يا كلب، تجيء وهذا معك - وأشار إلى حيدرة السياف - وتسالني بعد ذلك؟ ولكن قل له: يا مولانا، قبض عليّ وأنا آمن على نفسي. فإن كان عندي مال، فقد وجدته في داري. وكنت داعيك وتفتك المؤيد في الدين في القمطرة الفلانية تشهد بذكر مالك أين هو.</p>	<p>والصقالبة والسعدية خدام الستر وقوف، والسياف قائم. فقال له طاهر: يا حسن، يقول لك مولانا أين أموالي؟ فلم يجبه ولم يرفع طرفه إليه. فقال له: إياك أخاطب يا حسن بن علي بن عبد الرحمن، يقول لك أمير المؤمنين أين أموالي؟ فلم تجبه. فرفع طرفه ونظر إليه وإلى الجماعة وفيهم حيدرة السياف، وقال لطاهر: يا كلب تجيء وهذا معك، وأشار بيده إلى السياف، وتسالني بعد ذلك؛ ولكن قل له يا مولانا قبض عليّ وأنا آمن على نفسي، فإن يكن عندي مال، فقد وجدته في داري، وكنت داعيك وتفتك المؤيد في الدين. في القمطرة الفلانية ما يشهد بذكر مالك أين هو.</p>	225
<p>فأشار طاهر إلى الذين معه فأخذوا اليازوري وضربت عنقه في الحال. وسار لوقته عائداً، ومعه رأس</p>	<p>فأشار طاهر إلى أولئك، فأخذوه، وضربت عنقه في ليلة الثاني والعشرين من صفر، وحملت رأسه مع طاهر إلى</p>	226

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
اليازوري، إلى القاهرة. فبلغ ذلك المستنصر فاعتمَ لقتله، وحقد على البابلي حتى صرفه. وكان قتله في ليلة [...] الثاني والعشرين من صفر سنة خمسين وأربعمائة.	القاهرة،	
وألقيت جثته على مزبلة إلى أن ورد أمر المستنصر بعد ثلاثة أيام بتكفينه وتجهيزه والصلاة عليه. فغسل في مسجد وحُطّ بحنوط كثير وكافور، وحمل بين العشاءين ومعه المشاعل ودُفن. (408) ثم حضر صقلبي بعد ذلك ومعه الرأس فدفنت معه في القبر.	وطحرت جثته على مزبلة ثلاثة أيام. ثم ورد الأمر بتكفينه، فكُون بعد أن غسل، وحُطّ بحنوط كثير، وحمل ليلاً ودفن وقد وضع رأسه مع جثته.	227
ولم يتمكن أحد في الدولة المصرية بعد الوزير يعقوب بن كلس تمكّن اليازوري		228
وحكى أنه حجّ في صباه. فلمّا زار قبر رسول الله ونام في الحجرة النبوية، فسقط عليه شيء من الخلق الملطّخ بحائط الحجرة. فأناه بعض خدام الحجرة وأيقظه وقال له: أيها الرجل، إنك ستلي ولاية عظيمة. وقد بشرتك، ولي منك الجباء والكرامة.	See corresponding passage number under year 439 above	4
See corresponding passage number under this year above	وكان له من المآثر المرضية، والخلال الحميدة، والأفعال الجميلة، والخلائق الرضية ما يتجمل الملوك بذكره. منها أنه كانت له مائدة يحضرها كل قاض فقيه وأديب جليل القدر،	229
See corresponding passage number under this year above	فإذا قدمت فكأنها الرياض من حسنها وسعة نفسه. وكان الملازمون لمائدته نحو العشرين نسمة، فيكون عليها كأحدهم.	230
See corresponding passage number under this year above	وقال عميد الدولة: أقمت معه خمس عشرة سنة قبل وزارته ملازماً له في المبيت والصباح، فكنت أراعيه في حالاته كلها ليلاً ونهاراً، فلا أرى يتغير عليّ منها شيء ولا يتبين لي منه غضب من رضا؛	231
See corresponding passage number under this year above	فأقبلت أدقّق التأمل له في حالتي غضبه ورضاء شهورا حتى تبين لي، فكان إذا	232

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	<p><u>رضى تورّدت وجنتاه بحمرة، وإذا</u> <u>غضب اصفرت محاجر عينيه، فعرفت</u> <u>أبى بذلك، فقال: يا بنى هذا غاية في</u> <u>سكون النفس وصحة الطباع واعتدال</u> <u>المزاج.</u></p>	
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p><u>وكانت طبائعه الأربعة على السواء،</u> <u>فإذا أخلّ عمل طبيعة منها عهده أخذ</u> <u>بإصلاحها حتى يعود إلى ما يعهده من</u> <u>استقامتها.</u></p>	233
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p><u>وكان لا يعطل شرب الدواء يوماً واحداً</u> <u>فيشرب السكجيين والورد أسبوعاً ثم</u> <u>يريح نفسه ثلاثة أيام، ثم يشرب النقوع</u> <u>المغلى في (244) الشتاء والمنجم منه</u> <u>في الصيف أسبوعاً لكل منهما؛ ويشرب</u> <u>ماء البذور أسبوعاً، ويشرب ماء الجبن</u> <u>ثمانية أيام؛ ويشرب ماء البقل أسبوعاً</u> <u>ثم يشرب الراوند المنقوع كذلك؛ ويريح</u> <u>نفسه بين كل دوائين ثلاثة أيام، لا يُخلّ</u> <u>بذلك في صيف ولا في شتاء.</u></p>	234
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p><u>وكان نديّ الوجه كثير الحياء لا يكاد</u> <u>يرفع طرفاً إلا لضرورة، ولم يُسمع منه</u> <u>قط في سؤال لفظة "لا". بل كان إذا</u> <u>سُئل فما يرى إجابة سؤاله إليه يقول</u> <u>نعم، بانخفاض من طرفه وخُفوت من</u> <u>صوته، فإذا سئل فما يرى الإجابة إليه</u> <u>يطرف ولا يرفع طرفه؛ وعرف هذا</u> <u>منه فلا يراجع فيه إلا بعد مدة.</u></p>	235
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p><u>وكان كلّ من يحضر مائدته يستدعي</u> <u>منه الحضور بين يديه لئلا يستمروا</u> <u>عنده؛ وكان فيهم من يشرب المسكر،</u> <u>فإذا حضروا عرفوا مجالسهم وما قرّره</u> <u>لهم، فكان من لا يشرب النبيذ يجلس</u> <u>عن يمينه، ومن يستعمله يجلس عن</u> <u>يساره؛ وبين يدي كل منهم الفواكه</u> <u>الرطبة واليابسة والحلاوة،</u></p>	236
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p><u>وستارة الغناء مضروبة؛ فيجلسون وهو</u> <u>مشغول بوقع، وهم يتحدثون همساً</u> <u>وإشارة وإيماء، إلى أن ينتضى أرْبُه</u> <u>ممن التواقيع فيستند وينشطهم بالحديث</u> <u>ويقول: قد تجدد اليوم كذا وكذا، فما</u></p>	237

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	<u>عندكم فيه.</u>	
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p>فيقول كل أحد ما يراه وهو يسمع لهم، حتى يستكمل الجماعة الذين عن يمينه ثم يعطف على شماله فيقول: <u>من هناك</u> قولوا، فيقولون وهو يسمع ولا يردُّ على أحد شيئاً فلا يصوب المصوب ولا يخطئ المخطئ، ويبيت يضرب الآراء بعضها ببعض حتى يحض له الصواب، ويصبح يرى فلا يخطئ. فكانت أفعاله هكذا طول مدته، لا يستبدُّ قط برأيه ولا يأنف من المشورة، بل يقول: <u>المستبدُّ برأيه واقف على</u> <u>مداحض الزلل، وفي الاستشارة كل</u> <u>عقول الرجال.</u></p>	238
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p>وبهذا تمَّ له ما كان يدبره حتى ترك فيما رأه من الطرز الآثار الباقي ذكرها.</p>	239
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p>وجاء ارتفاع الدولة في أيامه ألفي ألف دينار،</p>	240
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p>يقف منها ويسكن، وينصرف للرجال وللقصور وللعمائر وغيرها،</p>	241
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p>ويبقى بعد ذلك مائتا ألف دينار حاصلة، يحملها كل سنة (245) إلى بيت المال. <u>فحظي بذلك عند سلطانه، وتمكَّن منه،</u> <u>وارتفع قدره...</u></p>	242
<p>فصار إلى ما صار حتى إنَّه سأل المستنصر بالله أن يكتب اسمه على سكة الذهب والفضة فأذن له في ذلك. وطبعت باسمه نحو شهر ثم بطلت. وأمر المستنصر ألا يسطر هذا في السير. وكانت صفه سكتة [سريع]: <u>ضربت في دولة آل الهدى من آل طه</u> <u>وآل ياسين مستنصر بالله جلَّ اسمه</u> <u>وعبد الناصر للدين في سنة كذا.</u></p>	<p>حتى سأل أن يكتب على سكة نقش عليها: <u>ضربت في دولة آل الهدى من</u> <u>آل طه وياسين، مستنصر بالله جلَّ</u> <u>اسمه، وعبد الناصر للدين سنة كذا،</u> <u>وطبعت عليها الدنانير مدة شهر ثم أمر</u> <u>المستنصر بمنعها، ونهى أن تسطر في</u> <u>السير.</u></p>	243
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p>وكانت أيام نظره حوامل لتوالي <u>الفتوحات وعماراة الأعمال.</u> وكان شريف الأخلاق، عالي الهمة كريم الطباع، وطىء الأكفاف، مستحكم</p>	244

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	<u>الحلم، واسع الصدر، نديّ الوجه، يستقلّ الكثير، ويستصغر كل كبير.</u>	
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<u>وكان إذا أعطى أهناً، وإذا أنعم على إنسان أسبغ، وإذا اصطنع أحداً رفعه إلى ما تقصّر الآمال والأمانى عنه، مع عظيم الصدقة، وجزيل البرّ الذي عمّ به أهل البيوتات مما جعله لهم من المشاهرات على مقاديرهم. وكذلك الأشراف والفقراء وأهل الستر بالقرافة، فكان يُجرى عليهم البرّ والكساء على يد بعض اليهود، ويعرف بابن عُصفورة، وكيل السيدة أم المستنصر، فكانوا يظنون أنه من إنعامها؛</u>	245
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<u>فلما زالت أيامه انقطع عنهم ما كان يصل إليهم من البرّ، فخطبوا ابن عُصفورة</u>	246
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<u>وقالوا: قد جُفينا من مولانا مولاتنا،</u>	247
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<u>فلو أدركتهما بنا فقال لهم: ما ترون ما كان يجيئكم حتى يتولّى الله ناصر الدين أخي.</u>	248
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<u>فقالوا: نحن التمسنا من مولانا المستنصر ومولاتنا السيدة الوالدة ولم نلتمس من ناصر الدين. فقال: ما كان يجيئكم ذاك إلا من الوزير.</u>	249
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<u>فعبجوا من ذاك وأكثروا من الترحم عليه.</u>	250
<u>ومن طريف التخلّصات</u>	See corresponding passage number under this year below	256
في المكاتبة ما وقع له، وهو أنّ	ومما يذكر عنه أنه كتّب:	251
<u>العالى بالله إدريس ابن المعتلى بالله يحيى ابن الناصر على بن حمّود بن ميمون بن حمّود بن علي بن عبيد الله بن عمر بن إدريس بن إدريس بن عبد الله بن الحسن بن الحسن بن علي بن أبي طالب صاحب الأندلس كتب إلى المستنصر بالله</u>	<u>العالى بالله إدريس بن المعتلى بالله يحيى بن الناصر لدين الله على بن حمّود</u>	252
<u>من مدينة مالقة مكاتبة فيها: "من أمير المؤمنين العالى بالله إلى أمير المؤمنين</u>	<u>من خالقه إلى مصر مكاتبة يقول فيها: "من أمير (246) المؤمنين العالى بالله</u>	253

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
المستنصر بالله". فعيب عليه بمصر قلّة تصوّره ومعرفته بأنّه لا يجوز أن يكون أمير المؤمنين في زمان واحد إلا واحدًا. ثمّ ألجأت الضرورة إلى مكاتبته بنحو ما كتب، وكان اليازوري إذ ذاك في الوزارة وتدبير أمور مصر.	إلى أمير المؤمنين المستنصر بالله". فعيب عليه بمصر قلّة تصوّره ومعرفته بأنّه لا يجوز أن يكون أمير المؤمنين في زمان واحد اثنان. ثمّ ألجأت الضرورة إلى مكاتبته بنحو ما كتب، وكان اليازوري إذ ذاك وزيراً،	
فقال: أنا أخلص لكم هذه القضية وأعلقها بمعنى دقيق لا يبين للمكاتب، وكان صاحب حيل - فكتب إليه: من أمير المؤمنين المستنصر بالله معدّ إلى العالي بالله أمير المؤمنين خالقه؛	فقال أنا أخلص هذه القضية وأعلقها بمعنى دقيق لا يبين للمكاتب، وكان صاحب حيل؛ يُكتب إليه: "من أمير المؤمنين المستنصر بالله معدّ إلى العالي بالله أمير المؤمنين خالقه؛	254
See corresponding passage number under this year above	وهذا من طريف التخلصات التي تميز بها.	256
See corresponding passage number under this year above	وحكى عظيم الدولة متولّي السر، قال: كنت في جملة الموكلين على الناصر ثم على البابلي بعده، فكنت أرى من رئاسة الوزير الأول - يعنى اليازوري - على شبيبته ورجاحته وسكون حاشيته، ومن طيش البابلي وخفته ونقصه ما أعجب منه، وهو أنّي لما كنت موكلًا باليازوري كنت أراه ملازمًا لعتبة باب المجلس في القاعة لا يتغيّر مكانه منها. وكان البابلي يرأسه بما يمضي ويؤصينا إذا مضينا إليه بالإزعاج عند فتح الباب وإكثار قلقلته لنزع ونروعه بذلك؛ فوالله ما كان يكثرث ولا ينزعج. وإذا دخل متولّي الستر يكون جلوسه منه في الاعتقال كجلوسه منه في حال نظره، ويخاطب بما يرضي فيجيب بسكون وهدوء وكأنه في الدست جالس.	257
See corresponding passage number under this year above	فدخل إليه في	258
See corresponding passage number under this year above	أكثر من ثلاثين صقلبياً وبلغه ما أوصاه البابلي، فأجابه، ثم نهض وقال: يا سيدي صرفتني من الستر بغير ذنب ثم أعدتني إليه بغير مسألة، فما كان سبب ذلك؟	259
See corresponding passage number under this year above	فرفع طرفه إليه كأنه يخاطبه من دسّت الوزارة وقال له: كان صرفك في الأول برأي واختياري ثم أعدتك لما عرفت	260

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	<u>من مَيَّل مولانا إلى استخدامك.</u>	
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<u>فخرج متولّي الستر وهو يعجب من</u> <u>سكون حاله وقلة احتفاله في الجواب،</u> <u>مع حاجته إليه في مثل ذلك الوقت الذي</u> <u>يقدر فيه على الإحسان إليه وعلى</u> <u>الإساءة، وكان يظن أنه يعتذر إليه، فلم</u> <u>يكن منه غير ما تقدم ذكره.</u>	261.1
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<u>وكان أكثر وقته صائما وهو يتلو القرآن</u> <u>ولا يسأل عن طعام ولا شراب.</u>	261.2
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<u>وكان في حال وزارته كثير الصمت</u> <u>مواصل الإطراق ساكن النفس هادئ</u> <u>الطباع فكان يظن أن ذلك من تيه</u> <u>وصلف وإعجاب وقلة احتفال بالناس</u> <u>فلما صار في الاعتقال بعد القبض عليه</u> <u>كان حاله على ما كان مما ذكر</u>	261.3
	<u>ومن عجب ما وقع أن خطير الملك</u> <u>محمد بن الوزير اليازوري كان ينوب</u> <u>عن أبيه في قضاء القضاة، فلما سار</u> <u>إلى الشام بالعساكر الكثيرة معه كان</u> <u>في حال من البَدْخ والتجمل في حال لا</u> <u>يمكن شرحها، فلما نكب أبوه آل حاله</u> <u>إلى أن يرى في مسجد بمدينة فوة</u> <u>يخبط للناس بالأجرة، وقد نزل به من</u> <u>الفقر والبلاء شدائد وهو يبالي في</u> <u>مطالبة شخص بأجرة ما خاطه له،</u> <u>والرجل يماطله. فلما ألح في المطالبة</u> <u>قال له: يا سيدنا اجعل هذا القدر اليسير</u> <u>من جملة ما ذهب منك في السفرة</u> <u>الشامية. فقال: دع ذكر ما مضى.</u> <u>فسأله رجل عن ذلك فلم يجبه، فسأل</u> <u>عبده، فقال الذي ذهب منه في تلك</u> <u>السفرة على نفقات سماطه مقدار ستة</u> <u>عشر ألف دينار. فسبحان من لا يزول</u> <u>ملكه.</u>	262

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>وفيهما ولى الوزارة بعد اليازورى أبو الفرج عبدالله بن محمد البابلي، وكان أولاً من جملة أصحاب الدواوين فقبض عليه الوزير أبو البركات ابن الجرجرائي، وصادره على عشرة آلاف دينار أخذ خطه بها، فباع موجوده بسته آلاف دينار وبقي عليه أربعة آلاف دينار، فانطرح على اليازورى وسأله الشفاعة له، وكان يومئذ ينظر لأم الخليفة، فسأل الخليفة له في ذلك، فوقع مسامحته منها بألفى دينار، فلما صرف الوزير أبو البركات وتولى اليازورى الوزارة وقع بمسامحة البابلي بالآلفين الباقية، واستخدمه في التوقيع، ورد إليه ديوان تنيس ودمياط، وديوان الخاص وغيره من الدواوين، حتى كان في يده ستة (248) دواوين. وكان رسم لأصحاب الدواوين أن يحضروا كل يوم بين يدي الوزير، فرفع منزلة البابلي عن ذلك وميزه عن أصحاب الدواوين، فكان لا يحضر عنده إلا في كل ثلاثاء من الجمعة، فإذا حضر حُجب كل أحد من الرؤساء، فلا يدخل إلى الوزير أحد ما دام عنده. فمهما [١٩٥] قرره مع الوزير لا يُنْتَقَض. وإذا عرض له في باقى الجمعة أمر كتب رقعة إلى الوزير فيجيبه في تضاعيف سطور، ففعل الأكفاء بالأكفاء. وبلغ جاريه على ما بيده من الدواوين والتوقيع في كل سنة عشرة آلاف دينار. وكتب مرة إلى الوزير اليازوري رقعة يذكر فيها أنه ليس له دار يسكنها، وأن بجوار داره حماماً سلطانياً من جملة المقبوض عن تركة أمير الأمراء رفق، بذل فيها خمسمائة دينار، وسأل التوقيع بمبايعته منه على أن يُقْتَطَع ثمنه من جاريه، مائة دينار في الشهر؛ فوقع له بذلك، ثم تقدم إلى متولى بيت المال بأن يكتب له منه رسداً بخمسمائة دينار، ووهبها</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>له. فكتب رقعة ثانية أنه لما شرع في بناء الدار احتاج إلى ما يكمل به عمارتها، وأن في المقبوض من أمير الأمراء أيضاً من الأخشاب والرُخام ما يسأل الإنعام عليه منه بما يعمرها به، فوقع بتسليم جميع ذلك إليه. فعمر الدار، وخدمه فيها جميع من في الدولة، فجاءت تضاهي القصور.</p> <p>واتفق أنه مرض في بعض السنين مَرَضَةً أَشْفَى فِيهَا عَلَى التَّأَلُّفِ، فكتب إلى الوزير اليازوري رقعة يذكر فيها ما انتهت حاله إليه، وأنه على آخر رمق، وأن عليه من الدين ثلاثة آلاف دينار، ويخاف إن حدث به حادث الموت أن يُعْنَتَ الْغُرَمَاءُ وَلَدِيهِ، ويسأل تمام الاصطناع بالمنع منهما، وأن يقرر حالهما في القيام للعرفاء بما تصل قدرتهما إليه ويُنَجِّمَ الباقي عليهما. فلما وقف الوزير عليها استرجع وتغمم له، وقال: ما ظننَّا إِلَّا أَنَا قَدْ أَغْنَيْنَا أَبَا الْفَرَجِ، وَأَنَّ حَالَهُ لَمْ تَصِلْ إِلَى هَذَا الْحَدِّ! ثُمَّ رَفَعَ رَأْسَهُ إِلَى أَبِي الْعَلَاءِ عَبْدِ الْغَنِيِّ بْنِ الضَّيْفِ، وَكَانَ يَحْمِلُ دَوَاةَ الْوَزِيرِ، وَلَقَّبَهُ بِالصَّادِقِ الْمَأْمُونِ، وَقَالَ: (249) أَسْرِعْ إِلَى أَبِي الْعَبَّاسِ الشَّاشِيِّ، وَكَانَ يَتَوَلَّى دِيْوَانَهُ؛ فَلَمَّا حَضَرَ قَالَ: مَا فِي حَاصِلِكَ مِنْ إِقْطَاعِنَا؟ فَقَالَ: ثَلَاثَةُ آلَافٍ دِينَارٍ وَكُسْرٍ، فَأَحْضَرَهَا، وَقَالَ لِأَبِي الْعَلَاءِ: خُذْ هَذِهِ الثَّلَاثَةَ آلَافَ دِينَارٍ وَامْضِ بِهَا إِلَى الْبَابِلِيِّ وَخُصِّهِ بِسَلَامِنَا، وَقُلْ لَهُ: قَدْ سَوَّأَتْنَا بِمَا ذَكَرْتَهُ مِنْ مَرَضِكَ وَمَا انْتَهَتْ إِلَيْهِ حَالُكَ، وَاللَّهُ تَعَالَى يَهْبُ عَافِيَتُكَ وَلَا يَعْمَنَّا بِكَ. فَأَمَّا مَا سَأَلْتَ مِنْ مُرَاعَاتِكَ فِي وَلَدَيْكَ وَالْمَنْعِ مِنْهُمَا، فَلَوْ لَمْ تَسْأَلْ فِي ذَلِكَ حِفْظَنَا فِيهِمَا وَرَاعَيْنَا هُمَا لَكَ. وَأَمَّا مَا ذَكَرْتَهُ مِنْ دَيْنِكَ فَقَدْ أَنْفَذْنَا إِلَيْكَ مَا تَقْضِيهِ بِهِ. فَلَمَّا أَخَذَ الْمَالِ وَخَرَجَ مِنَ الْقَبَةِ قَالَ ارْجِعْ يَا عَبْدَ الْغَنِيِّ، فَعَادَ إِلَيْهِ فَأَخَذَ دَرْجاً وَوَقَعَ إِلَى</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>ديوان الخاص بثلاثة آلاف دينار، وكان له فيه إقطاع، وقال امض إلى الجهبذ بهذا التوقيع فإن كان في حاصله هذا القدر، وإلا قل له يقترض من بيت المال إلي أن يسخر شينا فيحمله إليه به عوضاً عنها، واحمل الجميع إلى البابلي. فلم يحتمل أبو العلاء الصبر عن الكلام وقال: يا سيدنا، ما يُقنعك تحمل إليه ثلاثة آلاف دينار حتى تضيف إليها مثلها فتصير ستة! فقال: يا وحش إذا قضى دينه بهذه الثلاثة الآلاف ما يحتاج أن يستدين بعدها، فينفق من هذه الأخرى ولا يستدين. فقال له: والله يا سيدنا إنك لأكرم نفسك من البرامكة، لأن أولئك كانوا يجودون من سعة وأنت تجود من ضيق، ولانسبة بين ما تنظر فيه وما كانوا ينظرون فيه. وخرج فأوصلها إليه. فلما قبض على اليازوري كان أعدى العالم له، وكفر نعمته وإحسانه، وتجرّد له حتى قتله.</p> <p>وحكى فخر الدولة قال: استدعاني مولانا المستنصر وقال لي يا فخر الدولة، هل (250) يكون في اختيار الإنسان إلى من تطمح إليه الأبصار أو تتطلع إليه النفوس أوفى من شخص البابلي، مع شيبته وظاهر سمته وهيبته؟ فقلت: لا يا أمير المؤمنين. فقال: والله لقد ظننت أن الدولة تتضاعف قدرتها بنظره، وينضاف إليها مثلها بحسن تدبيره وأن من وراء هذا الشخص ما وفي عليه، فاذا ثيابه لا تسع رقاعته وغمته، والحية قد نشفت قرعته. وذلك أن اليازوري أقام في خدمتنا عشر سنين عددنا عليه ثمانية عشر ذنبا، وأقام البابلي اثنين وسبعين يوما نَقَمْنَا عليه تسعة عشر ذنبا، مع ظاهر كذبه وقلة احتشامه عندي؛ وذلك أنه ذكر لي من حال السقية ما كثر تعجّبي منه وأنا بين تصديق الحكاية</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>وتكذيبها، واحتشمت أن أردّ عليه فيتحقق تكذبي له. وكان من إقدامه على قتل اليازورى ما كان، وساء لنا ذلك إذ لم نكن نريد قتله. فلما كان بعد ذلك بأيام يسيرة أمرته بشئ فعارضنى وضرب الأمثال بما يصدني عن ذلك الأمر؛ فقلت له أيها الوزير، اعلم أن اليازورى لم تطل مدته معنا وتثبت قدمه إلا أنا كنا إذا أمرناه بشئ انتهى إليه ولم يتجاوز. فقال لى مجيباً: يا مولانا وكان اليازورى كان ينقُط نقطة إلا ما أمثله له وأوقفه عليه! يريد أنه كان يدبر اليازورى ويعلمه ويفهمه؛ فلم يتأمل ما عليه فيه، ولا ذكر ما كان قاله من حال السقية؛ وأذكرنى قوله هذا حال السقية، فقلت له وقد اغتظت منه: يخرس الله الوزير، فإذا كانت السقية برأيه! فلما سمع ذلك منى ذهش وقال: أعوذ بالله يا مولانا ولكننى كنت أبصره صواب الرأى، وأشير عليه بما فيه حميد العاقبة. فعند ذلك تحققت من كذبه على الرجل ما كنت شاكاً فيه. ووجه كذبه فيما حكاه من ذلك أن الرئيس الجليل القدر إذا أراد أن يهّم بمثل هذا الأمر في سائسه أو من يجرى مجراه لم يكد يعلم ولده بما يريده منه، فكيف إذا عزم على فعل ذلك مع مثلى، هل يسوغ أن يُطلع أحداً عليه؟ ومع هذا فما الذي يدعوه أن يخرج بذلك إلى غيره، وربما نمّ عليه وتقرّب إلى باطلاعى عليه، وإلا تولى بنفسه مع إكتارى كان من زيارته وسكونى إليه، وأني لم أتهمه بذلك قطّ فأخذ حذرى منه، وكان بهذا الحكم يتمكن من بلوغ غرضه منى بحيث (251) لا يعلم به أحد. فتحقق لى كذبه فيما حكاه؛ وهذا أقوى الأسباب في صرفه، لأن من ليس له عقل يميز به ما يخرج من فمه، لاسيما في مثل هذا الأمر الخطر الكبير، لم يجز أن يوثق به في تدبير مزبلة، والخوف من جنايته على الدولة برقاّعه ونقص</p>	

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	passage no.
	<p>عقله أكثر من الطمع في الانتفاع بنظره.</p> <p>وكان صرفُ البابلي من الوزارة في شهر ربيع الأول وله في الوزارة اثنان وسبعون يوماً، فلما صُرف قبض عليه واعتُقل. وكان النهار لا يكاد يرتفع ويتأخر ما يُحْمَل إليه من الطعام إلا ويستغيث ويقول: ما يتم حبسٌ وجوع. وكان يبدو منه في محبسه من القول ما يعرب به عن مستحکم الرقاعة والجهل، فكان الموكلون به يتعجبون من فَرْق ما بينه وبين اليازوري، فإنَّ ذاك كان ساكن الطباع كثير الصمت شريف النفس مع حداثة سنّه، وهذا شيخ يظهر منه من الخفة والطيش والجهل مع الشيخوخة ما يُضْحَك منه.</p> <p>ففيها تولّى الوزارة بعد البابلي أبو الفرج محمد بن جعفر بن محمد بن الحسين بن المغربي. وفيها تولّى قضاء القضاة عوضاً عن اليازوري أبو علي أحمد بن عبد الحكم بن سعيد، إلى ذي القعدة، وصُرف بأبي القاسم عبد الحاكم بن وهب بن عبد الرحمن المليجي. وتولى المؤيد في الدين أبو نصر هبة الله بن موسى داعي الدعاة.</p>	
	<p>(252) فيها قصد الأمير أبو الحارث أرسلان البساسيري الموصل ومعه قريش بن بدران بن المقلد بن المسيب العقيلي أمير الغوب فملكها. وخرج إليه السلطان ركن الدين أبو طالب طغرل بك بن ميكائيل بن سلجوق، ففارقها؛ واتجه طغرل بك إلى نصيبين فخالف عليه أخوه لأمه إبراهيم بن ينال وسار إلى همذان، فرجع في إثره؛ وتلاحقت الأتراك، فاستدعى الخليفة القائم دبيس بن مزيد، فوصل إليه وقد أُرْجف مبسّر البساسيري إلى بغداد فعظم الخوف منه،</p>	263 ¹²

¹² Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:341.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	فرجع دبّيس إلى بلاده.	
Contrasts with <i>Muqaffā</i> . See corresponding passage number above.	فلما كان يومُ الأحد الثامن من ذي القعدة من هذه السنة وصل البساسيري إلى بغداد ومعه قريش بن بدران، وخطب في جامع المنصور للمستنصر بالله الفاطمي وقطع الخطبة لبنى العباس، وعقد الجسر وعبر عسكره.	264 ¹³
	فلما كانت الجمعة الثانية خطب بجامع الرُصافة المستنصر. وكانت بينه وبين أهل بغداد حُرُوبٌ آلت إلى هزيمة رئيس الرؤساء وزير القائم والعسكر، وقُتِل جماعة من الأعيان. ووقع النهب في البلد، ودخل أصحاب البساسيري إلى البلد،	265
Contrasts with <i>Muqaffā</i> . See corresponding passage number above.	ووصلوا إلى باب التّوبى الشريف، فركب القائم بسواده وعلى كتفه البردة، وبيده السيف [١٩٦] وعلى رأسه اللواء، وحوله جماعة بنى العباس والخدم بالسيوف المسلّلة، فرأى الأمر شديداً، فعاد وأبعد المنظرة.	266 ¹⁴
Largely contrasts with <i>Muqaffā</i> . See corresponding passage number above.	(253) ونادى رئيسُ الرؤساء: يا علم الدين قريش، أمير المؤمنين يستدنيك. فدنا منه، فقال رئيسُ الرؤساء له: قد أتاك الله منزلة لم ينلها أمثالك؛ وطلب منه الأمان للخليفة القائم، فأمنه.	267 ¹⁵
Contrasts with <i>Muqaffā</i> . See corresponding passage number above.	ونزل إليه الخليفة والوزير رئيس الرؤساء، وصارا معه. فبعث إليه البساسيري: تُخالف ما استقرّ بيننا! فقال قريش: لا. وكانا قد تعاهدا على المشاركة في جميع ما يحصل لهما، فاستقرّ الأمر على أن البساسيري يتسلّم الوزير رئيس الرؤساء وأن قريش ابن بدران يتسلّم الخليفة القائم فيكون عنده. فبعث حينئذ قريش بالوزير إلى البساسيري؛ فلما مثل بين يديه قال له: العفو عند القدرة. فقال البساسيري: أنت	268 ¹⁶

¹³ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:342.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:343.

¹⁵ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:343.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:343.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	صاحب الطيلسان ما عفوت عن داري وحرمتي وأطفالي، فكيف أعفو وأنا صاحب سيف.	
Contrasts with <i>Muqaffā</i> . See corresponding passage number above.	ثم إن قريش بن بدران سار في خدمة الخليفة، وهو راكب بالصفة التي تقدّم ذكرها إلى معسكره، فأنزله في خيمة وهياً له ما يقوم به، ووقع النهب في دار الخلافة مدة أيام، وأخذ منها مالا يُحصى كثرة،	269 ¹⁷
	وبعث منها إلى مصر مندبل القائم الذي عممه بيده، قد جعل في قالب رخام لكيلاً ينحلّ، مع ردائه، والشباك الذي كان يتوكأ عليه؛ فعمل في دار الوزارة بالقاهرة. وأما العمامة والرداء فبعثهما السلطان صلاح الدين يوسف، لما استولى على القصر، إلى الخليفة المستضى ببغداد مع الكتاب الذي كتبه على نفسه القائم وأشهد على نفسه العدول فيه أنه لا حق لبنى العباس في الخلافة مع وجود فاطمة الزهراء. وحمل أيضاً إلى القاهرة الذخائر والكتب والقضيب والبُرْدَة.	270
	وسلم قريش الخليفة إلى ابن عمه مهارش بن المجلى، وكان رجلاً متديناً، فحمّله في هودج إلى مدينة عانة وأنزله بها؛ وفر أصحاب الخليفة القائم إلى طغربك فصاروا في جملته	271 ¹⁸
	(254) فلما كان يوم عيد النحر ركب البساسيري إلى المصلى وعلى رأسه ألوية المستنصر، وقد استمال الناس بكثرة الإحسان وإجراء الأرزاق،	272 ¹⁹
See corresponding passage number under this year above	وكسر منبر المسجد الجامع ببغداد وقال: هذا منبر نحس أعلن عليه بغض آل محمد عليهم السلام، وأنشأ منبراً آخر وخطب عليه باسم المستنصر.	273

¹⁷ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:343.

¹⁸ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:343.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:343.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
Contrasts with <i>Muqaffā</i> . See corresponding passage number above.	<p>ثم أخرج الوزير رئيس الرؤساء أبا القاسم على بن المسلمة وهو مقيّد وعليه جبة صوف وطرطور أحمر من لبد وفي عنقه مخنقة، فشهره ثم أعاده إلى المعسكر وقد نُصبت له خشبة، فألّيس جلد ثور طري، وجعل في فكيه كلابين من حديد وعلّقه بهما؛ فيبقى يضطرب إلى آخر النهار حتى مات، وعمره نحو من ثلاث وخمسين سنة، وكان حسن التلاوة للقرآن جيّد المعرفة بالأدب.</p>	274 ²⁰
	<p>ولما ورد الخبر بذلك إلى المستنصر سرّ سرورا كثيرا، وزينت القاهرة ومصر وجاءت نسب الطبالة، فغنت بالطبل في القصر بين يدي المستنصر: "يا بني العباس ردّوا؛ ملك الأمر معدّ؛ ملككم ملكٌ مُعار؛ والعواري تُستردّ". فقال لها المستنصر: تمنّي، فلك حكمك، فسألت الأرض المجاورة للمفس، ففقطعها إيّاها، فغرقت بها وقيل لها إلى اليوم أرض الطبالة.</p>	275
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p>وأمر المستنصر في أن يحمل إلى <u>مهارش (255) عشرة آلاف دينار</u> <u>ليُسَيّر إليه الخليفة القائم على حال جميلة</u>؛ وعزم على أنه إذا وصل <u>تلقّاه أحسن لقاء وبالغ في إكرامه</u>. ويقال إنه <u>بنى القصر الغربي لينزله فيه</u>، ويحمل إليه ما يُنسيه به ما كان فيه من إقامة الرواتب السنية، وأن يقرّر له في كل يوم <u>مائة دينار</u>، وأنه إذا ركب <u>المستنصر في أوقات ركوبه قدّمه بين يديه يحجبه</u>.</p>	276
See corresponding passage number under this year above	<p><u>فإذا أقام على ذلك مدة، وبات وانتشر في الأقطار خبر ذلك خلع عليه وعقد له ألوية الولاية للعراق، وكتب عهده بتقليده إيّاه، وسيرّه إليه، وأعاده إلى مملكته وخلافته من قبله</u>. فمنعه حادثُ القدر قبل إدراك ذلك.</p>	277

²⁰ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:344.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	passage no.
	<p>وكان من جملة أسباب فوات هذا أن البياسيرى لما بعث الكتب إلى المستنصر يعرفه بإقامة الخطبة له ببغداد كان الوزير حينئذ أبو الفرج محمد بن المغربي، وهو ممن قر من البياسيرى وصار إلى القاهرة، فحذر المستنصر من البياسيرى وخوفه عاقبته، فنكرت أجوبته مدة، ثم عادت الأجوبة بخلاف ما أمله البياسيرى؛ ثم قدم طغرل بك فانتصر عليه.</p>	278 ²¹
	<p>وفيها بنيت القبة التي بصحن جامع دمشق، شرقى الجامع على باب مشهد على، وكتب عليها اسم المستنصر.</p>	279
	<p>وفيها ولي المستنصر ناصر الدولة الحسن بن عبد الله بن حمدان دمشق في شهر رجب.</p>	280

²¹ Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, VIII:344.

Appendix B. Charts illustrating text reuse between al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*

There is a significant instance of reuse between the biography of al-Yāzūrī in al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and the years 439-450 of al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. This reuse is a good indication that the two texts share a source, and it is very likely that the source is the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī* (SY).

Appendix A provided a series of tables showing the related passages of the two texts side-by-side and in context. As was noted in section 2.3.1, each passage of the two texts was given one of the following classifications:

1. Not reused: the passage of text is not found in the compared text.
2. Reused: the passage has significant shared words with the compared text.
3. Reused and rearranged: the passage has been reused, but it appears in a different order to that presented in the compared text.
4. Partial paraphrase: the passage shares words with the compared text and the meaning is the same, but some words have been omitted or parts paraphrased.
5. Full paraphrase: the passage has minimal shared words (typically proper nouns) with the compared text but the content is the same.

The word count of each passage was also logged (for a detailed explanation of the statistical approach, see chapter 2). These word counts and classifications were utilised to create bar charts that show the relationship between the two texts.

This appendix presents 2 charts (one for the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*), to illustrate how the reuse evidence discussed in the dissertation is found throughout the two texts in their accounts of al-Yāzūrī. The data is presented in stacked bar charts, arranged in the same order as it appears in the texts. On the Y axis of each chart is the word count and the X axis records chapter or section divisions in the book. The left of each chart therefore represents the start of the book section and the right the end of the book section.

Colours have been used to record the text reuse relationships found between the two works. Orange indicates that there is clear reuse between the passage recorded in the chart and its parallel passage in the other work. Yellow indicates that the passage has been paraphrased in the compared work. Green indicates that the passage of text has been reused but in a different order in the compared work, and light green indicates the same but

with paraphrased passages. Finally, blue indicates passages that are not reused in the compared work. In what follows, each bar chart will be given with a brief description of what the graph shows.

Figure 1. The *Muqaffā* and its reuse of text in the *Itti'āz*

Figure 1 shows the whole of the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī. Each bar represents one of the 9 sections of the biography. These sections represent topical divisions of the work and are not part of the original structure of the work. As can be seen from the orange on the bars, which record passages that are reused in the *Itti'āz*, a substantial proportion of the work has been reused. Moreover, those reused passages are found throughout the *Muqaffā*'s biography of al-Yāzūrī. Of this, a sizable number of the passages have been given in a different order in the *Itti'āz* (as is indicated by the green part of the bars).

To examine the bars more closely: It is evident that the more significant reuse in the *Itti'āz* occurs for the sections describing al-Yāzūrī's activities in Egypt. That is, his early career and appointment (1.), his management of bread prices (4.) and his fall from power (9.). In addition to this, the sections that are reused that concern foreign policy often contain narratives that describe diplomacy as directed by al-Yāzūrī (in sections 2, 5 and 6). One topic has not been reused at all (section 7 on the Mirdāsids, where the *Itti'āz* gives an alternative narrative). More broadly, one can see that passages that are not reused are typically short and dispersed between passages of reuse (section 5 is a clear exception to this rule, where nearly the whole topic is reused completely without any passages being omitted).

Figure 2. The *Itti'āz* and its reuse of text in the *Muqaffā*

Figure 2 shows all of the years of the *Itti'āz* that cover al-Yāzūrī's career (439-450), with each bar representing a year of the chronicle. Throughout these years of the *Itti'āz* the text discusses the Fatimids' domestic and foreign policy in which al-Yāzūrī is a major protagonist. As can be seen from the orange sections of the bars, there are significant numbers of passages of text that are shared with the *Muqaffā*. In addition there is a small amount of paraphrased narrative that is shared with the *Muqaffā* (marked in yellow on the bars). The green sections, moreover, indicate that some of the reused passages appear in a different order in the *Itti'āz* when compared to the *Muqaffā*. Nonetheless, the passages that are not shared with the *Muqaffā* (marked on the bars in blue) are significant (around 50% of the

text studied), including one continuous passage of over 1500 words (near the end of the year 450).

To look at the bars more closely: One can see across the years of the *Itti'āz* that where there is text shared with the *Muqaffā* it is concentrated in specific parts of that year with occasional interruptions of non-reused text. There are clear years that share little or no text with the *Muqaffā*. Years 449 and 447 share no text with the *Muqaffā* at all and the year 448 only shares a short paraphrased passage of the compared text. The years 442 and 446 are quite exceptional in that the source shared with the *Muqaffā* is the dominant source. In both of those cases al-Maqrīzī is describing an event from al-Yāzūrī's career that is not well-attested in any other sources (for a longer discussion of the year 446, see chapter 5). These patterns suggest that the text shared with the *Muqaffā* is just one of a number of sources used in the *Itti'āz*.

The figures are given on the following 2 pages

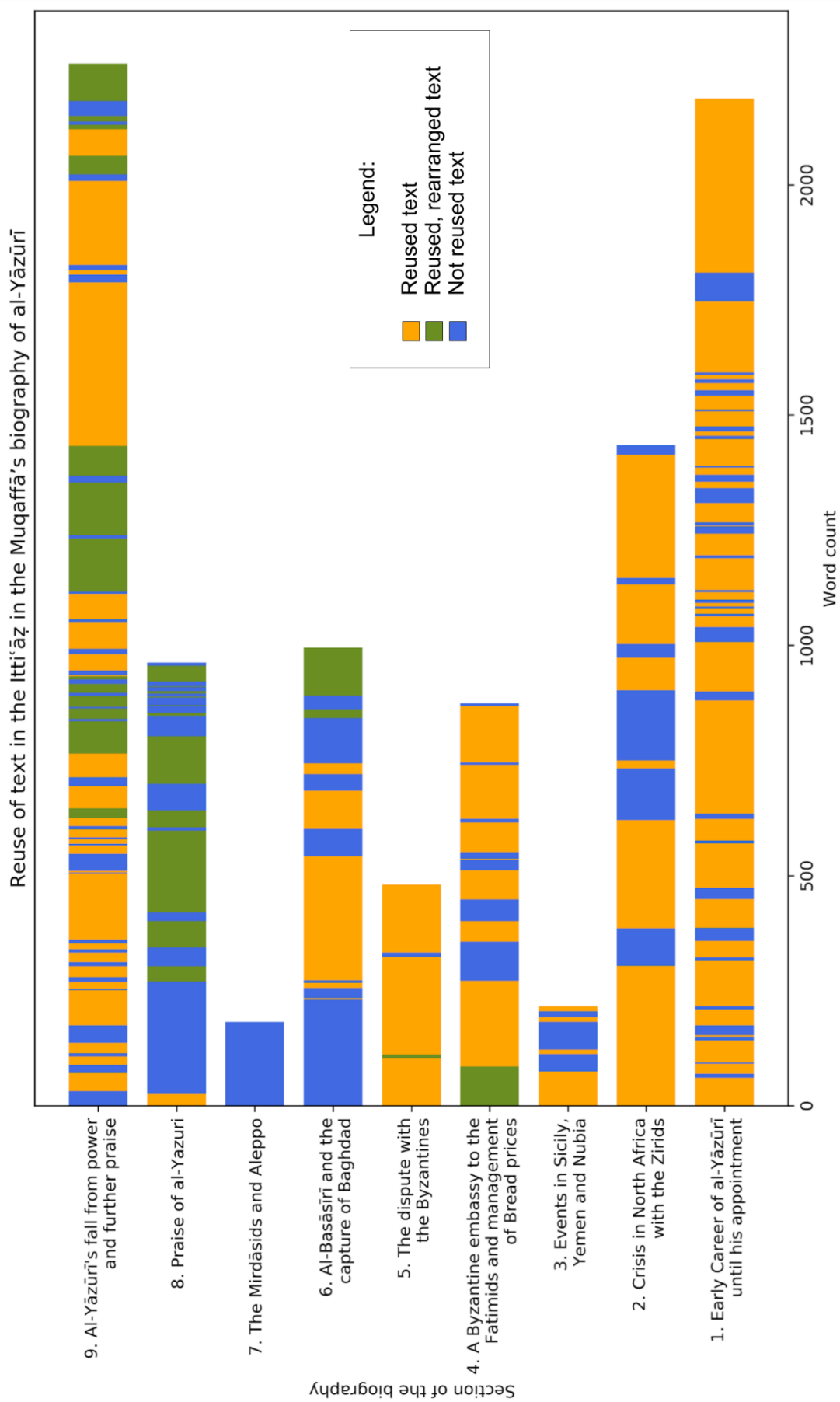


Figure 1: Reuse of text in the Itti'āz in the Muqaffā's biography of al-Yazīrī

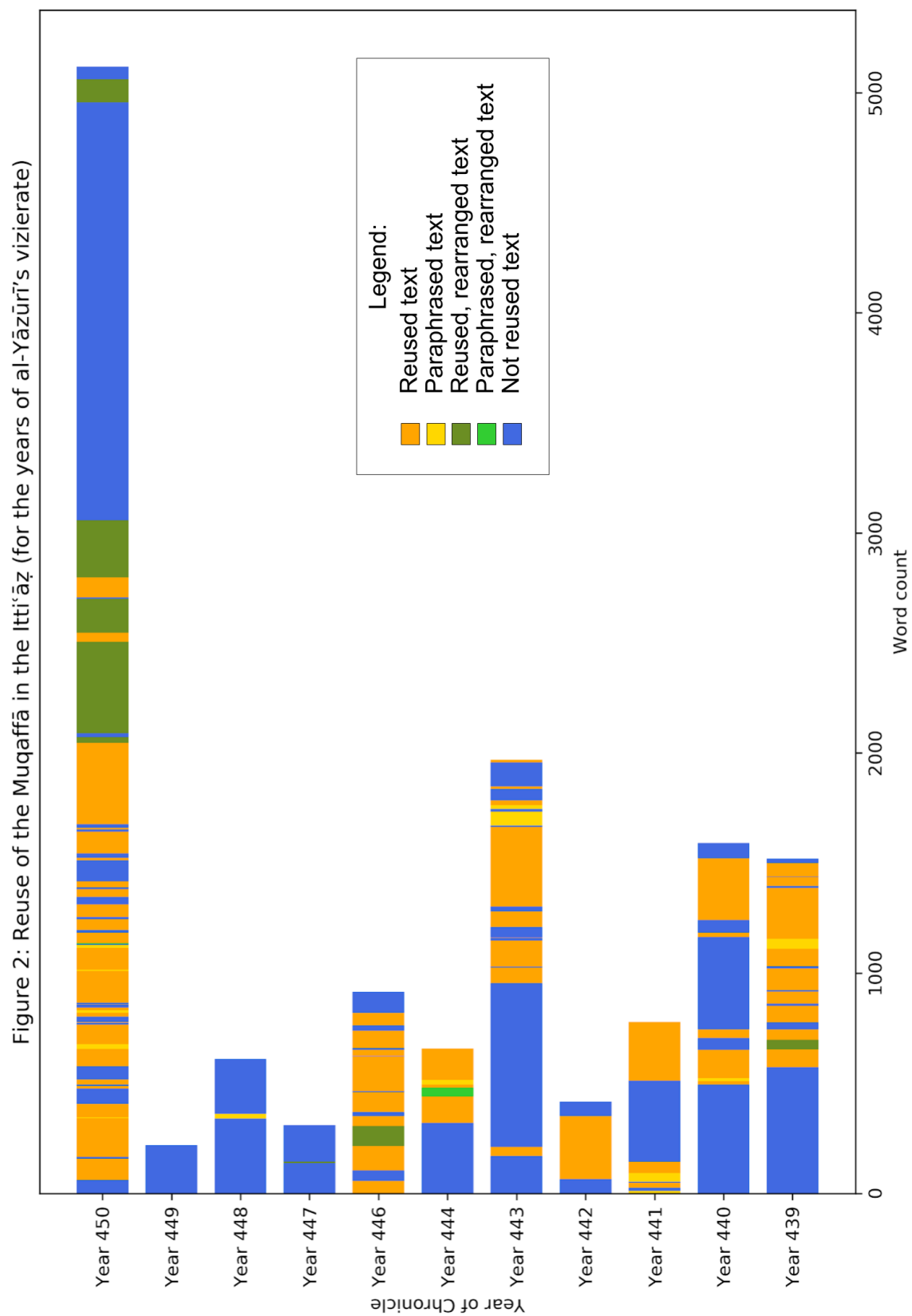


Figure 2: Reuse of the Muqaffā in the Itti'āz (for the years of al-Yāzūrī's vizierate)

Appendix C. Comparing Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra* with al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* on the revolt of Mu'izz b. Bādīs and the Banū Qurra

This appendix compares the accounts for the revolt of Mu'izz b. Bādīs and the Banū Qurra, as they are found in al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*. The unique passage numbers used here are they same as those used in appendix A, allowing the reader to see al-Maqrīzī's passages in their broader context. The purpose of the comparison below is not to show the similarity between the al-Maqrīzī's works, but between his works and Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*. Underlining indicates text shared between the *Ishāra* and *Muqaffā*, and highlighting indicates text shared between the *Ishāra* and the *Itti'āz*. As with appendix A, page numbers from the original editions are given in brackets. As the following comparison table should make clear, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī and al-Maqrīzī share a source text, and al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* provides the most detailed copy of that source text.

Table 1. A comparison of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra* with al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*.¹

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
<p>وكانت ملوك الأطراف فأجابوه بما يليق بقدرة ووفور حقه من الرئاسة، ما خلا معز بن باديس صاحب إفريقيا، فإنه قصر به في المكاتب عما كتب به من تقدمه من الوزراء. وكان يكتب كل منهم بـ "عبده"، فجعل مكاتبته "صنيعته".</p>	<p>وكانت ملوك الأطراف، فأجابوه، بوفور حقه، إلا معز الدولة بن باديس الصنهاجي صاحب إفريقيا، فإنه قصر في المكاتب عما كان يكتب به من تقدم من الوزراء، فإنه كان يكتب كل منهم "بعده" فجعل مكاتبته "صنيعته".</p>	<p>وكان يبدأ باسمه في عنوانات الكتب ووقاه ملوك الأطراف في المكاتب حقه من الرئاسة ما خلا معز ابن باديس الصنهاجي فإنه قصر به في المكاتب عما كان يكتب به من تقدمه من الوزراء فكان يكتب كل منهم بعده فجعل يكتبه بصنيعته</p>	75
<p>وكان لابن باديس بالقاهرة نائب، فاستدعاه اليازوري وعتب (377) صاحبه وقال له: أظنه انتقصني عن تقدمني إذ لم أكن من أهل صناعة الكتابة. وإن لم أكن أوفى منهم، فما أكون دونهم. ومن رفعه السلطان أرفع</p>	<p>فاستدعى الوزير أبا القاسم ابن الإخوة، وكيل ابن باديس مصر، وعتب صاحبه عنده، وقال: أظن معزاً ينقصني عن تقدمني؛ إذا لم أكن من أهل صناعة الكتابة، وإن لم أكن أوفى منهم فما أنا دونهم؛ ومن</p>	<p>فاستدعى نائبه وعتبه عنده عتبا (71) جميلاً فكتبه النائب فما رجع</p>	76

¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III: 376-383; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II: 212-222; Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 72-70.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
<p>وإن كان خاملاً، ومن وضعه اتضع وإن كان جليلاً نبيلًا. فاكْتُب إليه بما يرجعه إلى الصواب. فكتب إليه بذلك، وقد أذكى اليازوري عليه عيوناً يطالعونه بما يتفوه به. فلما وقف ابن باديس على كتاب وكيله قال: ما الذي يريد مني هذا الفلاح؟ [أن] أكتب له "عبده" وهو أكار؟ والله لا كان هذا أبداً! وإن الذي كتبته به إليه لكثير. فطالعه عيوته بقول ابن باديس. فأحضر الوكيل وقال له: قد جرى صاحبك على عادته في الجهل. فاكْتُب إليه بما يردُّه، وإلا عرفته بنفسى إذ لم يعرفنى.</p>	<p>رفعه السلطان ارتفع وإن كان خاملاً، ومن وضعه اتضع وإن كان جليلاً نبيلًا؛ فاكْتُب إليه بما يُرجعه إلى الصواب. فكتب إليه بذلك، وقد أذكى الوزير عليه عيوناً يُطالعونه بأنفاسه. فلما وقف على كتاب ابن الإخوة قال: ما الذي يريد مني هذا الفلاح؟ لا كنت عبده ولا كان؛ هذا (213) لا يكون أبداً، وما كتبته إليه فكثير. فطالعه عيوته بقوله: فأحضر ابن الإخوة وقال له: قد جرى صاحبك على عادته في الجهل، فاكْتُب إليه بما يردُّه فيه، وإلا عرفته بنفسى إذ لم يعرفنى.</p>		
<p>فكتب إليه بذلك فأجاب بأقبح من الأول. فدرس إليه اليازوري من تلطف حتى أخذ سكين دواته. فلما وصلت إليه أحضر الوكيل وقال له: قد كنت أظن بصاحبك أن الذي حمّله على ما كان منه نزوة الشبيبة وقلة خبره بما تقضى به الأقدار، وأنه إذا نُبّه تنبّه. فإذا الجهل مستول عليه، وظنه بأن بُعد المسافة بيننا وبينه يمنع من الانتصاف منه، والوصول إليه بما يكره.</p>	<p>فكتب إليه بذلك، فأجاب بما هو أقبح من الأول. فدرس إليه الوزير من تلطف في أخذ سكين دواته، فلما وصلت إليه أحضر ابن الإخوة وقال له: كنت أظن بصاحبك أن الذي حمّله على ما كان منه ثروة الشبيبة، وقلة خبره بما تقضى به الأقدار، وأنه إذا نُبّه تنبّه، فإذا الجهل مستول عليه، وظنه أن بُعد المسافة بيننا وبينه يمنع من الانتصاف منه والوصول إليه بما يكره،</p>	<p>فتوصل اليازوري إلى أخذ سكينه من دواته ودعى النائب فقال له</p>	77.1
<p>وقد تلطفنا في أخذ سكينه من دواته، وما هي! فأنفذها إليه وأعلمه أنا كما تلطفنا في أخذها فإننا نتلطف في ذبحه بها. - ودفعها إليه، فكتب الوكيل بذلك إليه</p>	<p>وقد تلطفنا في أخذ سكين دواته، وما هي [ذي]، فأنفذها إليه وأعلمه أنا كما تلطفنا في أخذها أنا نتلطف في ذبحه بها. ودفعها إليه. فكتب ابن الإخوة بذلك،</p>	<p>قد تلطفنا في أخذ السكين ولو شئنا لتلطفنا في ذبحه بها ودفعها إليه فأنفذها وكتب بذلك فأطلق لسانه فيه</p>	77.2

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
فازداد شراً وبطراً وطغياناً.	فازداد شراً وبطراً.		
<p>فدسّ إليه من أخذ نعله - وكان يمشي في الأحذية السندية - فلما وصلت أحضر الوكيل وأعلمه بما/ انتهى إليه من جهل صاحبه، وقال: اكتب إلى هذا البربري الأحق وقل له: إن عقلت وأحسن أدبك، وإلا جعلنا تأديبك بهذه! (378) فكتب إليه، فجرى على عادته في إطلاق الكلام القبيح.</p>	<p>فدسّ عليه من أخذ نعله، وكان يمشي في الأحذية السندية، فلما وصلت إليه أحضر ابن الإخوة وقال له: اكتب إلى هذا البربري الأحمق، وقل له إن عقلت وأحسن أدبك، وإلا جعلنا تأديبك بهذه. فجرى على عادته في القول القبيح.</p>	<p>فدسّ إليه من أخذ نعله فلما وصلت أحضر النائب فأعلمه ما ينتهي إليه من جهله وقال اكتب إلى هذا البربري الأحق وقل له إن عقلت وأحسن أدبك وإلا جعلنا تأديبك بهذه فكتب إليه فجرى على عادته في هجر القول</p>	77.3
	Two anecdotes: 1. The arrival of Thimāl b. Ṣāliḥ in Cairo (59 words) 2. The capture of a fortress in Greater Syria (6 words)		78
	(214) سنة ثلاث وأربعين واربعمائة		Heading
	An anecdote that adds context to what follows: Al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs sends a letter to the Abbasids. The Abbasids' returning messenger is intercepted by the Byzantines and passed on to the Fatimids, this is the reason for al-Mu'izz's estrangement with al- Yāzūrī (156 words).		79
فتشمر له حينئذ اليازوري، وبعث مكين الدولة الحسن بن علي بن ملهم، أحد الأمراء، إلى طرابلس المغرب، وبها من العرب	(215) وكان بطرابلس الغرب وما والاها زغبة ورياح، وهما قبيلتان من العرب، وبينهما حروب وعداوة، فأحضر الوزير	فبعث إلى زغبة ورياح خلعا سنية وانعاما كثيرا وعقد بينهما صلحا وحملهما على منابدته	80

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
زغبة ورياح وقد حدثت بينهما حروب. فسار إليهما بخلع كثيرة وأموال وافرة ليصلح بينهما. فتحمل ما كان بينهما من الدماء، ودفع إليهم الديات، وزاد في إقطاعاتهم.	مكين الدولة أبا على الحسن بن علي بن ملهم بن دينار العقيلي، أحد أمراء الدولة، وكان رجلاً عاقلاً، وسيره إلى زغبة ورياح بخلع سنية وانعام كثيرة، وأمره أن يصلح ذات بينهما، ويتحمل ما بينهما من ديات، ويفديه بالزيادة في إقطاعاتهما.		
وبعثهم على محاربة إفريقية وأباحهم ديار ابن باديس وقام في هذا قياماً عظيماً حتى سار المذكورون	فلما تم له ذلك أمرهم بالمسير إلى المعز بن باديس، وأباحهم دياره، وتشدّد في هذا الأمر حتى توجه المذكورون إلى ديار ابن باديس وملكوها، وجمعوا ديوّله عليه، وقلموا أظفاره،	وأباحهما دياره	81
واستولوا على أعمال القيروان وضايقوا ابن باديس وحصلوه	وضيّقوا خناقَه حتى لم يتمكن من قتالهم إلا مستنداً إلى حيطان إفريقية. وذلك أنهم ملكوا برقة، فسار إليهم المعز فهزموه، وتبعوه إلى إفريقية، وحصلوا المدن، فنزل بأهل إفريقية بلاء لا يوصف، فخرج إليهم المعز في أربعين ألفاً وقتلهم، فهزموه إلى القيروان. ثم جمع ثمانين ألفاً وقتلهم، فهزموه، وأكثروا من القتل في أصحابه، وحصلوه بالقيروان. وأقاموا يحاصرون البلاد وينهبون إلى سنة تسع وأربعين	فضيّقوا خناقَه إلى أن أشرف على التلاّف واعمل الحيلة حتى تخلص من القيروان	82
إلى أن نفذت أمواله وقُلت عُددُه وتقلّت منه رجاله وأشرف على التلاّف	، فانتقل المعز إلى المهديّة في شهر رمضان منها، حتى نفذت أمواله، وقُلت عُددُه، وتقلّت منه رجاله، وأشرف على التلاّف، فلم يجد سييلاً		83

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
	غير إعمال الحيلة في خلاصه.		
ففرّ بحشاشته في زيّ امرأة من القبروان إلى المهديّة، وترك حرمة وداره وأمواله وغلماؤه. فأخذ العرب المدينة وقتلوا الرجال وسبوا النساء ونهبوا ما كان في قصوره وجالوا في المدينة وأخربوها.	فخرج متخفياً في زيّ امرأة حتى انتهى إلى المهديّة، فاستولت العُربان على حرمة وداره وغلماؤه، وقتلوا الرجال وسبوا النساء، وانتهبوا ما كان في دُوره وقصوره، وعاثوا في البلد ينهبون ويأسرون ويقتلون، فخربت القبروان حينئذ إلى اليوم.	ووصل إلى المهديّة واسلم حرمة وداره وغلماؤه فقتل الرجال وسبي النسوان ونهب ما كان في داره	84
وحمل ما نُهب إلى القاهرة من الآلات والأسلحة والعُدّ والخيام، وكان لدخول ذلك يوم عظيم.	ووصل كثير مما نُهب من قصور بن باديس من الأسلحة والعُدّ والآلات والخيام وغيرها إلى القاهرة، فكان ليوم دخولها إلى القاهرة أمر عظيم من اجتماع الناس واعتبار أهل البصائر بتقلب الأحوال.	ووصل كثير من المنهوب من الأسلحة والعُدّ والآلات والخيام إلى المعزّيّة القاهرة	85
	Long passage, giving other reports relating to rebellion of Mu'izz b. Bādīs (558 words), including: 1. Background on the relocation of the Banū Sulaym and Banū Hilāl from Syria to upper Egypt (both would be involved in fight against Mu'izz). 2. Brief summary of Mu'izz's career in Egypt up including his estrangement with al-Yāzūrī, and switch of allegiance to the Abbasids		86

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
	<p>3. al-Yāzūrī's payment of Arab tribes to raid Ifrīqīya.</p> <p>4. Subsequent sack of Ifrīqīya by the including seizure of Qayrawān and al-Mahdiyya, leading Mu'izz to flee across the sea.</p> <p>5. Division of Ifrīqīya between the tribes and al-Mustanşir's appointment of amīrs.</p>		
<p>وكان في البحيرة طائفة يقال لها بنو قرة قد اقتطعوها وملكوها وعمروا ضياعها، واشتدّت شوكتهم، وخشن جانبهم وعظم أمرهم حتى انتشر ذكرهم ونلّ لهم عدوهم وثقل أمرهم حتى [على] ولاية الإسكندرية، واجتمع معهم <u>الطلحيون</u> فصاروا يداً واحدة. وكانت لهم واجبات على الدولة، ولم يكن لهم إقطاع، بل كان ما يستحقونه من واجباتهم يُحمّل مع واجبات العسكر بالإسكندرية إلى الوالي فينفقه فيهم. وكان الوالي بالإسكندرية في سنة ثلاث (379) وأربعين وأربعمائة ناصر الدولة حسن بن حمدان والد ناصر الدولة الثائر بالقاهرة على المستنصر.</p>	<p>وفيها كانت وقعة البحيرة. وذلك أنها في إقطاع بني قرة وقد ملكوها وعمروا ضياعها، وكثرت فيها أموالهم واشتدّت شوكتهم، وخشن جانبهم، وكثر المقدمون فيهم حتى انتشر ذكرهم، ونلّ لهم عددهم؛ وثقل أمرهم على الولاية بالإسكندرية، فجاورهم <u>الطلحيون</u> واستندموا منهم، وكانت لهم واجبات على الدولة من غير إقطاع، وهم يأخذون واجباتهم محمولة مع واجبات العسكر بالإسكندرية عندما تُحمّل إليها. فاتفق أن ناصر الدولة ابن حمدان أبا نصر الدولة حسين كان والياً بالإسكندرية</p>	<p>وجرى من بني قرة</p> <p>و<u>الطلحيين</u> ما اوجب تسيير العساكر اليهم فجهّزها نحوهم وقدم عليها ناصر الدولة حسن بن حمدان (16)</p>	87
<p>فلما انقضت سنة أربع وأربعين وأربعمائة استحقّ <u>الطلحيون</u> على الدولة عن واجباتهم ثلاثة آلاف دينار، فواصلوا اقتضاء ناصر</p>	<p>فاستحق <u>الطلحيون</u> على الدولة، عن واجباتهم المذكورة، ثلاثة آلاف دينار، فواصلوا اقتضاء ناصر</p>		88

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
<p>فواصلوا اقتضاء ناصر الدولة إنفاقها فيهم، فوعدهم، وكتب إلى الحضرة يلتبس لهم ذلك. فوعد الوزير أنه إذا حمل إلى رجال العسكر استحقاقهم حمل ذلك في جملته. وكان قد بقي على حمل المال شهران، فاستبعدوا الصبر إلى ذلك الوقت وواصلوا مطالبته، وحملوا بني قرة على معونتهم عليه. فاضطهدوه وألزموه بالمسير معهم ومع جيرانهم الطلحين إلى الحضرة الالتماس ذلك. فلم يجد بداً من إجابتهم، وسار معهم إلى الجيزة وطلع إلى الوزير وعرفه الحال. فقال: ما أخرنا ذلك عنهم إلا أن السنة كثيرة النفقات والطواريء، وهذه ألف دينار أنفقها فيهم إلى أن تحمل باقي مالهم مع مال العسكر.</p>	<p>الدولة إنفاقهم فيهم، فوعدهم؛ وكتب إلى الحضرة يلتبس ذلك، فوعد الوزير أنه إذا حمل إلى رجال العسكر استحقاقهم حمل ذلك في جملته. وكان قد بقي على حمل المال شهران، فاستبعدوا الصبر إلى ذلك الوقت وواصلوا مطالبته، وحملوا الفرّيين على معونتهم (219) عليه، فاضطروهم إلى المسير معهم إلى الحضرة لالتماس ذلك، فسار إلى الجيزة، وطلع إلى الوزير وعرفه الحال، فقال: ما أخرنا ذلك عنهم إلا أن السنة كثيرة النفقات والطواريء، وهذه ألف دينار أنفقها فيهم إلى أن تحمل باقي مالهم مع مال العسكر.</p>		
<p>فأخذ الألف وعاد إليهم وعرفهم ما قال الوزير. فامتنعوا من أخذ الألف، وذكروا أنهم قد تعبوا وكلفوا المسير معهم ولا يرجعون إلا بعد قبض الثلاثة آلاف. وألزموه بالعود. فعاد وعرف الوزير ما كان منهم. فغضب وأمر لهم بألف أخرى وقال:</p>	<p>فأخذ الألف وعرفهم ما قال الوزير. فامتنعوا عن الأخذ، وأبوا إلا قبض الثلاثة آلاف، وألزموه بالعود. فعاد، وعرف الوزير، فاعتناظ، وأمر لهم بألف أخرى.</p>		89
<p>قد ذكرنا لك أننا لم نوخر عنهم ذلك إلا لضيق الحال وانتظار ما يصل من الريف فنحمل إليهم باقي استحقاقهم. ولم يبق الآن إلا ألف، ونحن نحمل إليهم ذلك بعد هذا.</p>			90

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
قهره لبني قرة الثائرين وإجلاؤهم عن البحيرة			Heading
فعاد إليهم ناصر الدولة، فأبوا إلا أخذ الجميع، وأنهم لا يبرحون من مكانهم إلا بجميع ما يستحقونه وجفوا في الخطاب. فعاد إلى الوزير وعرفه ما (380) كان منهم. فاشتد غضبه وقال: إجابته إلى ما التمسوه دفعة بعد أخرى طمعهم. والله لا أطلقهم درهماً واحداً - واستعاد الألفي دينار من ناصر الدولة، وتقدم بتجريد العسكر لهم. فتسرّع من خف مع يمن الدولة كافور الشرابي وساروا إليهم، فإذا بهم متأهين للقائهم، فجرت بينهم نوبة قتل فيها اثنان من العسكر، وحال بينهما الليل.	فنزّل إليهم، فأبوا إلا أخذ الجميع، وجفوا في الخطاب، فعاد إلى الوزير، وعرفه؛ فغضب وقال: إجابته إلى ما التمسوه دفعة بعد أخرى طمعهم طمعهم، والله لا أطلق لهم درهماً واحداً. واستعاد الألفي دينار، وتقدم بتجريد العسكر لهم، فتسرّع يزحف مع ليث الدولة كافور الشرابي، ونزل إليهم، فإذا هم قد تأهبوا للقائهم. فجرت بينهم وقفة قتل فيها اثنان من العسكر وحجز بينهما الليل.		91
فلما بلغ ذلك الوزير عظم عليه إقدامهم على العسكر، سيما بني قرة، فإنهم كانوا أشدّ حرباً من الطلحين.	وبلغ الوزير ذلك، فشقّ عليه إقدامهم على المحاربة، سيما بنو قرة فإنهم صلّوا الحرب وكانوا فيها أشدّ من الطلحين.		92
These passages are partially shared between the <i>Muqaffā</i> and <i>Itti'āz</i> but are not found in the <i>Ishāra</i> . For a comparison see the corresponding passages in appendix A.			93-8
وجعل في القلب ناصر الدولة بن حمدان، وهو المقدم عليهما. وقرّر معه أن يكون اللقاء في يوم الخميس الخامس من شوال، بطالع تحيّره له. وبعث معه عدة من طيور الحمام ليطالعه بما	ومقدّمه ناصر الدولة، قرر معه لقاءهم في اليوم الخامس من شوال بطالع يخبره به؛ وسيّر معه عدة طيور من الحمام ليطالعه بما فلما كان يكون يوماً بيوم. في ذلك اليوم، وهو يوم	وقرّر معه لقاءهم في يوم الخميس الخامس من شوال قريباً من صلاة الظهر يطالع بخبره فلما كان في ذلك اليوم جلس في داره وهو شديد القلق	99

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	Ishāra	passage no.
<p>يكون (382) منه ومنهم يوماً بيوم. فلما كان اليوم الذي تقرر فيه اللقاء، جلس الوزير في داره وهو شديد القلق كثير الاهتمام بأمر العسكر، واحتجب عن الناس لشغل سرّه بهذا الأمر. وجلس ينتظر سقوط الطائر بما يكون. فلم يزل كذلك إلى الساعة الخامسة من النهار. فقام ليجدّ طهارة فعبّر بالبستان وقد أطلق الماء فرأى ورقة تمر على وجه الماء فأخذها وتفاعل بها فوجدها أول كتاب كان وصل من القائد فضل إلى الإمام الحاكم قد ذهبت طرته وعنوانه وبقي صدر الكتاب "كتب عبد مولانا الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين من المخيم المنصور في الساعة الخامسة من نهار يوم الخميس الخامس من شوال وقد أظفره الله عز وجل بعدو الله وعدو الحضرة المطهّرة أبي ركوة المخذول (70) هو في قبضة الأسر والحمد لله رب العالمين</p>	<p>خميس جلس في داره وقد اشتد قلقه وكثر اهتمامه بما يكون من العسكر، واحتجب عن الناس لشغل سرّه، وجلس ينتظر الطائر. فلم يزل كذلك إلى الساعة الخامسة من نهاره، فقام ليجدّ طهارة، فعبّر البستان وقد أطلق الماء في مجاريه، فرأى ورقة تمر على وجه الماء، فأخذها متفائلاً بها، فوجدها أول كتاب كان قد وصل من القائد فضل إلى الحاكم بأمر الله، قد ذهبت طرته وعنوانه وبقي صدره، وهو: "كتب عبد مولانا الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين من المخيم المنصور في الساعة (221) الخامسة من نهار الخميس الخامس من شوال، وقد أظفره الله عز وجل بعدو الله تعالى وعدو الحضرة المطهّرة، أبي ركوة المخذول، وهو في قبضة الأسارى والحمد لله رب العالمين".</p>	<p>على ما يكون من العسكر واحتجب عن الناس منتظراً سقوط الطائر بما يكون فلم يزل كذلك إلى الساعة الخامسة من نهاره فقام ليجدّ طهارة فعبّر بالبستان وقد أطلق الماء فرأى ورقة تمر على وجه الماء فأخذها وتفاعل بها فوجدها أول كتاب كان وصل من القائد فضل إلى الإمام الحاكم قد ذهبت طرته وعنوانه وبقي صدر الكتاب "كتب عبد مولانا الإمام الحاكم بأمر الله أمير المؤمنين من المخيم المنصور في الساعة الخامسة من نهار يوم الخميس الخامس من شوال وقد أظفره الله عز وجل بعدو الله وعدو الحضرة المطهّرة أبي ركوة المخذول (70) هو في قبضة الأسر والحمد لله رب العالمين</p>	
<p>فلما وقف على ذلك سجد إلى الأرض شكراً لله تعالى وأستشعر الظفر وعجب من موافقة اليوم وعدة الأيام من شوال والإعلام بالظفر. ثم تجهّز للصلاة، فما فرغ حتى سقط الطائر بانكسار بني قرّة وانهزامهم، وما من الله تعالى به من الظفر بهم. فأخذ الكتاب والطائر وركب إلى القصر، ودخل إلى</p>	<p>فلما وقف على ذلك سجد شكراً لله تعالى، وعجب من موافقة اليوم وعدة الأيام من شوال والإعلام بالظفر. ثم تجهّز للصلاة، فما فرغ حتى سقط الطائر بانكسار بني قرّة وانهزامهم، وما من الله تعالى به من الظفر بهم. فأخذ الكتاب والطائر وركب إلى القصر، ودخل إلى</p>	<p>فلما وقف على ذلك سجد شكراً لله تعالى واستشعر الظفر وعجب من موافقة الساعة واليوم والشهر وللوقت سقط الطائر بانكسار بني قرّة بكم شريك فركب إلى القصر وأخبر بذلك فوقع التعجب من هذا الاتفاق</p>	100

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
<p>وجدها في الماء وركب إلى القصر ودخل إلى الخليفة المستنصر بالله وأوقفه على الكتاب، فسرّ وأبتهج. وأراه الورقة التي وجدها في الماء وقال: هذا أعجب يا أمير المؤمنين - وحدثه حديثه. فعجب من هذا الاتفاق</p>	<p>المستنصر وأوقفه على الكتاب؛ فسرّ بذلك، وأراه الطير وقال: هذا أعجب يا أمير المؤمنين؛ وحدثه بحديثه، فعجب من هذا الاتفاق.</p>		
No parallel in <i>Muqaffā</i>	No parallel in <i>Itti'āz</i>	<p>وكان قد أرجف به وتحدّث بصرفه فأخرجت إليه رقعة بخط الإمام (ب 16) المستنصر بالله قرئت بالقاهرة ومصر تشتمل على تخيمه وتكريمه وتهدّد المشنّعين عليه والتمثل لهم بقوله تعالى لئن لم ينته المنافقون والذين في قلوبهم مرض والمرجفون في المدينة لنغرينك بهم ثم لا يجاورونك فيها إلّا قليلا. ملعونين اينما ثقفوا أخذوا وقتلوا تقتيلا. سنة الله في الذين خلوا من قبل ولن تجد السنة الله تبديلا وتتضمن ابيات الحسن بن هاني</p> <p>اني لما تهواه ركب والذي تخرج شراب</p> <p>لا عانفا شيئا ولو ديف لي من كقك العلقم والصاب</p> <p>ما حطّك الواشون من رتبة عندي ولا ضرّك مغتاب</p> <p>كأنّما اثنوا ولم يعلموا عليك عندي بالذي عابوا</p>	100.1

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Ishāra</i>	passage no.
		وذلك في رجب سنة ست واربعين وأربعمائة	

Appendix D. A Comparison of citations of the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī* with the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*

This appendix presents the four cases where a text has cited the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī* as their source (one case in Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat al-Ṭalab* and three in the al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*), compared to their parallels in al-Maqrīzī's *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*. In the following tables, the unique passage number refers to the numbers given comparing the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* in appendix A. The purpose of the tables is to show the similarities between the cited passages and those found in the *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz*. In all cases, underlining indicates words that are shared between the *Khiṭaṭ* and *Muqaffā* and highlighting words that are shared between the *Khiṭaṭ* and *Itti'āz*. These comparisons make clear that in these cases al-Maqrīzī had used the *Sīrat al-Yāzūrī* in his *Muqaffā* and *Itti'āz* and that of the quotations, the *Muqaffā* provides the most detailed variant.

Table 1. A comparison with Ibn al-'Adīm's *Bughyat al-Ṭalab*'s biography of Ibn Iṣṭafānūs¹

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Bughyat al-Ṭalab</i>	passage no.
		ابن اصطفانوس الرومي الانطاكي: فيلسوف شاعر، وجدت ذكره في سيرة الوزير اليازوري، جمع بعض المصريين لا اعرف اسمه. قرات في سيرة الوزير ابي الحسن علي بن عبد الرحمن اليازوري، وزير المستنصر بمصر قال:	
وكانت الهدنة قد انعقدت مع الروم في وزارة أبي نصر الفلاح، وقدم من قبلهم رسولان، أحدهما يُعرف بأبن أصطفانوس هو المتكلم - وكان داهية أديباً شاعراً نحوياً فيلسوفاً نظاراً، ولد ببلاد الروم ونشأ بأنطاكية، ودخل إلى العراق، وأخذ	وكان عند استقرار الهدنة مع قسطنطين ملك الروم، في أيام وزارة ابي نصر الفلاح، قد وصل رسولان أحدهما هو المتكلم المترجم، وكان داهية أديبا شاعرا نحويا فيلسوفا وُلد بالروم ونشأ بأنطاكية، ودخل العراق، ولقّن من العلوم والآداب ما بعُد به صيته،	وكان عند استقرار الهدنة مع الروم في أيام ابي نصر الفلاح، قد وصل رسولان أحدهما هو المتكلم والمترجم عن الروم، وكان ذا هيئة أديبا شاعرا نحويا فيلسوفا نظارا، ولد بالروم، ونشأ بأنطاكية، وسافر إلى العراق، ولقي العلماء به ولقّن من العلوم والآداب	129

¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:383-4; *Itti'āz*, II:226-7; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Bughyat al-Ṭalab*, X:4663

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Bughayat al-Ṭalab</i>	passage no.
عن <u>العلماء والأدباء</u> ، <u>فاشتهر ذكره وبعد صيته</u> .	وكان <u>يعرف بابن</u> <u>أصطفانوس</u> ،	ماعلا <u>صيته</u> به، واشتهر <u>ذكره في الأفاق</u> ، <u>يعرف</u> <u>بابن اصطفانوس</u> ،	
والآخر <u>صاحب حرب</u> <u>يعرف بميخائيل</u> . فأعجبهما حسن <u>زيّ الدولة</u> وكريم أفعالها وجميل سيرتها، سيما ميخائيل فإنه أطربه ذلك، وكان خيراً عاقلاً. فلما عاد[ا] إلى بلادهما، قضت الأقدار بموت <u>متملك الروم</u> وتملك <u>ميخائيل هذا</u> بعده. فأقام في المملكة نحو الخمس سنين.	والآخر <u>متحمل الهدية</u> ، وهو <u>صاحب حرب يعرف</u> <u>بميخائيل</u> . فرأيا من حسن <u>زيّ الدولة</u> وجميل سيرتها ما أعجب به، لا سيما ميخائيل، فإنه أطربه ما رأى وحسن موقعه في نفسه. وسارا وقد امتلأت قلوبهما بمحبة ما شاهداه. فاتفق ملك الروم وتمليك <u>ميخائيل هذا</u> ،	والآخر <u>متحمل الهدية</u> وهو <u>كصاحب حرب يعرف</u> <u>بميخائيل</u> وذكر بعد ذلك ان مملكة الروم عادت الى <u>ميخائيل هذا</u>	130

Table 2. A comparison with the *Khiṭaṭ* on its first reference to the majar.²

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>	Passage no.
		و"التمجر" عبارة عما يبتاع ل للديوان من بضائع [التجار الواردين مما] تدعو إليها الحاجة ويقتضيه طلب الفائدة. قال جامع "سيرة الوزير اليازوري":	
وقصر النيل بمصر في سنة أربع وأربع مائة، ولم يكن بالمخازن السلطانية شيء من الغلال، فاشتدت المسغبة، وغلا السعر. وكان لخلق المخازن سبب: وهو أنّ الوزير الناصر للدين أبا محمد اليازوري لما أضيف إليه القضاء في وزارة أبي البركات الجرجرائي،	وفيها قصر مدّ النيل، ولم يكن في المخازن السلطانية شيء من الغلال، فاشتدت المسغبة مصر. وكان لخلق المخازن السلطانية من الغلال سبب، وهو أن الوزير اليازوري لما تقلد وظيفة قضاء القضاة في وزارة أبي البركات الجرجرائي	وقصر النيل بمصر في سنة أربع وأربعين وأربع مائة، ولم يكن في مخازن الغلات شيء، فاشتدت المسغبة بمصر، وكان لخلق المخازن سبب أوجب ذلك، وهو أنّ الوزير الناصر للدين لما أضيف إليه القضاء في أيام أبي البركات الوزير	113
355 words omitted from <i>khiṭaṭ</i>	220 words omitted		113 - 120

² *Muqaffā*, III:384-6; *Itti'āz*, II:225; *Khiṭaṭ*, I:294.

Muqaffā	Itti'āz	Khiṭaṭ	Passage no.
<p>وكانت العادة أنه يشتري للديوان السلطاني في كل سنة غلة بمائة ألف دينار وتجعل متجراً.</p> <p>فلما عاد قاضي القضاة إلى القاهرة مثل بحضرة الخليفة المستنصر، وعرفه ما من الله تعالى به في هذا اليوم من إرخاص السعر وتوفر الناس على الدعاء لأمير المؤمنين، وأن الله - جلّت قدرته - فعل ذلك، وحلّ إسعاد الناس، بحسن نية أمير المؤمنين في رعيته بغير موجب ولا فاعل له، بل بلطف الله تعالى واتفاق قريب يسير. وقص عليه الخبر ثم</p>	<p>وكانت العادة أن يُبتاع في كل سنة غلة للسلطان بمائة ألف دينار ويمحل متجراً.</p> <p>فلما عاد القاضي إلى القاهرة مثل بحضرة الخليفة وعرفه ما مرّ به في يومه من إرخاص السعر</p>	<p>كان يبتاع للسلطان في كل سنة غلة بمائة ألف درهم، وتجعل متجراً.</p> <p>فمثل القاضي بخضرة الخليفة المستنصر بالله، وعرفه</p>	121-123
<p>قال: يا أمير المؤمنين، إنّ المتجر الذي يقام بالغلة في [هـ] أوفى مضرة على المسلمين، وربما انحط السعر عن مشتراها فلا يمكن بيعها، فتتغير في المخازن وتتلّف، وأنّه يقيم متجراً لا كلفة على الناس فيه، ويفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلة، ولا يخشى عليه من تغير في المخازن ولا انحطاط سعره، وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك. فأمضى الخليفة ما رآه،</p> <p>وبطل المتجر في الغلة وتوسع الناس بذلك.</p>	<p>وقال: يا مولانا، إنّ المتجر الذي يُقام بالغلة فيه مضرة كبيرة على المسلمين، وربما انحط السعر عن مشتراها فلا يمكن بيعها، فتتغير في المخازن وتتلّف، وأنه يقام متجراً لا كلفة على الناس فيه، ويفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلة، ولا يخشى عليه من تغير في المخازن ولا انحطاط سعره، وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك. فأمضى الخليفة ما رآه،</p>	<p>أن المتجر الذي قام بالغلة فيه أوفى مضرة على المسلمين، وربما انحط السعر عن مشتراها فلا يمكن بيعها، فتتغير في المخازن وتتلّف، وأنه يقيم متجراً لا كلفة فيه على الناس، ويفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلة، ولا يخشى عليه من تغيره في الخازن ولا انحطاط سعره، وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك؛ فأمضى السلطان له ما رآه.</p> <p>واستمرّ ذلك، ودام الرخاء على الناس، فوسّعوا فيه مدة سنين ثم عمل الملوك بعد ذلك ديواناً للمتجر،</p>	124

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>	Passage no.
		وأخر من عمله الظاهر برقوق.	

Table 3. A comparison with the *Khiṭaṭ* on its second reference to the *majar*.³

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>	Passage no
		وذكر جامع السيرة اليازورية أن المتجر كان يقام به للدويان من الغلة، وأن الوزير أبا محمد اليازوري قال للخليفة المستنصر - وهو يومئذ يتقلد وظيفة قاضي القضاة،	
وقصر النيل بمصر في سنة أربع وأربعمئة، ولم يكن بالمخازن السلطانية شيء من الغلال، فاشتدت المسغبة،	وفيها قصر مد النيل، ولم يكن في المخازن السلطانية شيء من الغلال، فاشتدت المسغبة	وقد قصر النيل في سنة أربع وأربعين وأربع مائة، ولم يكن بالمخازن السلطانية غلال فاشتدت المسغبة	113
449 words skipped	273 words skipped		113-120
قال: يا أمير المؤمنين، إن المتجر الذي يقام بالغلة في [هـ] أوفى مضرة على المسلمين، وربما انحط السعر عن مشتراها فلا يمكن بيعها، حتى تتغير في المخازن وتتلّف. والمصلحة أن تُقيم متجراً لا كلفة على الناس فيه ويُفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلة ولا يُخشى عليه من تغير في المخازن ولا انحطاط [سعر]: وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك. فأمضى الخليفة ما رآه،	وقال: يا مولانا، إن المتجر الذي يُقام بالغلة فيه مضرة كبيرة على المسلمين، وربما انحط السعر عن مشتراها فلا يمكن بيعها، فتتغير في المخازن وتتلّف، وأنه يقام متجر لا كلفة على الناس فيه، ويفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلة، ولا يُخشى عليه من تغير في المخازن ولا انحطاط سعر، وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك. فأمضى الخليفة ما رآه،	يا أمير المؤمنين، إن المتجر الذي يقام بالغلة فيه أوفى مضرة على المسلمين وربما انحط السعر من مشتراها، ولا يمكن () بيعها، فتتغير في المخازن وتتلّف. وأنه يقام متجر لا كلفة فيه على الناس، ويفيد أضعاف فائدة الغلة ولا يحشى عليه من تغير في المخازن ولا انحطاط سعر، وهو الخشب والصابون والحديد والرصاص والعسل وما أشبه ذلك. فأمضى الخليفة ما رآه،	124

³ al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:384-6; *Itti'āz*, II:224-226; *Khiṭaṭ*, II:521.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>	Passage no
<u>واستمرّ ذلك ودام الرخاء</u> <u>على الناس مدة سنين.</u>	<u>وبطل المتجر في الغلة</u> <u>وتوسع الناس بذلك.</u>	<u>واستمرّ ذلك، ودام الرخاء</u> <u>على الناس وتوسعوا</u>	

Table 4. A comparison with the *Khiṭaṭ* on changes to the Fatimid *dīwāns*.⁴

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>	passage no.
		قال جامع "سيرة الوزير الناصر للدين الحسن بن علي اليازوري":	
<u>وأراد أن يعرف قدر ارتفاع</u> <u>الدولة وما عليها من</u> <u>النفقات ليقايس بينهما. فتقدّم</u> <u>إلى أصحاب الدواوين بأن</u> <u>يعمل كلّ منهم ارتفاع ما</u> <u>يجري في ديوانه، وما عليه</u> <u>من النفقات. فعمل ذلك،</u> <u>وتسلّمه متولّي ديوان</u> <u>المجلس وهو زمام</u> <u>الدواوين، فنظّم عليه عملاً</u> <u>جامعاً واختصره أيام</u> <u>[دولته].</u>		<u>وأراد أن يعرف قدر ارتفاع</u> <u>الدولة، وما عليها من</u> <u>النفقات، ليقايس بينهما،</u> <u>فتقدّم إلى أصحاب الدواوين</u> <u>بأن يعمل كلّ منهم ارتفاع</u> <u>ما يجري في ديوانه، وما</u> <u>عليه من النفقات، فعمل ذلك</u> <u>وسلّمه إلى متولّي ديوان</u> <u>المجلس - وهو زمام</u> <u>الدواوين - فنظّم عليه عملاً</u> <u>جامعاً وأحضره إياه.</u>	183

⁴Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, III:397-8; *Itti'āz*, II:244-245; *Khiṭaṭ*, I:221.

<i>Muqaffā</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>	passage no.
<p>فجاء ارتفاع الدولة ألفي ألف دينار، منها: الشام: ألف ألف دينار، ونفقاته بإزاء ارتفاعه. ومنها: الريف وباقي الدولة: ألف ألف دينار، يقف منها عن مغلول وينكسر عن موتى وهراب ومفقود أبواب: مائتا ألف دينار. وتبقى ثمانمائة ألف دينار، ينصرف منها للرجال عن واجباتهم وكساويهم ثلاثمائة ألف دينار، وعن ثمن الغلة للقصور: مائة ألف دينار. وعن نفقات القصور: مائتا ألف دينار. وعن عمائر، وما يُقام للضيوف الواصلين، من الملوك وغيرهم مائة ألف دينار.</p>	<p>وجاء ارتفاع الدولة في أيامه ألفي ألف دينار، يقف منها ويسكن، وينصرف للرجال وللقصور وللعمائر وغيرها،</p>	<p>فراى ارتفاع الدولة ألفي ألف دينار: منها الشام ألف ألف دينار، ونفقاته بإزاء ارتفاعه، ومنها الريف وباقى الدولة ألف ألف دينار، يقف منها عن معلول ومنكسر عن موتى وهراب ومفقود مائتا ألف دينار، ويبقى ثمان مائة ألف دينار يصرف منها للرجال عن واجباتهم وكساويهم ثلاث مائة ألف دينار، () وعن ثمن غلة للقصور مائة ألف دينار، وعن نفقات القصور مائتا ألف دينار، وعن عمائر وما يقام للضيوف الواصلين من الملوك وغيرهم مائة ألف دينار،</p>	240-242
<p>ويبقى بعد ذلك مائتا ألف دينار حاصلة يحملها كل سنة إلى بيت المال المصون. فحظي بذلك عند الخليفة، وتمكّن منه، وارتفع قدره عنده.</p>	<p>ويبقى بعد ذلك مائتا ألف دينار حاصلة، يحملها كل سنة إلى بيت المال. فحظي بذلك عند سُلْطانه، وتمكّن منه، وارتفع قدره...</p>	<p>ويبقى بعد ذلك مائة ألف دينار حاصلة يحملها كل سنة إلى بيت المال المصون، فحظي بذلك عند سلطانهِ وخف على قلبه.</p>	242

Appendix E. A comparison of the annals accounts under select years

Throughout this study I have argued that Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* share an annalistic source text and that this is seen in the instances where text is shared between the two texts. In a small number of cases, there is also text shared between the *Akhbār* and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*. In the following tables, I provide the evidence of text shared between these texts, divided by year. The final section covers the years after al-Yāzūrī's death, where there is also a significant amounts of shared text between the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz*. Text is provided in the order that it appears in the original texts (the only exception being the *Nihāya* in table 7). This shows how the events are also typically presented in the same order, further suggesting that the authors share an annalistically-arranged source text. The passages numbers used in many of the tables refer to those used for the *Itti'āz* in the other appendices (notably appendix A), allowing for further cross referencing.

The year 443

Table 1. A comparison of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* for the year 443. Passages have only been given in full only where there is text shared between these two sources. Underlining indicates shared text.¹

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no. (<i>Itti'āz</i>)
<p>فيها أظهر المعز بن باديس الصنهاجي صاحب إفريقية، الخلاف على المستنصر، وسير رسولاً إلى بغداد ليقيم الدعوة العباسية، واستدعى التشريف فأجيب إلى ذلك. وجُهِزَ إليه على يد رسول يعرف بأبي غالب الشَّيْزَرِي، عهد بولاية ولواء أسود وخلعه فمرّ ببلاد الروم ليُعِدِّي منها إلى إفريقية، فقبض عليه صاحب الروم. وبلغ عليه صاحب الروم وشيعه للمسنصر.</p>	<p>فيها أظهر المعز بن باديس صاحب إفريقية، الخلاف على المستنصر، وسير رسولاً إلى بغداد ليقيم الدعوة العباسية، واستدعى منهم الخلع؛ فأجيب إلى ذلك. وجُهِزَت الخلع على يد رسول يقال له أبو غالب الشَّيْزَرِي، ومعه العهد واللواء الأسود؛ فمرّ ببلاد الروم ليُعِدِّي منها إلى إفريقية، فقبض عليه صاحب الروم. وبلغ ذلك المعز بن باديس، فأرسل إلى قسطنطين ملك الروم في أمره، فلم يجبه رعاية لحق المستنصر. واتفق قدوم رسول طغرل بك يستأذنه في مسيره إلى مصر؛ فأظهر المودة التي بينه وبين المستنصر، وأنه لا يُرَخَّص في أذنيته. واتفق قدوم رسول المستنصر إليه بهدية</p>	79

¹ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 14-5; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:214-22.

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no. (<i>Itti'āz</i>)
<p>عظيمة، فبعث معه برسول القائم بما على يده،</p> <p><u>فدخل على جمل وهو مجرّس، وأُخرق العهد واللواء والهدية في حفرة بين القصرين، وكان القادر قد فعل مع الظاهر والد المستنصر مثل ذلك بالخلة التي سيرها إلى محمود بن شُبُكتكين. ثم أقرّ المستنصر ردّ الرسول إلى صاحب القسطنطينية.</u></p>	<p>عظيمة، فبعث معه برسول القائم بما على يده،</p> <p><u>فدخل إلى القاهرة على جمل، وأُخرق العهد واللواء والهدية في حفرة بين القصرين، وكان القادر قد فعل مع الظاهر والد المستنصر مثل ذلك بالخلة التي سيرها إلى محمود بن شُبُكتكين. ثم أقرّ المستنصر ردّ الرسول إلى صاحب القسطنطينية.</u></p>	
Summary of the rebellion of Mu'izz b. Bādīs and the response	Uses SY as its source for this event, see passages in appendix A	75-77, 81-85
	More detailed passage on dispatch of Arab tribes to Ifrīqīya. There is no evidence of shared text with any other source.	86
Rebellion of the Banū Qurra and their defeat	Uses the SY as its source for this event, contrast passages in appendix A	87-101
	Description of events in Sicily taken from SY	105-106
	Description of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī's rebellion in Yemen, using multiple sources	107-110

The year 446

Table 2. Comparison of the reports shared between Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* under the year 446 and the *Khiṭaṭ*. Underlining shows text shared between the *Akhbār* and the *Khiṭaṭ*.²

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>
<p>فيها حدث بمصر وباء وغلاء، فاستعان المستنصر بصاحب قسطنطينية ليحمل إليه الغلال من بلاده، فأطلق له أربع مائة ألف أردب.</p>	<p>فأما "الشدة العظمى" فإن سببها أن السعر نزع بمصر في سنة ست وأربعين وأربع مائة وتبع الغلاء ووباء، فبعث الخليفة المستنصر بالله أبو تميم معدّ بن الظاهر لإعزاز دين الله أبي الحسن علي إلى ممتلك الروم بقسطنطينية أن يحمل الغلال إلى مصر، فأطلق أربع مائة ألف أردب، وعزم على حملها إلى مصر،</p>

² Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 16; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:135.

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>
فمات في أثناء ذلك، وملكت بعده امرأة فراسلت <u>المستنصر</u> في نصرتها إن قام عليها أحد فلم يجبها، فعاقبت <u>عنه الغلال</u> .	فأدركه أجله ومات قبل ذلك. فقام في الملك بعده امرأة، وكتبت إلى <u>المستنصر</u> تسأله أن يكون عوناً لها، ويمدّها بعساكر مصر إذا ثار عليها أحد، فأبى أن يسعفها في طلبتها، فحردت لذلك، وعاقبت <u>الغلال</u> عن المسير إلى مصر.
فجهز <u>المستنصر</u> عسكرياً قدم عليه مكين الدولة <u>الحسن بن علي بن ملهم</u> لقصد <u>اللاذقية</u> ، فخرج في عساكر جمة وحاصرها بسبب نقص الهدنة ومسك <u>الغلال</u> أن ترد من <u>القسطنطينية</u> ، وتبعهم بعسكر ثان وعسكر ثالث،	فحنق <u>المستنصر</u> ، وجهز العساكر، وعليها مكين الدولة <u>الحسن بن ملهم</u> ، وسارت إلى <u>اللاذقية</u> ، فحاصرتها بسبب نقص الهدنة وإمساك <u>الغلال</u> عن الوصول إلى مصر، وأمدّها بالعساكر الكثيرة،
ونودي سائر بلاد الشام بالغزو بلاد الروم. وحاصر <u>أبن ملهم</u> قسطيون قريباً من فامية، وضيق على أهله ثم رحل عنهم بعد سؤالهم أن ينزلوا عنه بعد رحيله فوقوا له،	ونودي في بلاد الشام بالغزو، فنزل <u>ابن ملهم</u> قريباً من فامية، وضائق أهلها،
وجال في أعمال أنطاكية فسبى ونهب، فأخرج صاحب <u>قسطنطينية</u> ثمانين قطعة في البحر، فحاربها <u>أبن ملهم</u> عدة مرار،	وجال في أعمال أنطاكية فسبى ونهب، فأخرج صاحب <u>قسطنطينية</u> ثمانين قطعة في البحر، فحاربها <u>أبن ملهم</u> عدة مرار،
فأسرت [ابن] ملهم ومن معه من أعيان العرب لليلتين بقيتا من ربيع الآخر.	وكانت عليه، وأسر هو وجماعة كثيرة في شهر ربيع الأول منها.

The year 447

Table 3. A comparison of the reports shared between al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* and Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* under the year 447 and one parallel account in the *Khiṭaṭ*. Underlining indicates words shared between Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. Highlighting indicates words shared between both of these texts and the *Khiṭaṭ*.³

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>	Passage no. (for <i>Itti'āz</i>)
فيها ابتدأت الوحشة بين أبي الحارث البساسيري أحد أمراء بغداد، وبين الخليفة القائم صاحب بغداد، فسار إلى الرحبة لما علم بقدم السلطان طغرل بك، وسير إلى المستنصر يلتمس منه النجدة لفتح بغداد وأنه	Compare underlined phrase with year 448 of the <i>Itti'āz</i> (appendix A)		153

³ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 17-8; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:230; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:135.

Akhbār	Itti'āz	Khiṭaṭ	Passage no. (for Itti'az)
بكفي في ردّ طغرل بك عن قصد الشام ومصر، فأجيب لذلك.			
<p>فيها سيّر المستنصر فقبض على جميع ما في كنيسة القمامة. وسبب ذلك أن القاضي</p> <p>أبا عبد الله القضاعي كان قد توجه من مصر برسالة إلى القسطنطينية، فقدم إليها رسول طغرل بك يلتمس من ملكتها أن يصلي رسوله في جامع قسطنطينية فأذنت له في ذلك، فدخل وصلى بجامعها وخطب للخليفة القائم، فبعث القضاعي بذلك إلى المستنصر</p> <p>فأخذ ما كان بقمامة.</p> <p>وكان هذا من الأسباب الموجبة لفساد ما بين المصريين والروم.</p>	<p>فيها سيّر المستنصر إلى كنيسة قمامة، فأحتاط بجميع ما فيها. وذلك أن القاضي</p> <p>أبا عبد الله القضاعي كان قد توجه من عند الخليفة برسالة إلى ممتلك الروم، فقدم وهو بالقسطنطينية رسول السلطان طغرل بك بن سلجوق يلتمس من الملكة ثيوذورا أن تمكن رسوله من الصلاة في جامع قسطنطينية، فأذنت له في ذلك، فدخل إليه وصلى به، وخطب للخليفة القائم بأمر الله العباسي. فبعث القضاعي بذلك إلى المستنصر،</p> <p>فأحاط بما في قمامة وأخذه، وأخرج البطريرك منها إلى دار مفردة، وأغلق أبواب كنائس مصر والشام، وطالب الرهبان بالجزية لأربع سنين، وزاد على النصارى في الجزية.</p> <p>وكان هذا ابتداء فساد ما بين الروم والمصريين.</p>	<p>فبعث المستنصر، في سنة سبع وأربعين،</p> <p>أبا عبد الله القضاعي برسالة إلى القسطنطينية. فوافي إليها رسول طغرل بك السلجوقي من العراق بكتابه يأمر ممتلك الروم بأن يمكن الرسول من الصلاة في جامع القسطنطينية، فأذن له في ذلك، فدخل إليه وصلى فيه صلاة الجمعة، وخطب للخليفة القائم بأمر الله العباسي. فبعث القاضي القضاعي إلى المستنصر يخبره بذلك،</p> <p>فأرسل إلى كنيسة قمامة ببيت المقدس وقبض على جميع ما فيها - وكان شيئاً كثيراً - من أموال النصارى،</p> <p>ففسد من حينئذ ما بين المصريين والروم حتى استولوا على بلاد الساحل كلها، وحاصروا القاهرة كما يرد في موضعه إن شاء الله.</p>	143.1

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>	Passage no. (for <i>Itti'āz</i>)
<u>وفيها تجمع كثير من</u> <u>التركمان بحلب وغيرها،</u> <u>فأفسدوا في أعمال الشام.</u>	<u>وفيها تجمع كثير من</u> <u>التركمان بحلب وغيرها،</u> <u>وأفسدوا في أعمال الشام.</u>		143.2
<u>وفيها اشتد الغلاء،</u> <u>وكثر الموتان بديار مصر.</u>	<u>وفيها تزايد الغلاء،</u> <u>وكثر الموتان بديار</u> <u>مصر.</u>		143.3

The year 448

Under this year, the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz* share text concerning the funding of al-Basāsīr's campaign and the dispatch of his son, titled Khaṭīr al-Mulk, to Latakia (these passages are compared in table 4). These accounts are paralleled in Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra*, al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya* and al-Maqrīzī's *Khiṭaṭ*, with very little shared text (these are compared in table 5). In addition, the *Itti'āz* recounts the battle of Sinjār under the year 448. As I have argued in section 4.1.3, this battle seems to have been omitted from the annals and it is not described by Ibn Muyassar. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī and Ibn Zāfir, however, provide almost identical accounts of the battle of Sinjār, which perhaps originated in a *siḡill* issued after the capture of Baghdad in 450. Table 6 compares their accounts of the battle.

Table 4. Text shared between the year 448 of Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. Underlining indicates shared text.⁴

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no. (for <i>Itti'āz</i>)
<u>فيها جهّز الوزير اليازوري خزائن</u> <u>الأموال على يد المؤيد في الدين لأبي</u> <u>الحارث البساسيري بحيث لم يبق في</u> <u>بيوت الأموال بالقصر شيء لأخذ فتح</u> <u>بغداد.</u>	<u>فجهّزت إليه خزائن الأموال العظيمة</u> <u>على يد المؤيد في الدين أبي نصر هبة الله</u> <u>بن موسى في سنة ثمان وأربعين، حيث</u> <u>لم يُترك في خزائن أموال القصر شيء</u> <u>ألبته.</u>	158
<u>وخرج خطير الملك ابن الوزير إلى</u> <u>القدس ومنه إلى اللاذقية، وكانت معه</u> <u>أحواض أنخب فيها الطين المزروع فيه</u> <u>البقول يرسم مائدته، واستصحب معه</u> <u>الأموال لفتحها.</u>	<u>وخرج خطير الملك محمد بن الوزير من</u> <u>القاهرة في تجمل عظيم، ومعه من كل ما</u> <u>يريد، حتى أخذ أحواض الخشب وفيها</u> <u>الطين المزروع فيه سائر البقول يرسم</u> <u>مائدته. ومعه من خزائن الأموال</u> <u>والأسلحة والآلات والأمتعة ما يجلّ</u>	159 (Highlighting indicates similarities with the <i>Muqaffā's</i> biography of

⁴ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 18; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:233-4.

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no. (for <i>Itti'āz</i>)
	وصفه. فسار إلى القدس ، ورحل منها إلى اللاذقية يريد فتحها.	al-Yāzūrī, see table 8 below)

Table 5. Other parallels to passage 158.⁵

Source	Passage
<i>Ishāra</i>	فاقام اليازوري أبا الحارث البساسيري مناصبا له وامده بالمؤيد في الدين ابي نصر هبة الله بن موسى واصحابه الأموال.
<i>Khiṭaṭ</i>	وفي سنة ثمان وأربعين وخرج أبو الحارث البساسيري من بغداد منتميا للمستنصر فسيّرت إليه الأموال والخلع.
<i>Nihāya</i>	وفي سنة ثمان وأربعين بعث المستنصر بالله ووزيره اليازوري خزائن الأموال إلى أبي الحارث أرسلان البساسيري ليقم الدعوة المستنصرية ببغداد واستنفذ ما كان بالقصر من الأموال

Table 6. A comparison of accounts of the Battle of Sinjār. Underlining indicates text shared between Ibn al-Ṣayrafī's *Ishāra* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*, highlighting indicates text shared between Ibn Zāfir's *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. For the parallel in Muqaffā, where only some material is shared, see passage 161 in appendix A.⁶

<i>Ishāra</i>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no. (<i>Itti'āz</i>)
		لما كان في شوال منها [448] واقع البساسيري ودبّيس قرّيش ابن بدران الغفيلي صاحب الموصل و قُتلُش ابن عم طغرل بك،	160
(6) فبعث إليه طغرل بك ألفين وخمسمائة فارس إلى سنجار فكانت الوقعة المشهورة التي ظفر بها البساسيري ولم يلفت من هذه العدة الا مائتا فارس او دونها	وكان لما جهز [البساسيري] الجيوش كانت الوقعة أولا بسنجار وملك هذه المدينة	وكان طغرل بك قد سيّره إلى سنجار في ألفين وخمسمائة فارس. فكانت الوقعة المشهورة التي لم يفلت منها إلا مائتا فارس أو دونها.	161

⁵ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 69; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II:196; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, XVIII:220.

⁶ Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Ishāra*, 69; Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal*, 68; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:234.

<i>Ishāra</i>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	Passage no. (<i>Itti'āz</i>)
		وانهزم قريش وقتلُمش، واستولى البساسيري ودبّيس على الموصل وأقام بها الدعوة للمستنصر، وكتبإ إليه بذلك، فسيرت إليهما الخلع ولجماعة أمراء العرب.	162
وعمل الشعراء في ذلك فمن مليح ما قيل قول ابن حيوس:	فعمل الشعراء في ذلك وعرضوا بطغرك في أنه أقام ببغداد ولم يخرج عنها فمما قيل في ذلك [وافر]:	وعمل الشعر في هذه الواقعة. فمن مليح ما قيل لابن حيوس:	163
عجبت لمدعي الأفاق ملكاً وغايته ببغداد الركود ومن مستخلف بالهون يرضى يُزاد عن الحياض ولا يُزود واعجب منهما سيف بمصر تقام به بسنجان الحدود	عجبت المدعي الأفاق ملكاً وغايته ببغداد الركود ومن مستخلف بالهون يرض يُزاد عن الحياض ولا يُزود وأعجبُ منهما سيف بمصر يقام به ببغداد الحدود	عجبت المدعي الأفاق ملكاً وغايته ببغداد الركود ومن مستخلف بالهون يرض يُزاد عن الحياض ولا يُزود وأعجبُ منهما شعب بمصر تقام له بسنجان الحدود	

The Year 450

The passages compared under this year concern al-Yāzūrī's arrest and execution and the capture of Baghdad. Table 7 compares the accounts of the *Akhbār*, *Itti'āz* and *Nihāya* which attempt to render the accounts in chronological order (although the *Nihāya* describes the story of the drummer girl before al-Yāzūrī's arrest). Table 8 gives a parallel in the *Muqaffā* and table 9 a parallel in the *Khiṭaṭ*.

Table 7. Comparison of the year 450 in the *Akhbār* and *Itti'āz* with the *Nihāya*. Underlining indicates similarities between Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār* and al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*. Highlighting indicates similarities between these two texts and al-Nuwayrī's *Nihāya*.⁷

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Nihāya</i>	Passage no. (for <i>Itti'āz</i>)
في مستهل <u>المحرم</u> قبض <u>المستنصر على وزيره</u> <u>الناصر للدين غياث</u> <u>المسلمين أبي محمد الحسن</u> <u>ابن علي بن عبد الرحمن</u> <u>اليازوري</u> . وكان قد جمع له ما لم يجمع لغيره من <u>تقليد الوزارة</u> <u>والحكم بديار مصر والشام</u> . وسبب ذلك أنه	في أول <u>المحرم</u> قبض <u>المستنصر على وزيره</u> <u>الناصر للدين، غياث</u> <u>المسلمين، أبي محمد</u> <u>اليازوري</u> ، وكان قد جمع له ما لم يجمع لغيره من <u>تقليد الوزارة وقضاء</u> <u>القضاء وداعى الدعاة</u> . وكان للقبض عليه أسباب، منها أن	وفي <u>المحرم</u> سنة خمسين وأربعمائة سعى بالوزير المذكور عند المستنصر بالله أنه	167
وشي به للمستنصر أنه <u>يكتب طغرل بك</u> <u>ويحسن له</u> <u>المجيء إلى مصر</u> ,	طغرل بك لما ملك بغداد كان بها لليازوري عيون كثيرة يطالعونه بدفين الأمور وجليها، فوصلت كتبهم بوصولهم، وأنهم سمعوه يذكر إزماعه على التوجه نحو الشام ليملكه.	<u>كاتب السلطان طغرل بك</u> <u>السلجوقي وحسن له</u> <u>قصد الديار المصرية</u>	168
وأنه أخرج أمواله مع ولده إلى بيت المقدس	Compare with passages 188 and 189 (appendix A), which navigate similar claims from the perspective of the SY.		188 and 189.
Summary of al-Yāzūrī's arrest, early career and his dispute with Mu'izz b. Bādīs	The passages of the <i>Itti'āz</i> describe the correspondence with Tughril, al-Bābalī's conspiracy to depose	Summary of al-Yāzūrī's arrest and early career	169-261

⁷ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 19-23; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:236-254; al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, XVIII:220-2.

Akhbār	Itti'āz	Nihāya	Passage no. (for Itti'āz)
	al-Yāzūrī and a eulogy for al-Yāzūrī, all taken from the SY.		
<p>وكان ولده <u>خطير الملك</u> قد ناب عنه في قضاء القضاة والوزارة وغير ذلك، وسار إلى الشام فأصلح أموره بعساكر جمة في خدمته،</p>	<p>ومن عجيب ما وقع أن <u>خَطِير المُلْك</u> محمد بن الوزير اليازوري كان ينوب عن أبيه في قضاء القضاة، فلما سار إلى الشام بالعساكر الكثيرة معه كان في حال من البَذَخ والتجمل في حال لا يمكن شرحها، فلما نُكِب أبوه آل حاله</p>	<p>قال القاضي أبو الحسين أحمد الأسواني في تاريخه: حدثني القاضي إبراهيم ابن مسلم الفوي قال: شهدت <u>خطير الملك</u>، ولد اليازوري الوزير، وكان قد ناب عن والده في قضاء القضاة والوزارة وغير ذلك، وسار إلى الشام بعساكر عظيمة فأصلح أمره.</p>	262
<p>ثم روي بعد ذلك بمسجد في مدينة <u>قوة يخيظ للناس بالأجرة</u> وهو في حال شديدة من الفقر. ورؤي يوماً وهو يطالب رجلاً بأجرة خياطة خاطها له والرجل يدافعه ويماطله، وهو يلح في الطلب ولا يرخص له في الانتظار، ولما ألح عليه قال: "يا سيدنا اجعل هذا القدر اليسير من جملة ما ذهب منك في السفارة الشامية." فقال دع ذكر ما مضى. فسأله رجل عن ذلك فلم يجبه، فسأل عبده، فقال الذي ذهب منه في تلك السفارة على نفقات سماطه مقدار ستة عشر ألف دينار. فسبحان من لا يزول ملكه.</p>	<p>إلى أن يُرى في مسجد بمدينة <u>قوة يخيظ للناس بالأجرة</u>، وقد نزل به من الفقر والبلاء شداً وهو يبالغ في مطالبة شخص بأجرة ما خاطه له، والرجل يماطله. فلما ألح في المطالبة قال له: يا سيدنا اجعل هذا القدر اليسير من جملة ما ذهب منك في السفارة الشامية. فقال: دع ذكر ما مضى. فسأله رجل عن ذلك فلم يجبه، فسأل عبده، فقال الذي ذهب منه في تلك السفارة على نفقات سماطه مقدار ستة عشر ألف دينار. فسبحان من لا يزول ملكه.</p>	<p>ورأيت بعد ذلك بمسجد قوة وهو يخيظ للناس بالأجرة وهو في حال شديدة من الفقر والحاجة، فرأيت ذات يوم وهو يطالب رجلاً بأجرة خياطة خاطها له، والرجل يدافعه ويماطله، وهو يلح في الطلب. فلما ألح عليه قال له الرجل: يا سيدنا، اجعل هذا القدر اليسير من جملة ما ذهب منك في السفارة الشامية. فقال دع ذكر ما مضى. فسألته عن ذلك فلم يحدثني بشيء، وسألته غيره فقال الذي ذهب منه في سفرته في نفقات سماطه ستة عشر ألف دينار.</p>	
<p>وكان اليازوري قد سیر أموال الدولة جميعها لفتح بغداد، وكان ذلك سبباً لخروج الغز إلى الشام وملكهم إياه.</p>		<p>قال المؤرخ: وكان اليازوري سيئ التدبير، أوجب سوء تدبيره خروج إفريقية وحلب عن المستنصر بالله</p>	

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Nihāya</i>	Passage no. (for <i>Itti'āz</i>)
A summary of al-Yāzūrī's multiple successors in the year 450 (103 words).	A detailed overview of al-Yāzūrī's multiple successors in the year 450 (1181 words).	Moves to describe al-Yāzūrī's successors	262
Summary of al-Basāsīrī's capture of Baghdad.	Parallel account of Baghdad's capture. It is much more detailed, but largely paraphrased from Ibn al-Athīr's <i>Kāmil</i> .	No account of Baghdad's capture.	263-274
فلما ورد الخبر بذلك فرح المستنصر فرحاً كثيراً وزينت مصر والقاهرة. وجاءت نشب فغنت بالطبل بين يدي المستنصر وقالت:	(46) ولما ورد الخبر بذلك إلى المستنصر سرّ سرورا كثيراً، وزينت القاهرة ومصر وجاءت نسب الطبالة، فغنت بالطبل في القصر بين يدي المستنصر:	ولما خطب للمستنصر ببغداد في سنة خمسين وأربعمائة، ورد الخبر إلى مصر بذلك فزينت القاهرة. وكان عند المستنصر مغنية تغنى بالطبل، فدخلت عليه وغنته في ذلك اليوم:	275 (note al-Nuwayrī's version is out of sequence and is mentioned in his text prior to al-Yāzūrī's arrest - it is on p. 220.)
يا بني العباس ردوا ملك الأمر معدّ ملككم ملك معار والعواري تستردّ	يا بني العباس ردّوا؛ ملك الأمر معدّ؛ ملككم ملك معار؛ والعواري تستردّ.	يا بني العباس ردوا ملك الأمر معدّ ملككم ملك معار والعواري تستردّ	
فقال لها: تمنّي، فتمننت الأرض المجاورة للمقس، فقال: هي لك، فعرفت هذه الأرض بها وقيل لها أرض الطبالة.	فقال لها المستنصر: تمنّي، فلك حكمك، فسألت الأرض المجاورة للمقس، ففقطعها إيّاها، فعرفت بها وقيل لها إلى اليوم أرض الطبالة.	فقال لها: تمنّي. فقالت: أتمنى الأرض المجاورة للمقس. فقال: هي لك. فعرفت الأرض بأرض الطبالة إلى وقتنا هذا.	

Table 8. Parallel to passages 159 and 262 in the biography of Khaṭīr al-Mulk in the Muqaffā.⁸

Passage	passage no in <i>Itti'āz</i>	Comment
استنابه أبوه في الحكم سنة إحدى وأربعين وأربعمائة بتجمل عظيم ومال كثير، وحمل معه عدة أحواض قد ملئت بالطين وزرع فيها البقول برسم مائدته في كل يوم. فزار القدس وسار إلى اللاذقية ثم عاد.	159	Highlighting indicates similarities with parallel passages in Ibn Muyassar's <i>Akhbār</i> and al-Maqrīzī's <i>Muqaffā</i>
فلما قتل أبوه في سنة خمسين وأربعمائة، أقام إلى أن ولي في ثالث عشرين صفر سنة إحدى وستين وأربعمائة الوزارة والقضاء جميعا. وصرف عنهما في شوال بأبي محمد الحسن بن مجلي ابن أبي كدينة، ثم اختل حاله.		Compare the year 461 of the <i>Itti'āz</i> , ⁹
قال القاضي أبو الحسن أحمد بن الزبير في كتاب جنان الجنان وممن اختل حاله من ذوي الجاه والمال، ما حدثني القاضي إبراهيم بن مسلم الفوري بمصر قال: شاهدت خطير الملك ولد اليازوري الوزير، وقد ناب عن والده في قضاء القضاة والوزراء وغير ذلك، وسار إلى الشام فأصلح أموره بعساكر جمة في خدمته، فرأيت بعد ذلك بمسجد في قوة يخطط للناس بالأجرة، وهو في حال شديد من الفقر والحاجة. قال ابن مسلم: ورأيت ذات يوم وهو يطلب رجلا بأجرة خياطة خاطها له، والرجل يذافعه ويماطله، وهو يلح في الطلب ولا يرخص في الانتظار. فلما ألح عليه قال: يا سيدنا اجعل هذا القدر اليسير من جملة ما ذهب منك في السفارة الشامية. فقال: دع ذكر ما مضى! فسألته عن ذلك، فلم يحدثني به. وسألت غيره فقال: الذي ذهب منه في سفرته في نفقات سماطه ستة عشر ألف دينار. فسبحان من لا يزول ملكه!	262	Highlighting indicates text shared with al-Nuwayrī's <i>Nihaya</i> and underlining similarities with Ibn Muyassar's <i>Akhbār</i>

Table 9. A parallel to passage 275 in the *Khiṭaṭ*.¹⁰

Passage	Passage no. in <i>Itti'āz</i>	Comment
وإنما قيل لها أرض الطبالة: لأن الأمير أبا الحارث أرسلان البساسيري، لما غاضب الخليفة القائم بأمر الله العباسي وخرج من بغداد يريد، الانتماء إلى الدولة الفاطمية بالقاهرة، أمده الخليفة المستنصر بالله ووزيره الناصر لدين الله عبد الرحمن اليازوري حتى استولى على	Compare 151, 154, 155, 224, 267	A summary of the origins of the campaign that appears to take elements from the SY and annals

⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Muqaffā*, V:550.

⁹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:300.

¹⁰ Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, III:316.

Passage	Passage no. in <i>Itti'āz</i>	Comment
بغداد، وأخذ قصر الخلافة، وأزال دولة بني العباس منها، وأقام الدولة الفاطمية هناك،		
وسير عمامة القائم وثيابه وشباكه الذي كان إذا جلس يستند إليه، وغير ذلك من الأموال والتحف إلى القاهرة في سنة خمسين وأربعمائة،	Compare 270	See also <i>Khiṭaṭ</i> , II:196.
<u>فلما وصل ذلك إلى القاهرة</u> <u>سر</u> الخليفة المستنصر <u>سرورا</u> عظيما، وزينت القاهرة والقصور ومدينة مصر والجزيرة، فوقفت نسب طبالة المستنصر، وكانت امرأة مرجلة تقف تحت القصر في المواسم والأعياد وتسير أمام الموكب وحولها طائفاتها وهي تضرب بالطبل، وتتشدد، فأنشدت وهي واقفة تحت القصر:	275	Underlining indicates text shared with al-Maqrīzī's <i>Itti'āz</i> and bold information that is unique to this version.
يا بني العباس ردوا ملك الأمر معد ملكم ملك معار والعواري تسترد		
فأعجب المستنصر ذلك منها وقال لها تمنّي، فسألت أن تقطع الأرض المجاورة للمقس، فأقطعها هذه الأرض. وقيل لها من حينئذ أرض الطبالة، ولنشأت هذه تربة بالقرافة الكبرى تعرف بتربة نسب.		
قال ابن عبد الظاهر: أرض الطبالة منسوبة إلى امرأة مغنية تعرف بنشب، وقيل بطرب، مغنية المستنصر، قال: فوهبها هذه الأرض المعروفة بأرض الطبالة، وحكرت وبنيت أدرا وبيوتا، وكانت من ملح القاهرة وبهجتها، انتهى.		Second version of report, which is not shared with any other text.

The years 452, 455, 459 and 493

Although the following tables cover dates after al-Yāzūrī's death, they clearly show that Ibn Muyassar and al-Maqrīzī share a source text. In these cases, there are long passages that are unique to al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz*, but which often continue the narrative provided in Ibn Muyassar's *Akhbār*. For a discussion of these in the context of the Ṣulayḥids in Yemen, see section 6.2.1.

Table 10. The year 452 compared.¹¹

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>
فيها سارت العساكر من مصر إلى دمشق، وكتب لابن حمدان أن يكون قائد الجيش؛ ويسير إلى	فيها سارت العساكر من مصر إلى دمشق، وكتب لناصر الدولة أبي علي الحسين بن حمدان أن

¹¹ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 26-27; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:259-261.

Akhbār	Itti'āz
<p>حلب لقتال من بها لأجل قطع خطبة المستنصر فيها. فخرج من دمشق بعسكر كثيف في سادس ربيع الأول</p>	<p>يكون قائد الجيش؛ فسار من دمشق بعسكر كبير في سادس ربيع الأول يريد محاربة أهل حلب.</p> <p>وكانت مدينة حلب قد أقيمت فيها الدعوة الفاطمية، وأسقطت بها دعوة بني العباس إلى أيام الظاهر بن الحاكم، فتغلب عليها صالح بن مرداس، أحد أمراء الكلابيين، وكثف أمره بها حتى استولى على دمشق أمير الجيوش أنوشتكين الدزبري، أحد الغلمان الأتراك، فساس الأمور، وأطاعه كل مارق؛ وراسل الملوك. فنابذه صالح بن مرداس وجمع له العرب، وفيهم عدة الدولة حسان بن جراح، وسار لمحاربته، فكانت بينهما وقائع انهزم فيها حسان إلى بلاد الروم، وتفرق الجمع. ثم مات صالح وقام من بعده ابنه شبل الدول نصر بن صالح في حلب، فقام بمناذرة أمير الجيوش كما كان أبوه، وسار لقتاله، فقتل، وملك أمير الجيوش حلب فأقام بها رضي الدولة منجوتكين، أحد غلمانه، فأقام بها سنين. ومات أمير الجيوش فغلب على حلب ثمال بن صالح بن مرداس وملكها؛ ولم يقم أحد بعد أمير الجيوش بمقامه.</p> <p>فلما كانت وزارة الجرجرائي غمض طرفه عن ثمال، ورأى أن مواعده أشف من إنفاق الأموال في محاربته، فكتب بولايته وقرر عليه الحمل في كل سنة. وتمادى ذلك إلى أيام وزارة اليازوري فلم يرض بهذا، ورأى أن الحيلة أبلغ فيما يؤثره، لأنه إن رام صرفه لم يطق ذلك، وإن نابذه ألزم كلفا كثيرة. فاستعمل السياسة والتدبير الخفي، وندب لذلك رجلا من أهل صور له بها رئاسة ووجاهة، يقال له عين الدولة علي بن عياض، قاضي صور، فساس الأمر وأحكم التدبير فيما قرره مع كاتب ثمال بن صالح وما وعده به، حتى نزل من قلعة حلب وسلمها إلى مكين الدولة الحسن بن علي بن ملهم والي الخليفة المستنصر. وسار من حلب يريد مصر للقاء الحضرة؛ فلما بلغ رفح اتصل به خبر القبض على اليازوري، فقال والله إنني أموت بحسرة ونظرة إلى من استلبنى من ذلك الملك، وأخرجني بلا رغبة ولا رهبة إلا بحسن السياسة، وإن رام ذلك مني فليس يتعذر عليه.</p> <p>ورجع ثمال إلى حلب، فاتفق في غيبته قيام أهل حلب وتسليم البلد إلى عز الدولة محمود بن نصر</p>

Akhbār	Itti'āz
<p>فكانت بينه وبين الحلبيين ومن انضم إليهم من العربان <u>حروب آلت إلى أن انكسر ابن حمدان كسرة شنيعة، وأصابته ضربة شلت منها يده؛ وكانت الوقعة في مستهل شعبان. وبقيت حلب بيد معز الدولة بن مرداس. فقال أبو الحسن علي بن عبد العزيز الفكيك الحلبي وكان قد قدم مصر ومدح ناصر الدولة بن حمدان فلم يجزه، فقال:</u></p> <p><u>ولئن غلطت بأن مدحتك، طالبا</u> <u>جدواك، مع علمي بأنك باخل</u> <u>فالدولة الزهراء قد غلطت، بأن</u> <u>نعتتك ناصرها، وأنت الخاذل</u> <u>إن تم أمرك مع يد لك أصبحت</u> <u>شلاء فالأمثال عندي باطل</u></p> <p><u>وفي تاسع رمضان صرف أبو الفرج بن المغربي عن الوزارة، وأعيد إليها أبو الفرج عبد الله بن محمد البابلي.</u></p> <p><u>وفي جمادى الآخر صرف عن الحكم عبد الحاكم بن وهيب، وتولى عوضا عنه أبو عبد الله أحمد بن محمد أبي ذكرى، في حادي رجب.</u></p>	<p>بن صالح بن مرداس، في مستهل جمادى الآخرة من هذه السنة، فحضر ابن ملهم بالقلعة إلى أن</p> <p>سار إليه ناصر الدولة بن حمدان، فكانت بينهما <u>حروب كبيرة على قنسرين آلت إلى أن انكسر ناصر الدولة كسرة عنيفة، فأصابته ضربة شلت منها يده؛ ورجع منهزما في مستهل شعبان. فقال عبد العزيز العكيك الحلبي وقد مدح ناصر الدولة فلم يجزه:</u></p> <p><u>ولئن غلطت بأن مدحتك، طالبا</u> <u>جدواك، مع علمي بأنك باخل</u> <u>فالدولة الزهراء قد غلطت، بأن</u> <u>نعتتك ناصرها، وأنت الخاذل</u> <u>إن تم أمرك مع يد لك أصبحت</u> <u>شلاء فالأمثال عندي باطل</u></p> <p>وأما ابن ملهم فإنه بعث إلى أسد الدولة أبي ذؤابة عطية بن صالح فسلمه حلب، ودخلها في عاشر شعبان هذا، وأقام بها يوم ثم خرج عجزا عنها؛ فوصل محمود في ثاني عشره وملكها.</p> <p><u>وفي تاسع رمضان صرف أبو الفرج ابن المغربي عن الوزارة، وأعيد إليها أبو الفرج عبد الله بن محمد البابلي.</u></p> <p><u>وصرف عن قضاء القضاة عبد الحاكم بن وهب في جمادى الآخرة، واستقر عوضه أبو عبد الله أحمد بن محمد بن أبي ذكرى، في حادي عشري رجب</u></p> <p>وفيهما قدمت هدية المعز بن باديس، فقومت بأربعين ألف دينار. منها درقة مرصعة بالجواهر كانت للمهدي</p> <p>وفيهما قدم كتاب علي بن محمد الصليحي بما هو عليه من القوة وإقامة الدعوة؛ واستأذن في المسير إلى تهامة وأخذها؛ فأجيب بذلك؛ فسار إليها وأخذها</p>

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>
	<p>وفيهما نزل محمود بن شبل الدولة ثمال بن صالح بن مرداس على حلب، ومعه منيع بن سيف الدولة، سبعة أيام ثم رحل، وعاد إليها وأخذها يوم الاثنين ثاني جمادى الآخرة، وحصر القلعة إلى سادس رجب ورحل؛ فملكها أصحاب المستنصر. وفيها التقى ناصر الدولة بن حمدان مع محمود بن شبل الدولة على الفنديق، فانكسر ابن حمدان؛ ودخل عطية حلب وخرج منها؛ وتسلمها محمود يوم السبت ثاني شعبان؛ ثم وصل عمه معز الدولة فحاصر حلب مدة.</p> <p>وفي هذه السنة سقط تنور قبة صخرة بيت المقدس وفيه خمسمائة قنديل، فتطير الناس وقالوا ليكون في الإسلام حادث عظيم.</p>

Table 11. The year 455 compared.¹²

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>
<p>ففيها ردت الوزارة والحكم إلى أبي علي، كنيته أبو أحمد بن قاضي القضاة عبد الكريم بن عبد الحاكم في ثالث عشر المحرم، ثم صرف عنهما في سابع صفر؛ وأعيدت الوزارة لأبي الفضل عبد الله بن يحيى بن المدبر، والحكم إلى أبي القاسم عبد الحاكم بن وهيب.</p> <p>وفي تاسع عشر جمادى الأولى توفي الوزير أبو الفضل عبد الله بن يحيى بن المدبر، وتردد في الوزارة غير مرة؛ وسمع الحديث، وكان فاضلاً أدبياً؛ وأسلافه مذكورون، وخدم الدولة العباسية، وجدّه أحمد كان في أيام ابن طولون. وتولّى مكانه في الوزارة أبو غالب عبد الظاهر بن الفضل بن الموفق في الدين المعروف بابن العجمي، ثم قبض عليه وصرف في السابع والعشرين من شعبان.</p> <p>وأعيد إلى القضاء والوزارة أبو محمد الحسن بن مجلي بن أسد بن أبي كدينة، وقبض عليه في خامس ذي الحجة، ورتب مكانه جلال الملك أحمد بن عبد الكريم بن عبد الحاكم بن سعيد، فاستخلف أخاه علي الحكم وهو أبو الحسن علي.</p>	<p>ففيها ردت الوزارة والحكم معا إلى أبي علي أحمد بن قاضي القضاة عبد الكريم بن عبد الحاكم في ثالث عشر المحرم، ثم صرف عنهما في سابع صفر؛ وأعيدت الوزارة لأبي الفضل عبد الله بن يحيى بن المدبر، والحكم إلى أبي القاسم عبد الحاكم بن وهيب.</p> <p>وفي تاسع عشر جمادى الأولى توفي الوزير أبو المفضل عبد الله بن المدبر، وقد تكررت ولايته للوزارة؛ وسمع الحديث، وكان فاضلاً أدبياً؛ وهو من ولد ابن المدبر متولي خراج مصر في أيام ابن طولون. واستقر في الوزارة أبو غالب عبد الظاهر بن الفضل بن الموفق في الدين المعروف بابن العجمي، ثم صرف وقبض عليه في السابع والعشرين من شعبان.</p> <p>وأعيد إلى القضاء والوزارة جميعاً أبو محمد الحسن بن مجلي بن أسد بن أبي كدينة، واستمر فيهما إلى خامس ذي الحجة، فرتب مكانه جلال الملك أحمد بن عبد الكريم ابن عبد الحاكم بن</p>

¹² Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 33-34; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:268-269.

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>
<p>وفيها ندب أمير الجيوش بدر الجمالي لولاية دمشق على حربها؛ وندب معه على الخراج الشريف أبو الحسين يحيى بن زيد الحسيني الزيدي</p>	<p>سعيد، فاستخلف أخاه أبا الحسن علياً على القضاء.</p> <p>وفيها ندب أمير الجيوش بدر الجمالي لولاية دمشق؛ وندب معه على الخراج الشريف أبو الحسن يحيى بن زيد الحسني الزيدي</p> <p>وفيها قدم الصليحي مكة بعد ما ملك اليمن كله سهله وجبله، وبره وبحره، وأقام بها وبمكة دعوة المستنصر، وكسا الكعبة حريراً أبيض، ورد حلية البيت إليه؛ وكان بنو حسن قد أخذوها ومضوا بها إلى اليمن، فاشتراها منهم، وأعادها في هذه السنة. واستخلف على مكة محمد بن أبي هاشم، وعاد إلى اليمن</p>

Table 12. The year 459 compared.¹³

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>
<p>فيها قويت شوكة الأتراك وطلبوا الزيادات في واجباتهم وضائق أحوال العبيد وكثرت ضرورتهم وهم يتزايدون، حتى صار منهم قدر خمسين ألف فارس وراجل.</p> <p>واتفق خلّ خزائن أموال وضعف الدولة. فسيرت أم المستنصر لقواد العبيد اغرتهم بالأتراك، فاجتمعوا وحضروا من شبرا دمنهور، إلى الجيزة؛ فخرج الأتراك للقائم وتقدمهم ناصر الدولة الحسين بن حمدان فكانت بين الفريقين وقعة كسر فيها السودان وانهزموا إلى الصعيد وعاد ابن حمدان إلى القاهرة وقد قويت شوكته، واجتمعوا من العبيد خمسة عشر ألف ما بين فارس وراجل؛ فقلق لذلك الأتراك قلقاً شديداً وحضر مقدّمهم إلى المستنصر لشكوى ذلك أمر. فأمرت أم المستنصر من عندها من العبيد وهجموا على الأتراك وقتلوا منهم. فبلغ ذلك ابن حمدان ففر إلى ظاهر القاهرة، وتلاحق به الأتراك وكانت بينهم وبين العبيد المقدمين</p>	<p>فيها قويت شوكة الأتراك واشتد بأسهم وطلبوا الزيادات في واجباتهم ورواتبهم؛ وساءت أحوال العبيد وكثرت ضررهم وهم يتزايدون، حتى صار منهم بالقاهرة ومصر وما في طواهرها من القرى نحو الخمسين ألف عبد، ما بين فارس وراجل.</p> <p>وخلت خزائن أموال المستنصر وضعفت الدولة. فبعثت السيدة أم الخليفة المستنصر إلى قواد العبيد تغريهم بالأتراك، وتحثهم على الإيقاع بهم ومحاربتهم وإخراجهم من مصر؛ فجمع قواد العبيد وحشدوا طوائفهم، وصاروا إلى شبرا دمنهور، وساروا إلى الجيزة؛ فخرج إليهم الأتراك يريدون محاربتهم؛ وقد بلغت النفقة في تعديتهم إلى الجيزة ألف ألف دينار. فالتقى الفريقان، وكانت بينها حروب انجلت عن كسرة السودان وهزيمتهم إلى الصعيد.</p> <p>وكان مقدم طوائف الأتراك يومئذ ناصر الدولة أبو علي الحسن بن الأمير أبي الهيجاء ابن حمدان؛ فرجع بالأتراك إلى القاهرة وقد قويت نفسه وعظم قدره، واشتدت شوكته، وثقلت</p>

¹³ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 28-29; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II: 273-274.

Akhbār	Itti'āz
<p><u>بالقاهرة ومصر حروب شديدة مدة أيام، وحلف ابن حمدان أنه لا ينزل عن فرسه حتى يفصل إما له أو عليه.</u></p>	<p>وطأته. وتلاحق العبيد بعضهم ببعض واجتمعوا في بلاد الصعيد وهم في عدد يتجاوز <u>الخمسة عشر ألف</u> ما بين فارس وراجل؛ فساء ذلك الأتراك وأقلقهم، فصار أكابرهم إلى المستنصر وشكوا إليه أمر العبيد. فأمرت أم المستنصر جماعة ممن كان عندها من العبيد أن يقتحموا على الأتراك فهاجموهم على حين غفلة وقتلوا منهم جماعة. ففر ابن حمدان حينئذ إلى ظاهر القاهرة، وتسارع إليه الأتراك وقد استعدوا لمحاربة العبيد؛ فخرج إليهم عدة من العبيد الذين كانوا بالقاهرة ومصر. فكانت بين الطائفتين حروب شديدة مدة أيام، فحلف منذ ذلك ابن حمدان أنه لا ينزل عن فرسه حتى يفصل إما له أو عليه.</p>
<p>واجتهد القوم في المحاربة فكانت لابن حمدان النصر على العبيد فأشرف في القتل فيهم حتى لم يبق بالقاهرة ومصر منهم إلا قليل، هذا والعبيد المقيمون بالصعيد على حالهم. وكان أيضاً بالاسكندرية. فسار ابن حمدان إليها، وحاصرها فطلب من بها من العبيد الأمان، فرتب بها من يثق به وانقضت السنة في قتال العبيد.</p>	<p>وثبت كل منهما، فكانت الكرة لابن حمدان على العبيد، فوضع السيف فيهم وتجاوز الحد في كثرة قتلهم، وتتبعهم في كل مكان حتى لم يدع في القاهرة ومصر منهم إلا قليلاً، وهم مقيمون بالصعيد والاسكندرية. فرأى ابن حمدان أن يبدأ محاربة من في الاسكندرية منهم، فسار إليها ونالها مدة، وحصر العبيد بها، وألح في مقاتلتهم حتى طلبوا منه الأمان، فأقام على ولايتها رجلاً من ثقاته. وانقضت هذه السنة كلها في قتال العبيد والأتراك.</p>
<p>وفي يوم عيد الفطر أفرج عن حميد بن محمود بن الجراح وحازم بن علي بن الجراح، الطائيين، من خزانة البنود بعد ما أقاما محبوسين مدة طويلة.</p>	<p>وفيها قطعت دعوة المستنصر من اليمن بقتل الصليحي وأعيدت دعوة بني العباس</p>
<p>وفي يوم الثلاثاء ثامن محرم صرف ابن أبي كدينة، وولى أبو القاسم عبد الحاكم المليجي، ثم صرف في سابع جمادى الآخرة، وأعيد ابن كدينة، ثم صرف؛ وأعيد المليجي ثم صرف أيضاً؛ وأعيد ابن أبي كدينة ثم صرف في ثامن وعشرين من ذي القعدة، وولى بجلال الملك أبو أحمد عبد الكريم بن عبد الحاكم.</p>	<p>وأما الوزراء فإن ابن أبي كدينة صرف في ثامن المحرم، وولى أبو القاسم عبد الحاكم المليجي، فأقام إلى سابع جمادى الآخرة، وصرف؛ وأعيد ابن أبي كدينة، فأقام أياماً وصرف؛ وأعيد المليجي فلم يقم سوى ليالي يسيرة وصرف؛ وأعيد ابن أبي كدينة فأقام إلى ثامن عشرين ذي القعدة، وصرف بجلال الملك بن عبد الحاكم.</p>

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>
	وفيها قتل فتوح الشامي أحد قواد العبيد، وكان المنفق حين قتل خمسمائة ألف دينار

Table 13. The year 493 compared.¹⁴

<i>Akhbār</i>	<i>Itti'āz</i>
<p>فيها قدم إلى مصر خلق كثير من البلاد الشامية فرارا من الفرنج والغلاء.</p> <p>وعم جميع البلاد الوباء، ومات بمصر خلق كثير.</p> <p>وفيها مات قاضي القضاة أبو الطاهر محمد بن رجاء، وتولى مكانه أبو الفرج محمد بن جوهر بن ذكا النابلسي.</p>	<p>فيها رحل عالم لا يحصى عددهم من البلاد الشامية فرارا من الفرنج والغلاء</p> <p>وفيها عم الغلاء أكثر البلاد؛ ومات من أهل مصر خلق كثير.</p> <p>وفيها مات قاضي القضاة أبو الطاهر محمد بن رجاء، وتولى بعده أبو الفرج محمد ابن جوهر بن ذكا النابلسي.</p> <p>ومات علي بن محمد بن علي الصليحي، قتله سعد بن نجاح الأحول، وقتل أخاه عبد الله وجميع بني الصليحي بمكة في ذي القعدة</p> <p>وولى الحسن بن علي بن أحمد الكرخي الحكم شهرا واحدا وثلاثة أيام، وصرف وصور من أجل أنه أخذ عصابة من القصر في أيام الشدة لها فظهرت عليه قيمة</p>

¹⁴ Ibn Muyassar, *Akhbār*, 85; al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, III:25.

Appendix F. A comparison of the main sources for the life of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī.

As I have argued in chapter 6, ‘Umāra’s *Mufīd* is the dominant source text used throughout the historiography of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī’s life. His text is, however, heavily abridged by all later historians. The tables that follow seek to illustrate two points: One, the importance of the *Mufīd* in all of the later accounts. Two, how certain sources depended upon one-another, rather than copying directly from the *Mufīd*. In all of the tables, text that is shared with ‘Umāra is given in yellow highlighting. As ‘Umāra’s account of ‘Alī is long and all of the texts have abridged from it quite heavily, I am not giving ‘Umāra’s text in full.

Table 1 will show how Ibn Khallikān’s *Wafayāt* and al-Dhahabī’s *Siyar* have used the *Mufīd*, but that the *Siyar* has probably accessed the *Mufīd* through the *Wafayāt*. Table 2 will show how the year 443 of al-Maqrīzī’s *Itti’āz* relies on three sources: the SY, Ibn Ṣāfir’s *Akhbār al-Duwal* and the *Wafayāt*. Table 3 will show how al-Maqrīzī’s *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk* relies on three sources: the *Akhbār al-Duwal*, *Wafayāt* and Ibn al-Athīr’s *Kāmil*. As the text is repeated across the tables, I will only comment in detail on the source’s use of the *Mufīd* in the first instance. For example, notes on Ibn Khallikān’s use of the *Mufīd* are given only in table 1. As with appendix A, page numbers from the editions are given in brackets.

Table 1. A comparison of the biographies of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī in Ibn Khallikān’s Wafayāt and al-Dhahabī’s Siyar. Underlining indicates text shared between the Wafayāt and Siyar and highlighting indicates material shared with the ‘Umāra’s Mufīd. ‘Mufīd passage no.’ refers to the passage numbers for the Mufīd given in table 2 in chapter 6.¹

<i>Wafayāt</i>	<i>Siyar</i>	Source (page) and comment	<i>Mufīd</i> passage no.
(411) أبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي الصليحي القائم باليمن؛ كان أبوه محمد قاضيا باليمن سني المذهب، وكان أهله وجماعته يطيعونه، ² وكان الداعي عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي يلاطفه ويركب إليه، لرياسته وسؤدده وصلاحه وعلمه، فلم يزل عامر المذكور	(359) صاحب اليمن، كان أبوه من قضاة اليمن، وهو الملك أبو الحسن، علي بن القاضي محمد بن دار به داعي الباطنية عامر علي. الزواحي حتى أجابه وهو حدث، فتفرس به عامر النجابة،	<i>Mufīd</i> (95-6)	1-2

¹ Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:411-5; al-Dhahabī, *Siyar*, XVIII:359-62; ‘Umāra, *Mufīd*, 95-127 (History of ‘Alī al-Ṣulayḥī), 191-203 (History of Najāhids).

² Umāra: ‘له طاعة في رجال حراز’

Wafayāt	Siyar	Source (page) and comment	Mufid passage no.
حتى استمال قلب ولده علي المذكور وهو يومئذ دون البلوغ ولاحت له فيه مخايل النجابة،			
وقيل كانت عنده حلية علي الصليحي في كتاب "الصور" وهو من الذخائر القديمة ³ ، فأوقفه منه على تنقل حاله وشرف ما له، وأطلعته على ذلك سرّاً من أبيه وأهله.	وقيل: ظفر بحليته في كتاب "الصور"، فأطلعته على ذلك، وشوّقه، وأسر إليه أموراً،	Mufid (96)	2
ثم مات عامر عن قرب وأوصي له بكتبه وعلومه، ورسخ في ذهن علي من كلامه ما رسخ، فعكف على الدرس، وكان ذكياً، فلم يبلغ الحلم حتى تضلع من معارفه التي بلغ بها وبالجد السعيد غاية الأمل البعيد، فكان فقيهاً في مذهب الدولة الإمامية مستبصراً في علم التأويل،	ثم لم ينشأ عامر أن هلك، فأوصي بكتبه لعلّي، (360) فعكف على الدرس والمطالعة، وفقه وتميز في رأي العبيدية، ومهر في تأويلاتهم، وقلبهم للحقائق.	Mufid (96-7)	3
Parallel is found at end of the biography: [415] ولعلي الصليحي شعر جيد، فمن ذلك قوله: أنكحت بيض الهند سمر رماحهم فرؤوسهم عوض النثار نثار وكذا العلا لا يستباح نكاحها إلا بحيث تطلق الأعمار	وهو القائل: أنكحت بيض الهند سمر رماحهم فرؤوسهم عوض النثار نثار وكذا العلا لا يستباح نكاحها إلا بحيث تطلق الأعمار	Origin unclear	
ثم إنه صار يحج بالناس دليلاً علي طريق السراة والطائف	ثم صار يحج بالناس على طريق السراة	Mufid (97)	4
خمس عشرة سنة، وكان الناس يقولون له: بلغنا أنك ستملك اليمن بأسره ويكون لك شأن، فيكره ذلك وينكره علي قائله، مع كونه أمراً قد شاع وكثر في أفواه الناس، الخاصة والعامة؛	خمس عشرة سنة، وكان الناس يقولون له: ستملك اليمن بأسره. فينكر علي القائل،	Mufid (100-1) ⁴	9

³ Umāra: 'ذخائر الائمة'

⁴ In his abridgment Ibn Khallikān has omitted two pages of various *akhbār* given by 'Umāra, related to other elements of al-Ṣulayhī's life. In 'Umāra the first reference to al-Ṣulayhī's period as a Hajj guide states that he pursued this for 'a number of years'. He then relates a different *khbar* that claims 15 years some pages later.

Wafayāt	Siyar	Source (page) and comment	Mufid passage no.
ولما كان في سنة (412) تسع وعشرين وأربعمائة ثار في رأس مسار، هو أعلى ذروة في جبال [حراز] ⁵ ، وكان معه ستون رجلاً قد حالفهم بمكة في موسم سنة ثمان وعشرين وأربعمائة على الموت والقيام بالدعوة، وما منهم إلا من هو من قومه وعشائره في منعة وعدد كثير، ولم يكن برأس الجبل المذكور بناء، بل كان قلة منيعة عالية،	فلما كان في سنة تسع وعشرين وأربع مئة، ثار بجبل مشار في ستين رجلاً، فأووا إلى ذروة شاهق،	Mufid (101-2 and 117)	10-11
فلما ملكها لم ينتصف نهار ذلك اليوم الذي ملكها في ليلته إلا وقد أحاط به عشرون ألف ضارب سيف وحصروه وشتموه وسفوها رأيهم وقالوا له: إن نزلت وإلا قتلناك أنت ومن معك بالجوع، فقال لهم: لم أفعل هذا إلا خوفاً علينا وعليكم أن ملكه غيرنا، ⁶ فإن تركتموني أحرسه وإلا نزلت إليكم، فانصرفوا عنه؛ ولم تمض عليه أشهر ⁷ حتى بناه وحصنه وأتقنه.	فما أمسوا حتى أحاط بهم عشرون ألفاً، وقالوا: انزل وإلا قتلناكم جوعاً وعطشاً. قال: ما فعلت هذا إلا خوفاً أن يملكه غيرنا، وإن تركتمونا نحرسه، وإلا نزلنا إليكم. وخدمهم فانصرفوا، فلم يمض عليه أشهر حتى بناه وحصنه، ولحق به كل طماع وذئب جلادة، وكثروا،	Mufid (117)	11
واستفحل أمر الصليحي شيئاً فشيئاً، وكان يدعو للمستنصر صاحب مصر في الخفية، ويخاف من نجاح صاحب تهامة ويلاطفه ويستكين لأمره، وفي الباطن يعمل الحيلة في قتله، ولم يزل حتى قتله بالسم مع جارية جميلة أهداها إليه، وذلك في سنة اثنتين وخمسين وأربعمائة بالكدراء.	فاستفحل أمره، وأظهر الدعوة لصاحب مصر المستنصر، وكان يخاف من نجاح صاحب تهامة، ويلاطفه، ويتحيل عليه، حتى سقاه مع جارية مليحة أهداها له،	Mufid (117-8) Unhighlighted text of unclear origin. ⁸	12
وفي سنة ثلاث وخمسين كتب الصليحي إلى المستنصر يستأذنه		Mufid (118-9)	13

⁵ Insertion in square brackets taken from 'Umāra. The editor of the text inserted Yemen here to complete the sentence.

⁶ This phrase is not in 'Umāra's text and is perhaps added by Ibn Khallikān for clarity.

⁷ 'Umāra: 'شهرتين'

⁸ The idea that 'Alī al-Ṣulayhī preached the *da'wa* in secret before the assassination of Najāḥ is implicit from 'Umāra's following claim that he asked al-Mustaṣhir if he could bring the *da'wa* into the open. However, 'Umāra does not state this explicitly.

Wafayāt	Siyar	Source (page) and comment	Mufid passage no.
في إظهار الدعوة، فأذن له، فطوى البلاد طيًا وفتح الحصون والتهائم،			
ولم تخرج سنة خمس وخمسين إلا وقد ملك اليمن كله سهله ووعره وبره وبحره، وهذا أمر لم يعهد مثله في جاهلية ولا إسلام،	واستولى على الممالك اليمنية في سنة خمس وخمسين وأربع مئة	Mufid (119)	14-15
حتى قال يوما وهو يخطب الناس في جامع الجند: وفي مثل هذا اليوم نخطب ⁹ على منبر عدن، ولم يكن ملكها بعد، ¹⁰ فقال بعض من حضر مستهزئاً: سيوح قدوس، فأمر بالحوطة عليه، وخطب الصليحي في مثل ذلك اليوم على منبر عدن، فقام ذاك الإنسان، وتغالي في القول وأخذ البيعة ودخل في المذهب.	، وخطب على منبر الجند، فقال: وفي مثل هذا اليوم نخطب على منبر عدن. فقال رجل: (361) سيوح قدوس. يستهزئ بقوله، فأمر بأخذه، فاتفق أنه أخذ عدن، وخطب،	Mufid (119)	16
ومن سنة خمس وخمسين استقر حاله في صنعاء، وأخذ معه ملوك اليمن الذين أزال ملكهم، وأسكنهم معه وولى في الحصون غيرهم، واختط بمدينة صنعاء (413) عدة قصور.	وصيرها دار ملكه، وأنشأ عدة قصور أنيقة، وأسر مملوكاً،	Mufid (119)	17
وحلف أن لا يولي تهامة إلا لمن وزن مائة ألف دينار، فوزنت له زوجته أسماء عن أخيها أسعد بن شهاب، فولاه، وقال لها: يا مولاتنا أني لك هذا؟ فقالت: "هو من عند الله إن الله يرزق من يشاء بغير حساب" ¹¹ فتبسم وعلم أنه من خزانته، فقبضه وقال: "هذه بضاعتنا ردت إلينا، ونمير أهلنا و نحفظ أخاننا" ¹²		Mufid (120)	19
	وامتدت أيامه، ثم حج، وأحسن إلى أهل مكة.	Compare: Ibn al-Athir,	

⁹ 'Umāra: 'يخطب'

¹⁰ This addition to the quoted speech is not found in 'Umāra.

¹¹ Sūrat Āl al-'Umrān, 37.

¹² Sūrat Yūsuf, 65.

Wafayāt	Siyar	Source (page) and comment	Mufid passage no.
	وكان أشقر أزرق، يسلم على من مر عليهم، وكان ذا ذكاء ودهاء، كسا الكعبة البيضاء، وخطب لزوجته أيضا معه على المنابر، وكان فرسه بألف دينار، ويركب بالعصائب، وتركب الخُرة في منتي جارية في الحلي والمحلل ومعهما الجنائب بسروج الذهب،	Kāmil (VIII:363 and 380) Itti'az (year 455, II:268-9)	
ولما كان في سنة ثلاث وسبعين وأربعمائة عزم الصليحي على الحج، فأخذ معه الملوك الذين كان يخاف منهم أن يثوروا عليه، ¹³ واستصحب زوجته أسماء ابنة شهاب، واستخلف مكانه ولده الملك المكرم أحمد، وهو ولدها أيضا، وتوجه في ألفي فارس فيهم من آل الصليحي مائة وستون شخصا، حتى إذا كان بالمهجم، ونزل في ظاهرها بضیعة يقال لها أم الذهب وبئر أم معبد، وخيمت عساكره والملوك التي معه من حوله، لم يشعر الناس حتى قيل: قد قتل الصليحي، فاندعر الناس وكشفوا عن الخبر،	ثم إنه حج في سنة ثلاث وسبعين، واستخلف على اليمن ابنه أحمد الملك المكرم، فلما نزل بالمهجم	'Mufid (126-7)	24
فكان سعيد الأحول ابن نجاح المذكور الذي قتلته الجارية بالسم قد استتر في زبيد، وكان أخوه جياش في دهلك، فسير إليه وأعلمه أن الصليحي متوجه إلى مكة، فتحضر حتى تقطع عليه الطريق ونقته، فحضر جياش إلى زبيد، وخرج هو وأخوه سعيد ومعهما سبعون رجلاً بلا مركوب ولا سلاح، بل مع كل واحد جريدة في رأسها مسمار حديد،	, وثب عليه جياش بن نجاح وأخوه سعيد الأحول، فقتلاه بأبيهما، وكانا قد خرجا في سبعين نفسا بلا سلاح، بل مع كل واحد جريدة في رأسها زج،	Mufid (191-3) Under section titled 'Akhhbār of the Najāhids' ¹⁴	

¹³ 'Umāra does not mention that 'Alī chose the rulers because he feared rebellion.

¹⁴ Many of the reports under this heading are given in the first person, narrated by Jayyāsh, which Ibn Khallikān has changed to third person.

Wafayāt	Siyar	Source (page) and comment	Mufid passage no.
وتركوا جادة الطريق وسلوكوا طريق الساحل، وكان بينهم وبين المهجم مسيرة ثلاثة أيام للمجد. وكان الصليحي قد سمع بخروجهم، فسير خمسة آلاف حربة من الحبشة الذين في ركابه لقتالهم، فاختلّفوا في الطريق، فوصل سعيد ومن معه إلى طرف المخيم، وقد أخذ منهم التعب والخفاء وقلة المادة، فظن الناس أنهم من جملة عبيد العسكر،	وساروا نحو الساحل، فجّهز لحربهم خمسة آلاف، فاختلّفوا في الطريق، ووصل السبعون إلى منزلة الصليحي، وقد أخذ منهم التعب والحفاء، فظنّهم الناس من عبيد العسكر،	Mufid (193-5) Under section titled 'Akhbār of the Najāhids'	
ولم يشعر بهم إلا عبد الله أخو الصليحي، فقال لأخيه: يا مولانا (414) اركب، فهذا والله الأحول سعيد بن نجاح، وركب عبد الله، فقال الصليحي لأخيه: إني لا أموت إلا بالدهيم وبئر أم معبد، معتقداً أنها أم معبد التي نزل بها رسول الله، صلى الله عليه وسلم، لما هاجر إلى المدينة، فقال له رجل ¹⁵ من أصحابه: قاتل عن نفسك، فهذه والله الدهيم وهذه بئر أم معبد، ¹⁶ فلما سمع الصليحي ذلك لحقه زعم اليأس من الحياة، وبال، ولم يبرح من مكانه حتى قطع رأسه بسيفه وقتل أخوه عبد الله وأقاربه، وذلك في ذي القعدة من سنة (362) ثلاث،	فشعر بهم أخو الصليحي، فدخل مخيمه وقال: اركب فهذا الأحول سعيد. فقال الصليحي: لا أموت إلا بالدهيم. فقال رجل: قاتل عن نفسك، فهذا والله الدهيم. فلحقه زعم الموت، وبال، وما يبرح حتى قطع رأسه بسيفه، وقتل أخوه عبد الله وأقاربه، وذلك في ذي القعدة من سنة (362) ثلاث،	Mufid (195-6) Under section titled 'Akhbār of the Najāhids'	
ثم إن سعيداً أرسل إلى خمسة الألاف التي أرسلها الصليحي لقتالهم، وقال لهم: إن الصليحي قد قتل، وأنا رجل منكم، وقد أخذت ثأر أبي، فقدموا عليه وأطاعوه،		Mufid (197) Under section titled 'Akhbār of the Najāhids'	
واستعان بهم على قتال عسكر الصليحي، فاستظهر عليهم قتلاً	والتفّ أكثر العسكر على ابن نجاح، وتملك،	Mufid (197) Under	

¹⁵ 'ابن فلان العكي': Umāra

¹⁶ 'وهذا المسجد موضع خيمة أم معبد بن الحرث العباس': Umāra

<i>Wafayāt</i>	<i>Siyar</i>	Source (page) and comment	<i>Mufīd</i> passage no.
وأُسرأ ونهبأ،		section titled 'Akḥbār of the Najāḥids'	
ثم رفع رأس الصليحي على عود المظلة، وقرأ القاريء: "قل اللهم مالك الملك... الآية" 17	ورفع رأس الصليحي على قناة،	<i>Mufīd</i> (200-1) Under section titled 'Akḥbār of the Najāḥids'	
. ورجع إلى زبيد، وقد حاز الغنائم ملكاً عقيماً، ودخلها في السادس عشر من ذي القعدة من السنة وملك بلاد تهامة. ولم يزل على ذلك حتى قتل في سنة إحدى وثمانين وأربعمائة بتدبير الحرة، وهي امرأة من الصليحيين، وخبر ذلك يطول.	وتملك ابن نجاح مدائن، وجرت أمور إلى أن دبّرت الحرة على قتله بعد ثمانية أعوام، فقتل.	<i>Mufīd</i> (201-3) Under section titled 'Akḥbār of the Najāḥids'	

Table 2. A comparison of the year 443 of al-Maqrīzī's *Itti'āz* with Ibn Zāfir's *Akḥbār al-Duwal* and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*. Underlining indicates text shared between the *Itti'āz* and either the *Akḥbār al-Duwal* or the *Wafayāt*. Highlighting indicates text shared with 'Umāra's *Mufīd*. Passage numbers relate to table 5 in chapter 6.¹⁸

<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Akḥbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Source (page)	Passage no.
(222) وقام ببلاد اليمن رجل يعرف بعلي بن محمد الصليحي يتشيع، فحسن له الدعاة الدخول في نصرة خلفاء مصر، فأعلن [ذلك] بها، ودعا أهل اليمن إليها،			SY (see passage in appendix A)	108

¹⁷ Sūrat Āl al-'Umrān, 26.

¹⁸ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:222; Ibn Zāfir, *Akḥbār al-Duwal*, 71-3; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:411-5; 'Umāra, *Mufīd*, 95-120.

<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Source (page)	Passage no.
وحمل تجارتهم مع هدية جليلة القدر تبلغ رُهاء عشرة آلاف دينار إلى المستنصر.			SY (see passage in appendix A)	109
وكان أبوه قاضياً باليمن سُنِّي المذهب،	وفي أيام المستنصر ثار على بن محمد الصليحي وكان أبوه قاضياً باليمن سُنِّي المذهب، وكان معه يومئذ ستون رجلاً قد حالفهم بمكة، وأقام الدعوة المستنصرية بها	(411) أبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي الصليحي القائم باليمن؛ كان أبوه محمد قاضياً باليمن سُنِّي المذهب، وكان أهله وجماعته يطيعونه،	<i>Mufīd</i> (95-6)	110.1
وزوجته أسماء ابنة عمّه شهاب، وكانت أجمل خلق الله، وهي أم الدعاة باليمن، وعُرفت بالحرّة. وكانت ذات عزم وكرم، وتفأخر ومُدحت. بنوها بها،	Out of sequence (compare passage number below)		<i>Mufīd</i> (99)	110.2
وكان باليمن الداعي عامر بن عبد الله الرواحي، فاستمال أبا الحسن عليّ بن محمد بن علي الصليحي، وهو صغير، حتى مال إليه،	وكانت هذه الدعوة منه بوصيّة من الداعي عامر إلى محمد والد علي هذا، ولم يزل عليه حتى استمال قلب ولده وكان صغيراً يومئذ.	وكان الداعي عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي بلاطفه ويركب إليه، لرياسته وسؤدده وصلاحه وعلمه، فلم يزل عامر المذكور حتى استمال قلب ولده علي المذكور وهو يومئذ دون البلوغ ولاحت له فيه مخايل وقيل كانت النجابة، عنده حلية علي الصليحي في كتاب "الصور" وهو من الذخائر القديمة، فأوقفه منه على تنقل حاله وشرف ما له، وأطلعه على ذلك سراً من أبيه وأهله.	<i>Mufīd</i> (96)	110.3
فلما مات عامر أوصى له بكتبه وعلومه،		ثم مات عامر عن قرب وأوصى له بكتبه	<i>Mufīd</i> (96-7)	110.4

<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Source (page)	Passage no.
فدرسها حتى تضلّع من معارفه وصار من فقهاء الشيعة،		وعلومه، ورسخ في ذهن علي من كلامه ما رسخ، فعكف على الدرس، وكان ذكياً، فلم يبلغ الحلم حتى تضلّع من معارفه التي بلغ بها وبالجد السعيد غاية الأمل البعيد، فكان فقيهاً في مذهب الدولة الإمامية مستبصراً في علم التأويل،		
وحج بالناس دليلاً		ثم إنه صار يحج بالناس دليلاً على طريق السراة والطائف	<i>Mufīd</i> (97)	110.5
خمس عشرة سنة ¹⁹ .		خمس عشرة سنة، وكان الناس يقولون له: بلغنا أنك ستملك اليمن بأسره ويكون لك شأن، فيكره ذلك وينكره على قائله، مع كونه أمراً قد شاع وكثر في أفواه الناس، الخاصة والعامة؛	<i>Mufīd</i> (100-1)	110.6
ثم ثار في سنة تسع وعشرين وأربعمائة، ²⁰		ولما كان في سنة (412) تسع وعشرين وأربعمائة ثار	<i>Mufīd</i> (101-2)	110.7
Some parallels under year 429 of the <i>Itti'āz</i> . ²¹		في رأس مسار، هو أعلى ذروة في جبال [حراز]، وكان معه ستون رجلاً قد حالفهم بمكة في موسم سنة ثمان وعشرين وأربعمائة على الموت والقيام بالدعوة، وما منهم إلا من هو من قومه وعشائره في منعة	<i>Mufīd</i> (117)	110.7.1

¹⁹ Umara, 17: 'a number of years'; According to khabar Sulṭān Nāṣir b. Maṣṣūr al-Wālī, from his grandfather 'Aysa b. Yazīd: 'He was a guide on the hill road, for 15 [years?]' (p. 17) It is unclear if the following anecdote about Jabal Masār is from the same Khabar.

²⁰ Umara: To reinforce his dating states that supporters were acquired in the 428 pilgrimage.

²¹ Al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āz*, II:187.

<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Source (page)	Passage no.
		<p>وعدد كثير، ولم يكن برأس الجبل المذكور بناء، بل كان قلعة منيعة فلما ملكها لم عالية، ينتصف نهار ذلك اليوم الذي ملكها في ليلته إلا وقد أحاط به عشرون ألف ضارب سيف وحصروه وشتموه وسفها رأيهم وقالوا له: إن نزلت وإلا قتلناك أنت ومن معك بالجوع، فقال لهم: لم أفعل هذا إلا خوفا علينا وعليكم أن ملكه غيرنا، فإن تركتموني أحرسه وإلا نزلت إليكم، فانصرفوا عنه؛ ولم تمض عليه أشهر حتى بناه وحصنه وأثقنه.</p>		
Out of sequence (compare passage number above)	<p>وتزوج أسماء بنت عمه شهاب، (92) وكانت أجمل خلق الله وهي أم الدعاة باليمن وعرفت بالحرّة، وكانت ذات عزم وكرم. وتفاخر بنوها بكرمها ومدحها شاعر زوجها علي بن محمد الصليحي بقصيدة أولها: حشمت بيضك العوامل حشما منها: وسمت في السماح منة جود</p>		Mufīd (99)	110.2

Itti'āz	Akhbār al-Duwal	Wafayāt	Source (page)	Passage no.
	<p>ولم تدع من المعالم البخل رسماً</p> <p>قلت إذ عظموا لبلقيس عرشاً</p> <p>دست أسماء من نرى النجم اسماً</p>			
<p>وتزايد أمره، ودعا للمستنصر، فكتب إليه ما هو عليه، واستأذنه في المسير إلى تهامة، فأذن له.</p>	<p>وقوى أمر الصليحي باليمن، ولما كثر أصحابه وتوفر ماله وهو بالجبال كتب كتاباً إلى المستنصر يعلمه ما هو عليه من ظهور الكلمة وإقامة الدعوة ويستأذنه في النزول بالعسكر إلى تهامة ومقاتلة أهلها، فأذن له في ذلك وأخرج الأموال وجمع الرجال وانتصر.</p>	<p>واستفحل أمر الصليحي شيئاً فشيئاً، وكان يدعو للمستنصر صاحب مصر في الخفية، ويخاف من نجاح صاحب تهامة ويلاطفه ويستكين لأمره، وفي الباطن يعمل الحيلة في قتله، ولم يزل حتى قتله بالسم مع جارية جميلة أهداها إليه، وذلك في سنة اثنتين وخمسين وأربعمئة بالكدراء.</p>	Mufīd (117-8)	110.8
		<p>وفي سنة ثلاث وخمسين كتب الصليحي إلى المستنصر يستأذنه في إظهار الدعوة، فأذن له، فطوى البلاد طياً وفتح الحصون والتهائم،</p>	Mufīd (118-9)	110.8.1
<p>ولم تخرج سنة خمسين وأربعمئة حتى ملك السهل والجبل الوعر من بلاد اليمن.</p>	<p>ولم يخرج سنة²² خمسين وأربعمئة وبقى عليه من اليمن سهل ولا وعر ولا بر إلا فتحه،</p>	<p>ولم تخرج سنة خمس وخمسين إلا وقد ملك اليمن كله سهله ووعره وبره وبحره، وهذا أمر لم يعهد مثله في جاهلية ولا إسلام،</p>	Mufīd (119)	110.9

²² Umara: 18, year 455.

<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Source (page)	Passage no.
		حتى قال يوما وهو يخطب الناس في جامع الجند: وفي مثل هذا اليوم نخطب ²³ على منبر عدن، ولم يكن ملكها بعد، فقال بعض من حضر مستهزئاً: سبوح قدوس، فأمر بالحوطة عليه، وخطب الصليحي في مثل ذلك اليوم على منبر عدن، فقام ذاك الإنسان، وتغالي في القول وأخذ البيعة ودخل في المذهب.	<i>Mufīd</i> (119)	110.9.1
	واختط بصعناء عدة قصور واستصحب معه أولاد ملوك اليمن وأسكنهم معه في الحصون.	ومن سنة خمس وخمسين استقر حاله في صنعاء، وأخذ معه ملوك اليمن الذين أزال ملكهم، وأسكنهم معه وولى في الحصون غيرهم، واختط بمدينة صنعاء (413) عدة قصور،	<i>Mufīd</i> (119)	110.9.2
	وحلف أن لا يولى تهامة إلا لمن وزن له مائة ألف دينار. فوزنت له زوجته أسماء عن أخيها (73) أسعد بن شهاب، فولاه وقال لها: يا مولانا أنى لك هذا؟ فقالت: هو من عند الله إن الله يرزق من يشاء بغير حساب. فتبسم وعلم أنه من خزانته فقبضه وقال: هذه بضاعتنا ردت إلينا ²⁴	وحلف أن لا يولى تهامة إلا لمن وزن مائة ألف دينار، فوزنت له زوجته أسماء عن أخيها أسعد بن شهاب، فولاه، وقال لها: يا مولاتنا أنى لك هذا؟ فقالت: "هو من عند الله إن الله يرزق من يشاء بغير حساب" فتبسم وعلم أنه من خزانته، فقبضه وقال: "هذه بضاعتنا ردت إلينا،	<i>Mufīd</i> (120)	110.9.3

²³ 'يخطب': 'Umāra:

²⁴ Umara adds here: 'and she said to him', where Ibn Zāfir removes quotation and change 'ahlina' to 'ahlha'.

<i>Itti'āz</i>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Source (page)	Passage no.
	ونمير أهلها ونحفظ أخانا.	ونمير أهلنا و نحفظ أخانا"		

Table 3. A comparison of al-Maqrīzī's biography of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī in his *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk* with Ibn Zāfir's *Akhbār al-Duwal* and Ibn Khallikān's *Wafayāt*. Underlining indicates text shared between the *Itti'āz* and either the *Akhbār al-Duwal* or the *Wafayāt*. Highlighting indicates text shared with 'Umāra's *Mufīd*. Passage numbers correspond to those used in table 2.²⁵

<i>Al-Dhahab al-Masbūk</i>	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Source (page)	Passage no.
كان أبوه على قضاء اليمن ومن أهل السنة، وكان في عشيرة من قومه.	وفي أيام المستنصر ثار على بن محمد الصليحي وكان أبوه قاضياً باليمن سنّي المذهب، وكان معه يومئذ ستون رجلاً قد حالفهم بمكة، وأقام الدعوة المستنصرية بها	أبو الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي الصليحي القائم باليمن؛ كان أبوه محمد قاضياً باليمن سنّي المذهب، وكان أهله وجماعته يطيعونه،	<i>Mufīd</i> (95)	110.1

²⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *al-Dhahab al-Masbūk*, 303-4 Ibn Zāfir, *Akhbār al-Duwal*, 71-3; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, III:411-5; 'Umāra, *Mufīd*, 95-127 (History of 'Alī al-Ṣulayḥī).

Al-Dhahab al-Masbūk	Akhhbār al-Duwal	Wafayāt	Source (page)	Passage no.
فصحب علي داعي اليمن وعامر بن عبد الله الزواحي – أحد دعاة الدولة الفاطمية – ، ومال إلى مذهب التشيع،	وكانت هذه الدعوة منه بوصية من الداعي عامر إلى محمد والد علي هذا، ولم يزل عليه حتى استمال قلب ولده وكان صغيراً يومئذ.	وكان الداعي عامر بن عبد الله الزواحي يلطفه ويركب إليه، لرياسته وسؤده وصلاحه وعلمه، فلم يزل عامر المذكور حتى استمال قلب ولده علي المذكور وهو يومئذ دون البلوغ ولاحت له فيه مخايل وقيل كانت النجابة، عنده حلية علي الصليحي في كتاب "الصور" وهو من الذخائر القديمة، فأوقفه منه على تنقل حاله وشرف ما له، وأطلع علي ذلك سرّاً من أبيه وأهله.	Mufīd (95-6)	110.3
وتضلع من علوم الشيعة حتى صار إماماً فيه.		ثم مات عامر عن قرب وأوصى له بكتبه وعلمه، ورسخ في ذهن علي من كلامه ما رسخ، فعكف على الدرس، وكان ذكياً، فلم يبلغ الحلم حتى تضلع من معارفه التي بلغ بها وبالجّد السعيد غاية الأمل البعيد، فكان فقيهاً في مذهب الدولة الإمامية مستبصراً في علم التأويل،	Mufīd (96-7)	
(304) ثم ثار سنة تسع وعشرين وأربع مائة.		ولما كان في سنة (412) تسع وعشرين وأربعمئة ثار	Mufīd (101-2)	110.7

Al-Dhahab al-Masbūk	Akhbār al-Duwal	Wafayāt	Source (page)	Passage no.
<p>بستين رجلا – أصحاب عشائر –، فصار في عشرين ألف ضارب سيف من يومه</p>		<p>في رأس مسار، هو أعلى ذروة في جبال [حراز]، وكان معه ستون رجلاً قد حالفهم بمكة في موسم سنة ثمان وعشرين وأربعمائة على الموت والقيام بالدعوة، وما منهم إلا من هو من قومه وعشائره في منعة وعدد كثير، ولم يكن برأس الجبل المذكور بناء، بل كان فلما قلّة منيعة عالية، ملكها لم ينتصف نهار ذلك اليوم الذي ملكها في ليلته إلا وقد أحاط به عشرون ألف ضارب سيف وحصروه وشتموه وسفها رأيه وقالوا له: إن نزلت وإلا قتلناك أنت ومن معك بالجوع، فقال لهم: لم أفعل هذا إلا خوفاً علينا وعليكم أن ملكه غيرنا، فإن تركتموني أحرسه وإلا نزلت إليكم، فانصرفوا عنه؛ ولم تمض عليه أشهر²⁶ حتى بناه وحصنه وأتقنه.</p>	Mufīd (117)	110.7.1

²⁶ 'Umāra: 'أشهرتين'

Al-Dhahab al-Masbūk	<i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i>	<i>Wafayāt</i>	Source (page)	Passage no.
	Skipped these passages, as they have no parallel in al-Dhahab al-Masbūk. For a comparison of the <i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i> and <i>Wafayāt</i> see passage in table 2 above.			110.8
ودعا للإمام المستنصر بالله أبي تميم معد بن الظاهر بن الحاكم – أحد الخلفاء الفاطمية بالقاهرة –، وملك اليمن كله – سهله وجبله ووعره وبره وبحره – وخطب بنفسه، وكانت قاعدة ملكه صنعاء.	(72) ولم يخرج سنة خمسين وأربعمائة وبقي عليه من اليمن سهل ولا وعر ولا بر إلا فتحه،	ولم تخرج سنة خمس وخمسين إلا وقد ملك اليمن كله سهله ووعره وبره وبحره، وهذا أمر لم يعهد مثله في جاهلية ولا إسلام،	<i>Mufīd</i> (119)	110.9
وحج سنة خمس وخمسين وأربع مائة، وملك مكة في سادس ذي الحجة منها ونشر بها العدل وأكثر فيها من الإحسان، ومنع المفسدين وأمن الناس أمنا لم يعهدوه قبله. ورخصت بها الأسعار لكثرة ما جلب اليها بأمره، فأحببه الناس حبا زائدا. وكسا الكعبة الديباج الأبيض – وهو كان شعار الدولة الفاطمية – وأقام بها دعوتهم.			Compare: Ibn al-Athir, <i>Kāmil</i> (VIII:363 and 380) <i>Itti'āz</i> (year 455, II:268-9)	
	Two passages omitted to avoid repetition For a comparison of the <i>Wafayāt</i> and <i>Akhbār al-Duwal</i> see passages in table 2 above.			110.9.2 and 110.9.3
ثم حج في سنة ثلاث وسبعين وأربعمائة.	(73) وأقام بزبيد وغيرها من بلاد اليمن	(413) ولما كان في سنة ثلاث وسبعين	<i>Mufīd</i> (126-7)	

Al-Dhahab al-Masbūk	Akhbār al-Duwal	Wafayāt	Source (page)	Passage no.
<p>فلما نزل <u>ظاهر</u> <u>المهجم</u>، قتل في ثاني عشر ذي الحجة بيد سعيد الأحوال بن نجاح، وملك بعده.</p>	<p>إلى أن قتل في ذي القعدة سنة ثلث وسبعين وأربعين وأربعمئة في طريق مكة وقد عزم على الحج، وقتل معه أخوه عبد الله بقرية يقال لها أم الدهيم، وقتلهم سعيد بن نجاح الأحوال وقتل جميع بني صليحي</p>	<p>وأربعمئة عزم الصليحي على الحج، فأخذ معه الملوك الذين كان يخاف منهم أن يثوروا عليه، واستصحب زوجته أسماء ابنة شهاب، واستخلف مكانه ولده الملك المكرم أحمد، وهو ولدها أيضاً، وتوجه في ألفي فارس فيهم من آل الصليحي مائة وستون شخصاً، حتى إذا كان بالمهجم، ونزل في ظاهرها بضيعة يقال لها أم الدهيم وبئر أم معبد، وخيمت عساكره والملوك التي معه من حوله، لم يشعر الناس حتى قيل: قد قتل الصليحي، فانذعر الناس وكشفوا عن الخبر،</p>		

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